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MEDIEVAL FIGURE-SCULPTURE
IN ENGLAND

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AN ACCOUNT OF MEDIEVAL FIGURE-SCULPTURE IN ENGLAND

WITH 855 PHOTOGRAPHS

BY

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PREFACE

I N presenting to readers this review of English medieval figure-sculpture the authors are conscious of three disabilities. In the first place the sculpture itself is little known, and we cannot hope that the points of our discussion will be immediately recognised. Copious illustration is needed for the presentation of our case and for this reason we have placed our figures in the closest connection with our references to them. In very few instances, in our volume, has the reader been asked to turn the page for the immediate illustration that the text cites. For cross references we use a formula (see Fig. **, p. **), so that the search for the illustration may be as expeditious as possible.

Secondly, the themes of medieval representation are unfamiliar, and their descriptions necessarily involve a technical phraseology. To meet this we have given in Book I a preliminary sketch of the iconography or science of interpretations. But even so the terms of it connote very special ideas that may well be obscure. At any rate we have endeavoured to warn the reader that we mean a specially understood theological idea, or subject of sculpture, when we put a word such as "Annunciation" or "Limbo" in inverted commas.

Finally, there is the chief disability lying in our own limitations and the immense subject that we have attempted. We must plead at once that we do not offer to give in our pages anything like a complete catalogue of the English remains. We are very much in the position of pioneers in an untrodden country; the main big features attract our attention and our steps travel along the broadest roads to them. We are conscious of neglecting the many attractive by-paths that the discussion of sculpture opens out. But classification has been our point, and for the rest we must ask our readers to look at our illustrations: in them at any rate they can enjoy the charm that romance and sentiment have wrought in English medieval sculpture.

And, particularly, the stress we lay on boundaries and divisions must not be taken as insensibility to the continuity of the English expression. We insist on phases and provinces not because we view the English art as a mosaic of styles. To our mind English sculpture since the Saxon days has been a specific growth—*sui generis*—from its own stem, however much it has bent to the breezes of continental fashions. It is true that the links that should establish the complete genealogy of English sculpture are sometimes missing, but this is explained by the enormous destructions of its examples, for it may be reckoned that scarcely more than one per cent. of the figure-sculpture of the Middle Ages has come down to us.

What remains, however, is not scanty in itself: we have had to arrange for the selection of our illustrations about three thousand photographs, while probably more than three times that number of actual objects of sculpture have at one time or another been brought to our notice. Also, figure-sculpture could not be adequately discussed without taking account of the many other forms of medieval imagery—the paintings of manuscripts, and on walls, the figure-tracings on glass, upon enamels and brasses; as well as the modelled figure-work on seals and coins. In these connections we have turned to the acknowledged authorities, and many friends have generously allowed us to draw from their knowledge. As to manuscript-painting, Mr S. C. Cockerell and Dr M. R. James have assisted us. Professor Baldwin Brown, Mr W. G. Collingwood, and Mr C. R. Peers have allowed us to consult them upon points in the pre-Conquest sculpture. The late Mr Albert Hartshorne was most generous in giving us the benefit of his unrivalled knowledge of monumental effigies. From first to last on these and on many other points Mr W. H. St John Hope has given us valuable information.

To supplement our own collection of illustrations we have had assistance on all sides. We are indebted to the following sources for some 200 out of the 850 or so photographs used. In the first place the Society of Antiquaries of London has generously placed at our disposal many of the blocks produced for the Catalogue of the Alabaster Exhibition held at Burlington House in the spring of 1910. These include Figs. 13, 407, 534, 535, 537, 538, 539, 543, 548, 549, 551, 552, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 560, 561,

563, 564, 566 (*b*), 567, 568, 569, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585. We also have to thank them for Figs. 307, 308, and 311, which are reproduced from the illustrations to the paper in *Archaeologia* on the Wells Sculptures by Messrs St John Hope and Lethaby. Mr Hope has also kindly lent us the blocks for Figs. 60, 91, 408, 409, 725, and 803, from his paper on "The Early Working of Alabaster in England" in the *Archaeological Journal*, and we take this opportunity of thanking the Committee of the Royal Archaeological Institute for giving us permission to use them.

Mr Francis Bond has been most generous in lending us the blocks for Figs. 42, 634, and 635 from his book on Misericords, and also for Figs. 131, 132, 134, 135, 136, 162, 172, and 503 from his book on Fonts. We must thank too Messrs F. R. Taylor, E. M. Beloe, C. Gethen, F. T. S. Houghton, the Rev. W. Marshall, and Mrs Eden who took the original photographs from which this last set of blocks were made. We are also indebted to Mr W. G. Collingwood and the Cumberland Archaeological Society for the loan of the block of the Bridekirk Font, Fig. 88; and to Mr C. E. Keyser for that of the Highworth tympanum, Fig. 137; and to Mr A. C. Fryer for Figs. 741, 742, 750, 751, and 753, from his valuable book on the wooden effigies. To Mr Samuel Gardner we owe no less than 65 of our illustrations. Not only has he allowed us to draw upon his unrivalled collection of photographs of medieval architecture and detail, but he has also undertaken special expeditions on our behalf, especially one to Abergavenny, Llandaff and St David's. Figs. 14, 33, 50, 70, 85, 89, 105, 110, 117, 128, 133, 146, 150, 163, 173, 175, 183, 184, 190, 206, 208, 212, 242, 243, 249, 251 (*a*), 261, 275, 292, 313, 317, 359, 380, 431, 440, 445, 449, 479, 498, 500, 502, 506, 510, 522, 527, 617, 619, 622, 623, 625, 626, 629, 642, 652, 687, 688, 697, 701, 702, 707, 746, 787, 802, 808, and 818 are from his negatives.

Mr W. H. Aymer Vallance has kindly lent us photographs of the Cartmel Rood, Fig. 8, and the Ewelme angel, Fig. 615. The Burnham Deepdale font, Fig. 130, we owe to Mr E. Marriage; the Cropthorne Cross, Fig. 95, and the Daglingworth slab, Fig. 119, to Mr F. T. S. Houghton; the Stanton Fitzwarren font, Fig. 31, and the Monasterboice Cross, Fig. 97, to Mr

Hugh Gardner; the Battlefield Pietà, Fig. 9, to the late Mr F. R. Armytage; the Dorchester font, Fig. 159, the Much Wenlock slab, Fig. 168, and the Lambourne tomb, Fig. 645, to Mr J. Renton Dunlop; the Lincoln spandrels, Figs. 211, 251 (*b*), and stall panel, Fig. 618, to Mr S. Smith of Lincoln; the Majesty at Durham, Fig. 265, to Mr Freeman; the Sandford Assumption, Fig. 531, to Miss J. Merivale; the Badingham font, Fig. 507, to Mr G. C. Druce; the Montréal reredos, Fig. 536, and the Threckingham tomb, Fig. 711, to Mr J. V. Saunders; the Douai Flagellation, Fig. 553, to M. Camille Enlart; the Kermaria retable, Fig. 579, to M. Lucien Bégule; the Beauvais Annunciation, Fig. 550, to M. F. Martin-Sabon; the Carcassonne alabasters, Fig. 546, to M. le Marquis de Fayolle; the Sherborne Abbot, Fig. 656, to Miss J. Templer; the Bridport and Axminster effigies, Figs. 681 and 689, to Mr W. G. Burnett; the Battle tomb, Fig. 819, to the Rev. W. Marshall; and the details of Henry VII.'s tomb at Westminster, Figs. 497 (*b*) and 820, to Mr Weller of Westminster.

Special mention must also be made of Mr F. H. Crossley's fine photographs of alabaster and other monuments, from which Figs. 710, 735, 779, 780, 788, 789, 793, 794, 801 have been produced. The alabaster weepers in Figs. 515, 518, 523, and 524, the Patrington boss, Fig. 593, the Chester misericord, Fig. 20, and the Paignton tombs, Figs. 530 and 532, are also from his photographs. The Elkstone tympanum, Fig. 18, the Langford Rood, Fig. 112, the Southrop font, Fig. 171, and the Oxford St Hugh, Fig. 376, are from photographs by Messrs H. Taunt and Co., Oxford; the Jedburgh and Rothbury Crosses, Figs. 99 and 100, the Kelloe Cross, Fig. 204, and the Staindrop tomb, Fig. 786, from photographs by Mr J. Pattison Gibson of Hexham; the Wells carvings in Figs. 305, 312, 339, 344 from those by Mr T. W. Phillips of Wells; the St Peter of Peterborough, Fig. 318, from one by Messrs Bolas; the Ault Hucknall tympanum, Fig. 107, from one by Messrs R. Keene, Ltd.; the Moreton Valence and Fordington tympana, Figs. 127 and 129, from those by Mr W. Adams; the Tiverton ships, Fig. 611, from one by Mr W. Mudford; and the Bakewell slab, Fig. 544, from one by Mr G. A. May of that town. The objects in the South Kensington Museum illustrated in Figs. 124, 144, 154, and 415, are from the official photographs, and the French capital at Vézelay, Fig. 169, is by Messrs Neurdein Frères of Paris.

We should expressly mention the courtesy of M. Camille Enlart and of Count Paul Biver in obtaining for us photographs of alabaster works in France and the generosity of Mr J. Bilson who put in our hands his whole collection of photographs of French alabaster, as well as helping us on all the points of Yorkshire sculpture. We must also expressly thank Mr Samuel Gardner not only for the loan of the important prints mentioned, but for much help in all ways. Finally, we are in duty bound to record our obligations to the *Architectural Review* and its editor (1905 and 1906), Mr D. S. MacColl—for it was at his instance that we wrote the original papers on English medieval sculpture, of which Books II and III are a fuller rendering.

E. S. P.

A. G.

July, 1912.

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FIG. 1. Westminster Abbey. Angel of south transept. c. 1250.

BOOK I

INTRODUCTORY

IT must be accepted that medieval figure-sculpture was part and parcel of the larger art of medieval building, and that its period in England was that of the later Middle Ages—roughly the four hundred years from 1130 to 1530. Accordingly the word “medieval” as used in our pages must be understood as covering specially these four centuries. There are some English works of the highest importance to be noticed anterior to 1130, and after 1530 the style of the figure-sculptor in one branch of his activity—that of the recumbent monumental effigy—was hardly touched by Renaissance ideas, and was of Gothic expression far into the seventeenth century. But in the main the medieval sculpture of England must be taken as conterminous with Gothic architecture in England.

Moreover, the inspiration of sculpture, and the expressions and phases which this inspiration conditioned, were bound up intimately in England with the circumstances that created the successive manners of Gothic building. The same classifications will generally cover both arts. As in the building so in the sculpture there was a centre or turning point of style in the second half of the thirteenth century. Up to 1250 the progress of figure-work may be described as an incident in the emancipation of building-design—that is to say in the emergence of mason-craft from the ideal of massive construction in which at the outset the Roman tradition had schooled medieval architecture. Just as the Romanesque and then the Gothic mason fined away the bulk and mass of building, so the sculptor of the human figure was parting bit by bit with the traditional and symbolic iconography of the early church—was bit by bit creating that free spiritual expression which may be called the Gothic idea. Then in the first half of the thirteenth century, when the building art had become dexterous and supple, the sculptor's craft, too, grew fine and sensitive: it mastered its means of expression, and what up to 1200 had been of the nature of a block-carving more symbolic than natural, is seen at Wells and Westminster, by the middle of the century, as the finished modelling of an assured faculty (see Fig. 1 and Fig. 2).

For the fifty years from 1250 to 1300 the Gothic art of sculpture in England achieved representative works that were the triumphant expression of a craftsmanship new in the history of the world. The generation living about A.D. 1300 saw a golden age in the arts of West Europe: a purity of idea, a perfection of exact execution pervade the works of the sculptor. The

church image, the monumental effigy, the sculptured relief of sacred subject, have alike this special quality: but it is found, too, in the engravings on the brasses; in the painted figures whether on the wall, in the illuminated manuscript, or in the window-glass; and, we may add, in the leaf-carving of capitals, and all the moulded detail of the architectural scheme. The illustrations here (Figs. 1, 2, 3, 4) and those given in Chaps. IV., V., VI. of Book II. and in Chaps. II. and III. of Book III. are intended to exhibit the accomplishment of this central period of English art.

The fourteenth-century artists of stone-building succeeded to this heritage and possessed a technique no less expert: but they used it in redundant and luxurious expressions that grew gradually indifferent to the essential calm that had belonged to the preceding sculpture. The craftsmanship of the Gothic¹ mason became, as we read his story, a snare to him. We see the fourteenth-century builder as a dexterous "Decorator" of stone surfaces; beginning to delight in his architecture not as structure but as ornament; elaborating canopies and tabernacles; curving and spreading them over the facts of construction. With similar prodigality the fourteenth-century sculptor overlaid the spiritual conventions that the simplicity and reserve of stone execution had fostered: he sharpened his faculty to the vivid telling of the story; to portraiture in the effigy; to the delineation of fashionable attitudes and intricate costume in the image; often playing with contortion and exaggeration of gesture, just as the fourteenth-century building-artist played with variety and romantic colour. The reader should turn to the illustrations in Chaps. VII. and VIII., Book II. and in Chaps. IV. and V., Book III.

After 1350 building design shows a contrast to the romantic luxuriances of the "Decorated" art. The staid achievements of the "Perpendicular" style spread themselves over the two last centuries of English medievalism, and there is found a figure-sculpture that has generally dropped the florid note, maintaining an even level of execution in the hands of the hereditary associations or castes of artists. The fifteenth century was one of organization in the crafts, of reputation and honour for them, and we may entitle it the *guild* expression that conditions the respectable performance of a workshop art, as this is illustrated in Chaps. IX., X., XI., XII., Book II. and Chaps. VI. and VII., Book III.

Finally, just as by the dissolution of the monasteries the Gothic craft of church-building was brought to a close, the advent of Italians under Henry VIII. marks the emergence of a secular art of figure-sculpture,—one that was no longer, as it had been for some nine hundred years, associated with church-worship, but with its foot on the path that led on to the plane of modern conditions.

¹ Our term "Gothic" is that of ordinary conventional use, and similarly we use Rickman's titles "Early English," "Decorated," "Perpendicular," for

the architecture of the successive Gothic periods in England since they are generally understood and not inexpressive conventions.



FIG. 2. Wells. East side of N.W. Tower.
Statue of "Deacon." c. 1240.



FIG. 3. Lincoln. South Porch of Angel Choir.
Statue of the "Church." c. 1270.

Such are the broad lines on which we shall discuss the successional development of our figure-sculpture in its immediate dependence on the phases of the building art. But it was not only in period and succession of phase that English sculpture must be viewed side by side with English architecture. We must recognise it as essentially part of that architecture, and as getting its peculiar character as Gothic figure-sculpture by its growth in the body of a great building development. And we mean by this two things: first, that Gothic architecture made an era of figure-sculpture in the art-history of the world,—a creation of style that was an event in the life of humanity; and secondly, that as a corollary of this, the character of the Gothic figure-work lay in its being a carving of stone as distinguished from the metal and marble creations of the Classic and Italian arts. Such a view of our subject needs, we think, some preliminary treatment before we enter on the body of examples, and accordingly the following chapters of Book I. will present in a general way the peculiar conditions of Gothic sculpture. We will treat first the materials in which it was worked; and the aspects under which we see it owing to the vicissitudes to which those materials have been exposed: secondly, we will give some explanation of the subjects of Gothic sculpture: and in a third chapter we shall deal with the personality of the Gothic Sculptor.



FIG. 4. Lincoln. Triforium of Angel Choir. Relief sculpture of Angel of the Expulsion. c. 1270.
(No. 21 in plan, p. 266.)

CHAPTER I

THE MATERIALS AND PRESENT ASPECT OF MEDIEVAL SCULPTURE

SECTION I. IMAGE-SCULPTURE

WE are told in many original records that the furnishings of shrines and altars were designed all through the Middle Ages in the precious metals. There are, for example, accounts of Bishop Stigand's great silver cross at Winchester in 1070; and in the cathedral there, when four hundred and fifty years later the monastery was dissolved, the altar was found backed by "a table" (*i.e.* reredos) "of images of silver and gold garnished with stones." At Westminster the shrine of the Confessor, that was being made for Henry III. from 1241 to 1267, was of extraordinary costliness. So much so that, as reckoned by Professor Lethaby¹, something like £70,000 of our money was spent on it, many statues of gold studded with jewels forming part of its adornment. In the cathedral at Exeter, Bishop Stapledon set up a silver reredos in 1326, and at Canterbury when Henry VIII. despoiled Becket's shrine, his commissioners are said to have taken away its gold and jewels in twenty-six cart loads—much of this metal being, no doubt, the material of figure-work. It is clear, therefore, that workers in gold and silver were continually employed in the modelling and founding of figure-work all through the Middle Ages. The intrinsic value of the precious metals has not permitted gold or silver images to come down to us². The melting-pot has dissipated the form of their art, but indications as to the style of their figure-modelling may be found in the medieval coins (see the splendid Edwardian coinages) and in the seals of the kings, nobles and bishops, and those of monastic houses that were affixed to legal documents. A large number of impressions from all the medieval periods have been preserved, and the mid-Gothic execution of figure-engraving can be seen to be of the highest quality. The example given on p. 7 may illustrate the vigour and skill of modelling in the seal-work of the first half of the thirteenth century: the well-known seals of Henry III., and of Edward I., show mid-Gothic accomplishment at its finest: that of the latter's second Queen, Margaret (1299), and

¹ "The Craftsmen of Westminster Abbey," p. 296.

² The silver "Virgin" of Beaulieu has been dredged for, but unsuccessfully.

also that of Edward III.'s Queen Philippa (1328) have been executed with wonderful delicacy. Indeed, the whole course of medieval figure-modelling (though not necessarily that of figure-carving) could well be traced by looking at representative seals, and since every dignitary had his own, with often a portrait of himself, the motives and technique of the successive modelling arts can be accurately dated. The reader may turn to some further illustrations of seal-work which are given on p. 173.

In the less precious metals we possess the actual pieces that the medieval founders executed. There are, notably in Gloucestershire, lead fonts to be dated to the second half of the twelfth century which show a capacity for founding the figure in relief (see Fig. 159, p. 174). Later we have statue-work in bronze (the medieval variety of which was called "laton") in the figurines (or weepers) that appear on the tomb-chests of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century monuments, as at Westminster and Warwick (see Figs. 491, 492 on pp. 413, 415). Close on the end of our period was made a bronze work of great magnificence, the screen enclosure of Henry VII.'s monument in Westminster, and, though inside it the effigies of King and Queen were from the hand of the Italian artist the records enable us to identify the small figures in the screen itself as of English workmanship (see Fig. 497, p. 420). The great bird-lecterns of bronze also, such as those at Norwich, Southwell, and Isleham, Cambridgeshire, were notable proofs of the metal-workers' skill in modelling and founding. And above all the figure-art of the English bronze-caster was displayed not in furniture-work only, but in remarkable recumbent effigies of full life-size. We are fortunate in possessing such samples of English metal-sculpture as the memorials of the Kings and Queens at Westminster. The modelling and founding of figure-work is on the largest scale, such as must have been practised long and in many directions before it could rise to the level of Queen Eleanor's effigy (see Fig. 739, p. 661), the making of which in 1291 is recorded. From that date onward the practice of the founder's art continued in the workshops of the capital: for London workmanship no doubt supplied the bronze of the "Black Prince" at Canterbury of 1380 (Fig. 6), as well as that of the "Richard Beauchamp" at Warwick in 1454 (see Fig. 767, p. 681), the making of which in London is vouched for by the records (see pp. 102, 412).

The more precious metals were also used for memorial effigies and images. Westminster Abbey retains the block of Henry V.'s figure (d. 1422) consisting of an oaken torso, which we know was once surfaced with embossed silver plates, and completed by a solid silver head. In the same way we can now see Limoges enamels plated on the wooden recumbent effigy (Fig. 7) of William

¹ Or "latten." A few crucifixes have been found at Cambridge and South Kensington, but their workmanship is not of much account.



FIG. 5. Seal of Roger de Quinci, Earl of Winchester. 1219—1264.



FIG. 6. Canterbury. "Edward, the Black Prince," d. 1376. Bronze effigy.



FIG. 7. Westminster. "William de Valence," d. 1296. Effigy of oak plated with bronze and Limoges enamel.

of Valence (d. 1296) which is also at the Abbey¹. The accounts tell us, too, of an image made with silver for the tomb of the young princess Catharine (d. 1271); and at Christchurch, Hampshire, the statues of the altar screens were, we read in the Commissioners' reports, of wood plated with silver. There can indeed be no doubt that composite figures making use of metal and coloured decorations upon wood were all through the Middle Ages produced in the workshops of the goldsmiths.

The accounts mentioning figures, decorated by gilding, having their places at altars and upon screens are very numerous. These images must generally be taken as carved in oak; for example, such are mentioned in Gervase's description of the rood-beam in the church that Lanfranc (1070) built at Canterbury²; and the same writer's account of Conrad's "glorious quire" (c. 1110), as he called it, speaks of a "Majesty" and gilded "Rood" over the altar³. Such "majesties" and crucifixion-pieces were the furniture of all considerable churches, though now but one single mutilated figure at Cartmel Fell, near Kendal in Lancashire, can be identified as that of a "Rood" (Fig. 8). We may take it that oak throughout the Middle Ages was an ordinary material for sculpture, and that large principal images of the "Deity" and "Saints" were being continually made. Such things would be easily destroyed by breaking up or burning; and the "Lady of Pity" at Battlefield in Shropshire (Fig. 9), the "Jesse" at Abergavenny, the "Madonna" at the York Museum (see Fig. 614, p. 525), and half a dozen statuettes of "saints" in the Victoria and Albert Museum⁴, stand for what once existed in large numbers in the English churches. We read that they were made costly with gold and jewels, and decked with robes and embroidery, but the iconoclastic era introduced into England in Henry VIII.'s and Edward VI.'s reigns gave short shrift to religious images. Even if they survived by some chance the confiscation of the Commissioners, they were reported as superstitious, and destroyed.

One class of wood figures had a better fate. The oaken monumental effigies (Fig. 10), that are to be dated from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century, have descended to us in many cases. The natural sentiment of an aristocratic society protected monuments, so that in Chap. v., Book III. (pp. 661—671) we give many examples. The architectural carpentry of roofs, also, has bequeathed to us a considerable oak-carving of "Saints" and "Angels" (see Fig. 605, p. 519). The stalls, too, and bench-ends were usually enriched with a figure-work which in many churches (see Figs. 626, 627, p. 531) can still be seen.

¹ About 1276 Walter de Merton, Bishop of Rochester, ordered a tomb from Master John of Limoges, for which £40. 5s. 6d. was paid. See Scott's *Gleanings*, pp. 155—158.

² "Supra pulpitum trabes erat...quae crucem grandem et duo cherubin et imagines sacras S. Mariae et S. Johannis A. sustentabat."

³ "Quae auro decorata majestatem Domini imagines S. Dunstani et Elphezi, VII quoque scrinia auro et argento cooperta.....sustentabat. Inter columnas crux stabat deaurata."

⁴ The lately acquired "St Anne with the Madonna and Child" in the V. A. Mus. has good claims to English provenance.



FIG. 8. Cartmel Fell (Lancs). Wooden figure of "Christ" from ancient Rood. c. 1450. (Lent by W. H. Aymer Vallance.)

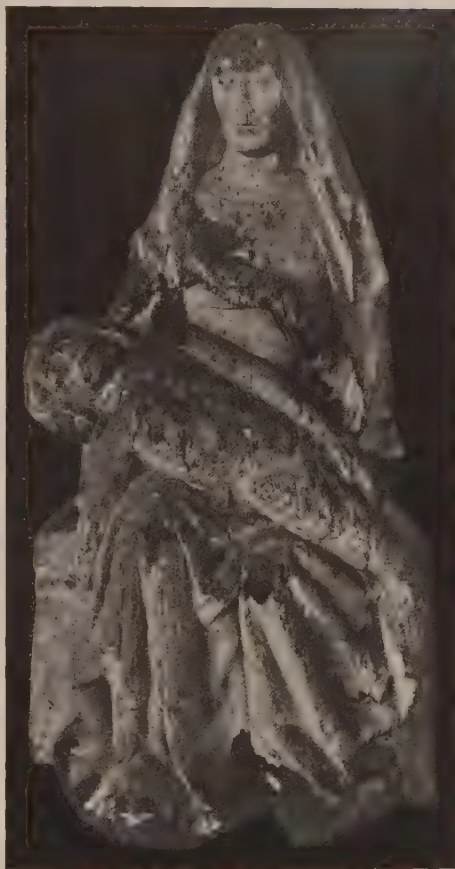


FIG. 9. Battlefield (Salop). Wooden image of "Our Lady of Pity." c. 1400. (Lent by F. R. Armytage.)



FIG. 10. Hildersham (Cambs). Wooden recumbent effigy of "Lady." c. 1300.

For the smallest images and reliefs ivory and, in some cases, foreign marbles were used, and though it is extremely difficult to certify to English workmanship in such cases, yet some of the specimens preserved in our National Museums have a style that we cannot recognise as French. We show here (Fig. 11) an ivory "Madonna" that differs from those of continental working, and corresponds to what we know as the handling of English workers in other materials (see p. 364).

On the whole it is evident that in England, as elsewhere in West Europe, figure-work in metal, oak or ivory must throughout the Middle Ages have kept whole crafts of artists in constant employment. It would seem that as long as metal and wood were the chief materials in use, the image was carved, painted and gilded (or founded, wrought and finished) by one and the same craftsman, who was entitled goldsmith (*aurifaber*) from the most precious metal in which he worked. The monastic records must be read, we think, to the effect that this artist¹ up to the end of the twelfth century was most often a monk, or at any rate belonged as "lay brother" or by some other attachment to the monastic house for which he worked². Accordingly the cloister craft of image-making was in evidence throughout the wide range of monastic institutions. It was for its instruction that the famous treatise on the arts (especially that of painting) had been written by the monk Theophilus. In Rome from the seventh to the twelfth century the practice of the arts would seem confined almost exclusively to the metal-workers and painters of the monastic workshops.

Yet at the same time a great commercial city like London would inevitably have its artisans outside the conventual establishments, and engaged on works which had no immediate religious signification. We know that secular circles of craftsmen developed an hereditary skill of figure-working on coins and seals, as well as on the shrines and the sacred images of altars³. The thirteenth-century records bring to our notice the layman artist, whom we may call the shop-goldsmith, working on monuments, and we can read⁴, too, of the building-mason (*cementarius*) as an "imaginator" supplying detached figures. There came a time in the development of the stone-mason in his practice upon building when he grew skilful enough to do statue-work. Accordingly the marbles and freestones of the building-scheme were sculptured for church-images—just as they were for screens, shrines and the other kinds of church-furniture into the decoration of which figure-work abundantly entered.

We have spoken of the goldsmiths' work in memorial bronzes; but the mason had his special province, too, of figure-work in the supply of

¹ A monk of St Albans, Anketell, c. 1150, is called in the Chronicle "*aurifaber incomparabilis*."

² An hereditary family of goldsmiths, Solomon by name, are said from the twelfth century onwards to have been attached to the Monastery of Ely.

³ For example, Odo the goldsmith at Westminster and his son, are mentioned as coiners.

⁴ The accounts of the Eleanor Trustees and the indication they give of mason-imagers are discussed on p. 98.

memorial effigies for churches. Quite early in the thirteenth century, owing to the demand for life-size recumbent representations of ecclesiastics and knights, the Purbeck marbler (who had been a merchant in marble fonts, shafts and strings) had become also an accomplished figure-sculptor: and c. 1270, as Fig. 12 may show, delicacy and finish were conspicuous in the marble-working of effigies. The freestone masons, following the marblers, became equally expert, so that the memorial trade in effigies was widespread in England, and evidently flourished in many cities and centres of building. Chaps. II, III, and IV. in Book III. give a large number of illustrations.



FIG. 11. Victoria and Albert Museum.
Ivory statuette. c. 1350.

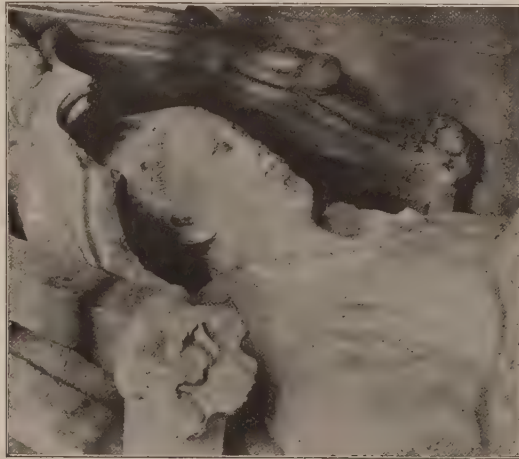


FIG. 12. Worcester Cathedral. Effigy of "Bishop Giffard,"
1268—1301. Probably the latest "Ecclesiastic" effigy
that has come down to us in Purbeck marble. The screen
that was added afterwards prevents a full photograph.

The image-crafts were continually occupied in the trades of sepulchral figure-work—as we have said, they carved and painted effigies; while the metal-founder, as well as modelling in the round bronze figures of great personages, engraved for lesser folk slabs of brass with representations of the deceased which were enriched with gilding and enamel and inset in slabs of marble. Shortly after 1330, so as to compete with these ornate forms of monument, the mason-imager introduced the use of "clunch" and "alabaster," soft stones in which he could elaborate costume for pictorial representation, and his carvings were gilded and painted in the same style as the wood and metal figures. The sepulchral monument had indeed become in the fourteenth century prominent as church-furniture, all parts of which carried imagery.

And, similar in style and wrought by the same trades, we have elaborate erections of figure-work for shrines, screens and retables. The English tombs and "tables" or slabs of relief-carving in alabaster were carved not only for the home market, but were exported all over western Europe, as we know by examples of English make found in Italy, Spain, Germany, France (Fig. 13), Denmark and Iceland. There was therefore in the fifteenth century abundant work for the English workshop-imager, and he had (as well as all the metals) wood, stone, marble, and ivory for his purposes.

It has been mentioned how these materials of sculpture were not left in their natural surfaces, but all had a finishing of colour and gilding. The goldsmiths' productions and the works of the building-mason were very similarly adorned. Bronze itself was gilt and enamelled: ivory was painted and gilded: while stone and wood alike were for fine work surfaced with gesso (a preparation of plâster) modelled in delicate relief, painted and gilded. In the more sumptuous works jewels or pieces of glass with a foil backing were freely used. Alabaster even was gilded and had small ornaments worked in gesso with jewels inserted to enrich its surfaces, while much of its surface was coloured and decorated with painting. Practically, therefore, a finisher or painter (*pictor*) always followed the *sculptor*, and completed his work, whether it was of marble, wood or metal.

The above short sketch of materials will at any rate establish the point that in all the chief cities of England there were throughout the Middle Ages numerous crafts of all kinds continually occupied in figure-work. We must not draw the conclusion that there was only a limited output of image-statues because the crafts of them have bequeathed to our days hardly a specimen. Various kinds of documents have descended to us which prove that the medieval church was in its prime full of figures that were the work of English sculptors. First there are the accounts for the making of the furniture of great churches and cathedrals during their building. Such fabric rolls as are preserved, *e.g.* for Exeter and York, contain many entries describing images or church-furniture decorated with figure-work. The Rolls or royal accounts which give particulars of the expenditure upon the King's works in the various reigns¹ speak often of imagery. There has been only a partial publication of these valuable documents, but the King's orders prove sufficiently that the popular design of building meant also its adornment, a great part of which consisted in the making and painting of "imagines." Such a term no doubt represented wall- and glass-paintings as well as sculpture, but in many cases the reference has been clearly to figure-work carved in relief.

Another source of information for us lies in inventories made at various

¹ Hudson Turner's *Domestic Architecture of England*, Vol. I., gives a translation of the orders

of Henry III. for works at his Palaces and Manor Houses.

times for various purposes, which name the possessions of the monastic treasuries, or of the cathedral and church altars. Some of these have been published, and give lists of valuable objects described as attached to figures of the Deity or saints, and so bear witness to large numbers of images¹.

Medieval wills, too, can be quoted to show that figure-works representing saints, apostles, and the Deity under various forms, were common possessions. Finally, there are certain inventories of the "superstitious" images themselves, made in the reign of Edward the Sixth, in order to ensure their destruction. These again prove that church-figures of many kinds were in existence when Reformation doctrines began to make war on them². It must be allowed therefore that the detached image or statue was a commonplace in Gothic art, and that the making occupied large bodies of craftsmen through all the periods of medieval building.

¹ An inventory of the goods belonging to Long Melford Church, Suffolk, in 1529, is given in Neale and Le Keux, *Churches of Great Britain*, Vol. II. p. 20. The *Rites of Durham*, published by the Surtees Society, is a well-known post-reformation description of the ceremonies—and incidentally of

the furniture—belonging to the monastic cathedral church at the time of the dissolution. It mentions images of many kinds and in many places.

² A suppression inventory is quoted by W. H. St John Hope in his paper on alabaster, *Archaeological Journal*, 1905, which see also as to wills.

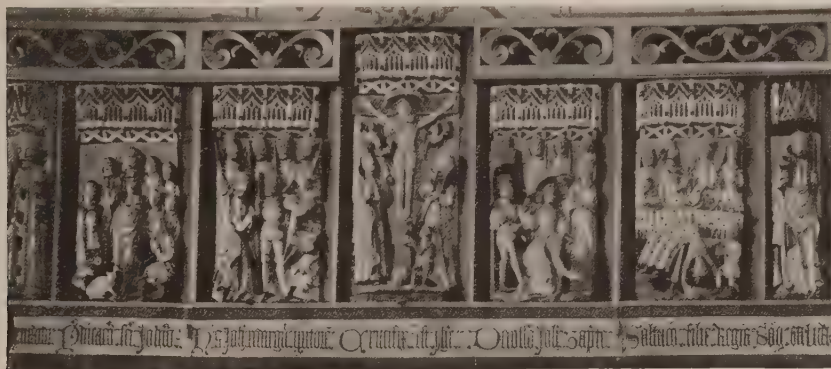


FIG. 13. Yssac-la-Tourette (Puy de Dome), "John Baptist" retablo. c. 1450. With the original alabaster headings of pierced tracery and the framing of wood. The titles of the scenes are as originally painted below but have probably been renewed, as has possibly the colouring. The upper cornice is a later addition. It can be seen that the piece has originally been a triptych.

SECTION II. ARCHITECTURAL SCULPTURE

The various forms of the detached image have been taken first because a review of the medieval sculpture has to acknowledge the abundant production of what we may call the *furniture* figure-work. Yet in presenting the main body of our subject to our readers we shall not be showing these detached pieces, and our point throughout will be that the essential art of Gothic figure-sculpture did not find its expression in them. We shall insist that the real mediæval figure-design was that which was worked all through the ages of mediæval building in the architectural fabric. For every church-image or *table* that was supplied to the altars there were wrought a dozen statues, reliefs and figure-subjects upon church-doorway, church-front or tower. The attached figures such as opposite (Fig. 14) were the real Gothic sculpture, with inspirations and ideals which the limited finesse of the goldsmith's bench could not supply. This figure-work in building stone has, however, no record in documents (a fact to be commented on later): yet the evidence for its abundance is conclusive, seeing what remains on our churches and cathedrals themselves. There has been here again an enormous destruction of examples. But wherever a building of the thirteenth, fourteenth or fifteenth century has come down to us with recognisable features, there are to be seen the niches and brackets for statues. And we see, too, how the popular art of architectural sculpture through all the centuries of Gothic art made use of the figure-motive for all the purposes of decorative carving.

At the outset however architectural figure-sculpture, though adherent to Gothic building and indispensable to its genius, was in its origin fixed to the traditions of an art of furniture. The craft of decoration in Byzantine and Carolingian building was the setting of precious objects against a background of structure: the stone-mason at first worked in this style, and his earliest attempts imitated examples taken from Byzantine treasures—the crucifixes, eikons, shrines and caskets. The motives of Romanesque art were accordingly limited by the cloister-treatment, which in the dark ages had been the only treatment. Sculptors' technique founded itself on the desire to make copies of paintings, ivories and such like. We shall see how in the Anglian cross, the Saxon stone-rood and the Norman tympanum the carving of figure-work was a stone-wrought edition of the small renderings that the workshop artists were accustomed to make. As yet the stone-carving of the figure had not been achieved in free masonry. It is curious that something of the sort



FIG. 14. Wells. Buttresses of North Tower. c. 1240.

appeared again at the very end of our story, when expressions outside stone-sculpture and derived from the crafts of imagery—those of the glass-painter and picture-artist—seem to dictate style to the architectural carver (see Fig. 69, p. 74). But between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries—that is to say, in the great era of Gothic expression—the architectural motive was the supreme force independent of what we have called the goldsmith's practice. The growth of the building-mason, in the experiment of Romanesque style was in effect a revolt from the monastic dictation, and when in the plenitude of his stone-carving the genius of the Gothic sculptor manifested itself, it established a complete mastery over the art of figure-work. Gothic architecture may be called stone-construction spiritualised by its vigour: and at the same time Gothic figure-sculpture was quickened, possessed by the free spirit of stone modelling.

Criticism of Gothic figure-sculpture must proceed, therefore, directly upon the ground that it was a creation out of building-stone. Medieval building used the *freestones*, as they are called, the oolites and sandstones which are easily worked by the chisel but have surfaces too rough for the purpose of near or delicate effect; it was impossible to give freestone even when painted the sensitive textures that crystalline limestone or bronze can be wrought to. The art of the Gothic sculptor was accordingly incapacitated from the expressions which were natural to the smooth finish of Parian or Carrara marble, or to the polished ductility of a metal casting. Popular taste nowadays has its views of fine sculpture very largely based on the Greek and Renaissance achievement in bronze and white marble, but the medieval art must not be criticised on lines outside its conceptions. It had of necessity to aim at effects which in expression and spirit were different from those of the modern ideal.

The use of certain so-called marbles by the English Gothic sculptors must not mislead us in this consideration. The Purbeck marble, in which as we have said many thirteenth-century effigies and figure-subjects were carved, is a dark shell-concretion with a grain suited for round contours, but not for working to a clean cut arris. Only when painted could such a surface attempt delicate representation, and the Purbeck sculpture must be judged under the condition of being dusky and blunt with ornaments painted or gilded only. Apart from this, alabaster was the only stone used in the furniture of English churches with a texture that fitted it for the delicate expressions of marble. But its quarries were some way from the water carriage which, in the Middle Ages, was necessary for the conveyance of heavy materials for long distances. So it did not come into general use till after the thirteenth century, and its working came too late to exhibit the highest qualities of Gothic sculpture.

Moreover, alabaster would not stand external exposure, nor was it fibrous

enough to bear the strains of efficient building. Now it was as part of a well-masoned and enduring structure that Gothic figure-making had to accomplish its destiny. A granular stone, easily squared and walled, but of a texture which had little in common with marble, was the stock out of which "Saints" and "Angels" were to be hewn and the story of the faith set forth. Accordingly the *lodge* (or working shed) of the stone-mason was his usual atelier. His art must be accepted as that of a *sculptor lapidum*, not of a modeller with clay, or of a goldsmith at his bench. In Anglo-Norman building the coarser hard stones which had been those of Roman use were for the most part employed—but since these were unsuitable for all carving except the roughest, a softer, finer freestone is found taking its place about the end of the twelfth century. The Caen oolite from Normandy came largely into use in London and the south of England generally. At York the fine-grained stone obtained from Tadcaster created, c. 1300, a special style of elaborate carving. For the south of England also finer, softer stones (Beer stone, for example) appear in fourteenth-century carvings, and the style of the figure-sculpture responded to the use of such material.

How hard rough stone was significantly the material in which Gothic sculptors worked is clear enough as we stand before the arrays of external statues which remain the chief monuments of their craft: the illustrations from Wells on pp. 15 and 22 can enforce our point, but it will be pressed in our pages all through. Yet while we insist that the architectural meaning of medieval sculpture is the key to its criticism, we must not forget the other figure-crafts. Goldsmith, coppersmith, latoner and *alablasterman* were founding or carving their little images while the great stone pieces were being hewn in the lodge of the *caementarius*. If time and chance have practically brought to nought the evidences which the English images of the Middle Ages might have afforded of Gothic style, there was always a part played by this image-craft in the development of the arts. We have, however, the architectural pieces only in any quantity: their record of the Gothic genius for sculpture, though admittedly imperfect, is still the essential one. Fortunately it has been preserved enough for us to recognise that in them lies the reputation of Gothic style.

SECTION III. THE PRESERVATION OF MEDIEVAL SCULPTURE

On the point of preservation the medieval sculpture is under special disability. Our examples have had to face the vicissitudes consequent on the architectural intention which was evident in their production. In ancient Greece and in the Italy of the Renaissance, figure-carving was, in many of its applications, functional to building: yet the specimens that represent to us Greek and Renaissance sculpture come before us as individual, separately conceived, statues. The reverse has happened as to the Gothic sculpture: its most representative pieces are grouped upon the existing fabrics of medieval building. The detached statues or the portable sculptures of the Middle Ages are rarities, because as "superstitious" images they became offensive to certain religious ideas, and were extirpated as noxious things.

This circumstance has necessarily had effect on the repute of the medieval works, which in this respect contrasts with that accorded to the classic arts. Specimens of Greek figure-work seem shortly after their making to have been collected by connoisseurs, and preserved as valuable property, but we hear of no such preciousness attaching to any piece of Gothic sculpture in the time of its creation. Its *raison d'être* was as a sacred object—and when security on this account passed from it, it was promptly destroyed as useless. Old images seem to have been no more preserved than worn-out clothes. When newer or more fashionable representations of sacred personages were provided, the old sculptures were broken up and buried. In this way all through the medieval period many masterpieces were undoubtedly destroyed as being out of fashion, and we find the fragments under the floors of our churches.

The great Iconoclasm came to our art in the religious reformations of the sixteenth century, when in a few years all the figure-works in England that had been attached as sacred furniture to the altars, shrines and chantries were given to the melting pot or the flames. At this date, too, the falling into ruin of the great abbeys—many of them veritable museums—wrought incalculable harm to our treasures of national art.

However, some church-furniture in which figure-sculpture was employed survived the sixteenth-century attacks on it. Fonts remained—and the stalls and seat-ends of many churches were untouched. And in the cathedrals and other churches that were not dismantled the monumental chantries suffered little—especially, as we have pointed out, the recumbent effigies have not been so completely destroyed in England as they have been abroad. Except however, as attached to fonts and tombs, there remains no ancient imagery in place in English churches. There occur a wooden figure or two, a few alabaster

“tables,” with fragments of stone images that have been dug up from floors or found built up into walls. But most often the style and date of such things have to be judged apart from direct evidences of position and provenance, for the original sites of the sculpture are unknown.

The architectural figure-work on the other hand has very largely survived *in situ*. It was probably disregarded by the iconoclasts of the dissolution, though the struggle of the English Revolution proved in some cases very ruinous to it. Cathedrals were often besieged in the civil wars of the seventeenth century, and the soldiers quartered in them were accustomed to deal hardly with their decorations. The general riot of Puritanism was directed against churches, so that wherever the carving was in reach, internal figure-work has been nearly always defaced or mutilated. Externally its chances have been much better; often its position at a height above the ground not only made it less observed by the powers of mischief, but difficult to be got at for defacement. For these reasons by far the largest part of the medieval sculpture treated in these pages is that carved on the external façades of our churches. Accordingly the reputation of its sculptors cannot help being that of the stone-mason, working broadly for effect, rather than that of the studio-artist who finishes his subject for close inspection.

External sculpture has no doubt been exposed to careless and wilful damage, as well as to the natural decay of exposed stonework. Medieval figure-work is now often broken, headless and limbless, left to us as mere blocks and fragments. Still, as long as what is left is allowed to tell its story, that story is one of genuine art. But when attempts are made to tidy up our ancient pieces, when the fancies of a *restoration* are let loose upon them, then they are destroyed completely as medieval examples. A restored statue is by the nature of things a perished work of art—“tradutori, traditori” says the Italian proverb. No grace of medieval beauty, no lesson of religious feeling, can be got out of a modern reproduction, and from the point of view of the art of to-day such things are surely mere toys whose make-believe can never be worth attention.

But while modern art should be warned off meddling with the great sculpture of the past, modern science could even now, if it wished, do much for the more efficient preservation of it. Very little in this direction has at present been attempted by the authorities in charge. Many thousands of pounds have been and are now being spent on the restorations making stage scenery of our ancient cathedrals and abbey churches. But, save in one honourable case, that of the front of Wells Cathedral (where the Dean and Chapter have lately made all the statues secure) it is difficult to hear of fifty pounds dedicated to the preservation of the ancient sculpture. We see old doorways

and screens renewed and re-carved with lavish expenditure of money : we see the niches supplied with new "saints" and "bishops," but the ancient master pieces themselves get scant attention. Too often their custodians offer them but two alternatives: either the relic must be carted away to the rubbish heap¹, or it must be made ridiculous by additions of conjectured heads and limbs². Too often the guardians of our treasures watch them crumble away³, nerveless and indifferent beside their dissolution. The few years of the writers' observation have seen many degradations and damages inflicted on priceless works of ancient English sculpture—some suffering by exposure without protection to the kicks and battery of every passer-by⁴, some delivered up to the irresponsible whims of church alteration and decoration⁵.

Yet these great works of our forefathers have an acknowledged value, which is recognised by all who have made our arts their study. It is the sincere hope of the writers of this book that this effort to describe English medieval sculpture may at least become of service in drawing attention to the great hazard under which its remains exist. The intention of respect is undoubtedly present in the holders and guardians of our medieval churches. Cannot this now lead to a better security for the English sculpture and to more scientific methods in its preservation⁶?

¹ An image discovered a few years ago in works to the west front of Chichester disappeared in this way. Lately what is supposed to be the fragment of it has been put in a place of safety.

² The additions to the figures on the Rochester chapter-doorway, and on the Salisbury front, were examples of imbecility which has lately been repeated at Colyton.

³ The face of one of the "Deacon" figures at Wells has flaked away during the last few years. The magnificent torso of the synagogue at the Lincoln South Door will lose one of the breasts unless prompt measures are taken.

⁴ The beautiful figure "Lady Fitz-Alan" in Chichester Cathedral, had been for years used as a hat and umbrella stand, being much chipped and damaged. It has lately been protected by a railing.

⁵ Organ builders show effigies no mercy. The charming well-preserved lady-figure at Ifield, Surrey, has pieces chipped from it by the stool of the organist. At Chideock, Dorset, a fine black marble effigy has been ignominiously smothered by the works of an organ.

⁶ At Exeter up to the present no effectual care has been taken of the statues, see p. 352.

SECTION IV. THE CONCEPTION OF THE MEDIEVAL ARTIST

The condition of being architectural sculpture, and of bare preservation as such, must be accepted as that under which the works of the English Middle Ages come before us: we do not expect for it the unbounded reputation of the Greek sculpture. The delicacy and smoothness of the Greek development of votive statuary in white marble and bronze; the detached individuality of such objective realisation as the Greek and Renaissance ideal aimed at; the picturesque personality which interests us in modern statue-work—all these were by the nature of things outside the sphere of the Gothic sculptor. On the other hand all through the Gothic period, Gothic figure-work is to be seen with an attachment and appropriateness to its position such as was not in our opinion so clearly achieved by the Greek builders, and such as the surface classicism of Renaissance art seldom looked on as possible. Gothic figure-sculpture has life in the very anatomy of the building it adorns, and with a material too rough for the classic elegancies it gets a grandeur from its limitations. Under the half-lights of northern skies and on the scale of a cathedral front it may be doubted if the low-toned shading of marble has force enough, or its texture warmth enough for the effects that Gothic sculpture triumphantly achieves.

Both Greek and Gothic masonry was made bright with colour, but the painting was not carried far enough to suppress the natural surfaces of the materials. If we think of the great fronts like those of Wells or Reims by the side of the sleek classic façades which the Renaissance architects achieved, not to mention our modern reproductions, it may seem doubtful whether the delicate technique of the Greek sculptor would be at home in northern masonry. It might be further urged, in view of the vast arrays which the Gothic conception of the function of figure-work demanded, that the Greek perfection of ideal carried out on such a scale would have been wearisome. The vigorous stone-sketching of a working-mason's chisel, rather than the polished finishing of near-view modelling, had been bred in the bones of the Gothic sculpture. In its architectural consistency at least our medieval art has nothing to ask from the Greek.

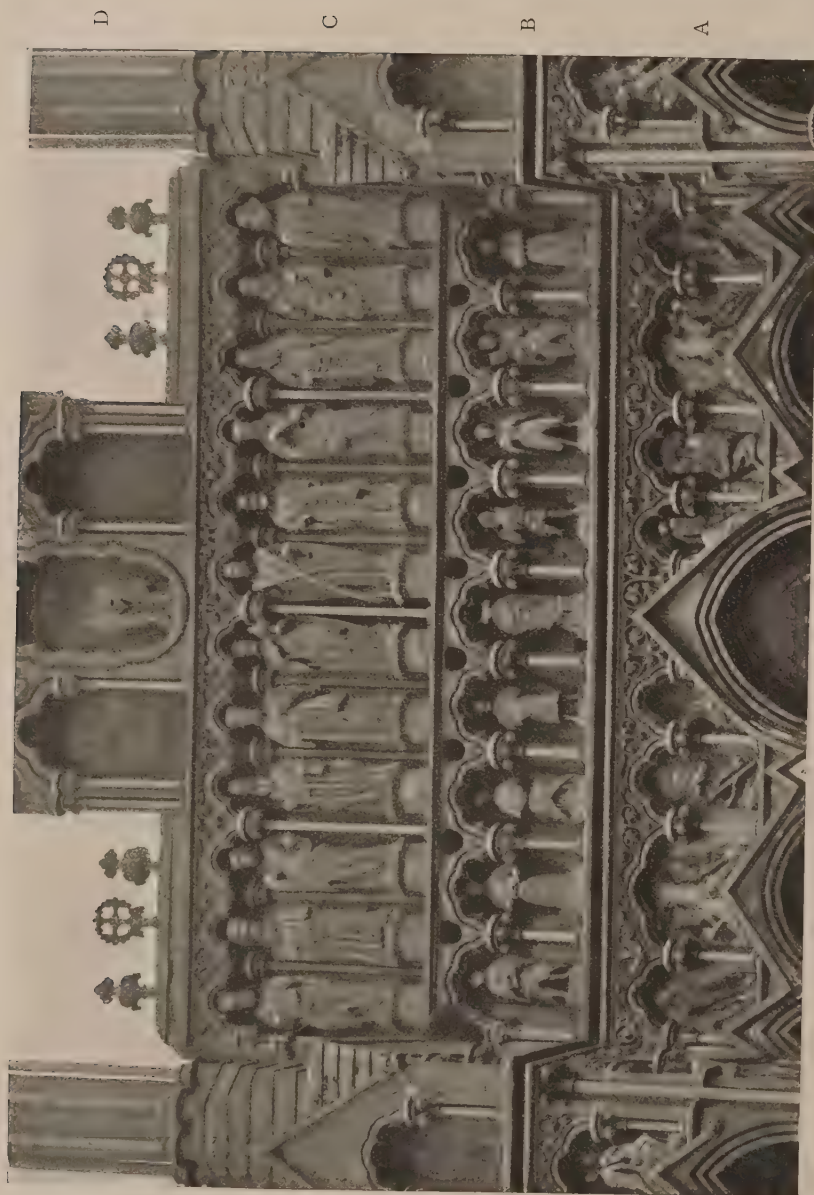


FIG. 15. Wells Cathedral. Statues on the upper part of West Front.

- A. The "Resurrection of the Dead." c. 1240. B. The "Nine Orders of Angels." c. 1320.
 C. The "Twelve Apostles." c. 1400. D. "Christ in Majesty." c. 1240.

It is allowed then, that the medieval statue, finished, as has been said, with plaster and paint, never had the quality of the greatest marble sculpture. Yet, in weighing this disability of the Gothic mason to compete with the great individual sculptors of antiquity, the present degradation of the former's works should be taken into account. The actual finish of his modelling has in most cases passed away. The painting has flaked off or has been deliberately scraped away, and the stone surfaces themselves have largely suffered, coming off with the overlay. Medieval sculpture, in its few hundred years of survival, has generally perished more than the statues some thousand years earlier in execution which have been dug up on classical and Egyptian sites. Our oolite carvings taken from the sodden soil of an English churchyard are found most often with the stone surface rotted away more than if they had been exposed in the open. And inside our churches figure-sculpture has had the misfortune to be the special object of mischievous energies—now deliberately hacked at by iconoclasts, now contemptuously cut away by church decorators or church furnishers, so that scarcely anything within reach of a pole retains its features. In this matter a very special value is given to our Westminster examples, since in some of these—as in the bronze effigies of our Kings and Queens—we can see the original touch of the Gothic artist and appreciate an art that elsewhere has too often to be judged by the mere block of a torso or a hacked untidy dummy.

Yet though the genuine pieces of our stone-sculpture as a rule shirk observation in remote positions, and must be accepted as fragments rather than complete expressions, the vigour of the medieval conception can call for recognition behind the rough surfaces of its execution. If the arrises have been dulled by wind and rain, these agents have wrought equally on the settings: so that when not taken from their original framework—when not transformed or caricatured by ineffectual restoration—our external statues have a value to the last fragment of their material cohesion. We see them as a whole piece with the façade, not as puppets set on a pedestal. The figures present themselves as no fanciful enrichments, but, as it were, the eyes of the architecture and the expression of its vitality. So at any rate we see them in the great façades such as those of Wells and Exeter, which still keep that body of statues which the full expression of the Gothic genius requires (see Figs. 14 and 15 in this Chapter, and Fig. 465 in Chapter ix. of Book II.).

CHAPTER II

THE SUBJECTS OF MEDIEVAL SCULPTURE

SECTION I. INTRODUCTION

THE interpretation of the sculpture-subjects—in the sense of explaining in each case the person or story represented—will be only incidentally attempted in our description of examples, for the reason that medieval iconography is a study of the whole body of medieval art and does not specially belong to the sculpture. The persons and scenes of carving were the same as appeared in the wall-painting of the churches and the glass-painting of the windows, as well as in the metal enamels, in the embroideries and tapestries, and in the manuscript illuminations. Representations on the flat were, for the religious mind, as much *imagines*, as the modelled figures—all alike having in the eyes of the Middle Ages but one purpose, that of expressing the law and tradition of the Church. Still, in discussing sculpture, we cannot dissociate the technique of the medieval artist from the significance of his subject-matter, and some consideration from this point of view is needed as an introduction to our examples.

One distinction at any rate belongs to the art we are discussing: the arrangement and motive of its subjects were outside any cult of beauty, or allegiance to any aesthetic philosophy. The maker of images for a medieval church was in no hotbed of culture, was no sophist of the schools, or champion of this or that artistic faith. But particularly he had no power of choice as regards the message he had to deliver; the selection and discovery of the motives for sculpture had been made for him dogmatically by the verified creed of Christendom. As the Second Council of Nice put it, A.D. 787: *Non est imaginum structura pictorum inventio sed ecclesiae catholicae probata legislatio et traditio. Consilium et traditio non est pictoris (ejus enim sola ars est); verum ordinatio et dispositio patrum nostrorum qui aedificaverunt*¹. It will be seen how this defined expression, that was obligatory in his subjects, made for the medieval sculptor an atmosphere different from that of the Greek or the Renaissance artist. If, as working in stone, he could not rival the marble-artist in the finesse or perfection of finish, yet the spiritual forces which came to him from the tradition of the Church make themselves evident in spite of the comparative coarseness of his material. He managed to embody in sculpture something of the divine fire which was moving the world of Christendom, so that his works, inferior as aesthetic models, can sometimes

¹ Quoted from Michel's *Histoire de l'Art*, Vol. I., Part 2, p. 595. Frothingham, in *Monuments of Christian Rome*, 1908, p. 256, takes from the French thirteenth century prelate Durandus: "Pictures and ornaments in churches are the true teachings and scriptures of the laity."

speak with a seriousness such as had no place among the unequalled perfections of Greek art, but has its own appeal to the artistic sense.

It is important, therefore, before passing judgment on the art of the Middle Ages, to appreciate the aims of its authors. To our eyes their methods may seem too simple for art, at times even ridiculous. But their function was exhortation: the meaning of their works was the soul that ennobled them; the purpose was to teach all that was best worth knowing, with but secondary thought as to pleasing the eye, and with no idea at all of tickling the aesthetic faculty of the connoisseur. When in the later times this religious fire lost its glow, and more attention began to be paid to the dexterities and details of technique, in English art, at any rate, a clear decline of style appears. The examples we give in Chaps. VIII. and IX. in Book II. may illustrate in what way the sculptor and imager began to think more of his power of portrayal than of the lessons of the Church. The nobility of conception whose origin lay in faith disappears, and in its place elaborations and exaggerations emerge as distinct objects for the artist's effort. That cheap tricky effects disfigure much of the fifteenth-century shop-work is only the ordinary progression of things which the history of art continually exhibits.

It may of course be advanced that the special spirituality which we have claimed for the thirteenth-century sculpture was really a form of hieroglyphic, and in a sense this is true. We do not mean that the Gothic sculptors ever showed themselves bound by iron rules, such as in the religious conventionalisms of the Egyptian and Byzantine artists cramped the free movement of art; but it will become quite clear from our illustrations that much of the essential seriousness of medieval sculpture lay in the fact that each character represented had its traditional type and its recognised attributes, and moreover that each subject had a definite arrangement for its figures. Attributes and arrangements were universally known and accepted, so that even the ignorant and unlettered man could read the meaning of sculptures that now only trained archaeologists can interpret. In the days when books were rare and expensive, their place was to a great extent taken by these sculptures and paintings, and the people were expected to learn what was necessary for salvation in the windows of the church, in the portals of the abbey, or upon the front of the cathedral¹. In this way, then, the Church provided the layman with his statement of faith, written not in ink but more graphically in colour or sculptured stone; and not only with his Bible, but also with his text-books of history and science, seeing that knowledge and science were counted but the handmaids of religion.

In an age of theologians and schoolmen art became simply one of the

¹ So St Gregory, c. 600: "What writing is for those who can read, painting is for the uneducated who can only look." Frothingham, *Monuments of Christian Rome*, p. 256.

forms of liturgy: as drama, literature, science, history, were devoted to the church, so just the same were sculpture and painting. Since then our readers have to recognise in these pages that the sculptures we discuss are expositions, and indeed owe their very existence to the desire for accurate statement, we ought, for the right understanding of the story of sculpture, to set out in some fashion the general character of the motives and subjects which medieval sculptors undertook to state. We shall in mentioning the pieces constantly use short expressions such as "Annunciation" as technical terms for the definite figures, sets, and scenes which medieval Christianity chose for presentation, and the reader is entitled to some sort of key to these expressions, so as to recognise the subject-matter in each case.

The iconography of the Middle Ages, or the significance that lay in the figures and forms of art—the "science of interpretations" as it may be called—has attracted far more attention on the Continent, especially in France, than it has in this country. The vast series of statues, reliefs and painted windows in the great French cathedrals, such as those of Chartres, Paris, Amiens, Reims, Bourges, have invited the research of archaeologists. Also in the compositions of sculpture abroad the preservation of the figures is generally better than with our own pieces, and their attributes remain as a key to the meaning. In England, at Wells, Exeter and Westminster, where alone have survived any continuous series of figure-works at all comparable with those of many great French churches, though the general scheme can now be made out, the interpretation of the individual statues is in many cases hopeless, owing to the decay and loss of accessories. Most often the scattered and much mutilated pieces with which we have to deal in England give no hope of identification except in connection with the continental works. Accordingly, since by their help we are enabled to identify our pieces, the interpretation of English examples will best take as its basis the fuller and better authenticated systems that the French and German sculptures display.

M. Emile Mâle, in *L'Art Religieux du XIII^e siècle en France*, adopts the classification made by the learned thirteenth-century writer Vincent de Beauvais, who in his *Speculum Majus* makes four parts of universal knowledge symmetrically disposed as: (1) the Mirror of Nature, (2) the Mirror of Science, (3) the Mirror of Morals, (4) the Mirror of History. As already said, the medieval mind was trained to see in everything something behind and beyond the historical event. So with Vincent de Beauvais every incident of life, every phenomenon of natural history was seized upon as being in mystical connection with the great Christian drama of the Fall and the Redemption. All nature did but reflect—it was the Mirror of Eternity. We will therefore, like M. Mâle, borrow the medieval classification and by it explain the whole array of religious motives which it was the office of sculpture to express.

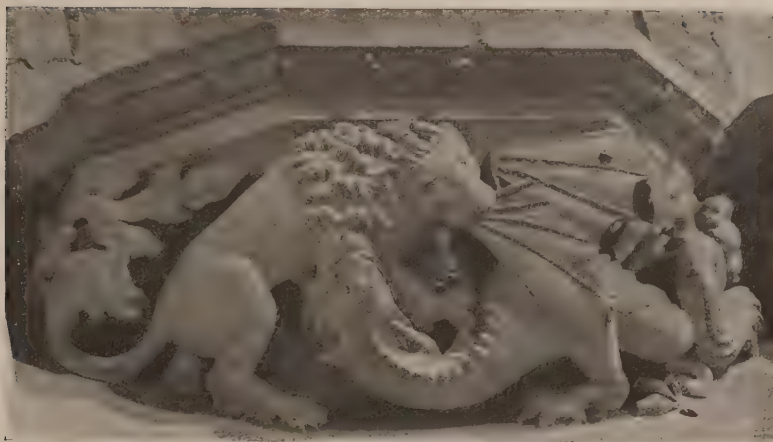


FIG. 16. Beverley Minster. Corbel from Percy Tomb. c. 1320.

SECTION II. THE MIRROR OF NATURE

Nature was studied not merely as the work of God, but as the symbol of God. M. Mâle tells us how Adam de Saint-Victor, holding a nut in his hand, saw in it nothing more nor less than a symbol of Christ. "The green containing envelope is His flesh, His humanity; the wood of the shell is His cross; and the kernel inside, which is food for man, is His hidden divinity." Such mystic interpretation may explain how the foliage and the plant-forms which so often were taken to decorate our churches could be conceived as illustrating Christian truth. For example, in Anglian and Norse crosses (see Chap. I., Book II.), and in many twelfth-century carvings (see Chap. II., Book II.) the twining stem symbolises the "Tree of Life," viz. the scheme of Christian salvation, and the grapes are the "Fruits of spiritual knowledge." And this, although the habit of foliage decoration was in itself a commonplace, and a tradition of building-ornament which was in direct descent from non-Christian architecture.

It was in this way that motives at once pagan or secular in origin, traditional in practice, and yet endowed with a Christian significance, were carved all through the Middle Ages in the many animals, birds, etc., which appear in the decoration of churches. For example, the fighting beasts, whose tradition was of the prehistoric wild, were adopted as the conflict of "Christ" with "Antichrist." Beast subjects of various kinds occur on the tympana of the eleventh- and twelfth-century doorways as at Stanley St Leonards, Gloucestershire, or on capitals as at Canterbury (see Fig. 143, p. 164). In corbels and other architectural sculpture they were a frequent motive (Fig. 16) till the end of Gothic building.

In the same way the "pecking doves" of eastern design were adopted as in the memorial stone below (Fig. 17), to represent the "Souls in Paradise." Animals in the same sense feeding on the "Tree of Life" are sculptured in many early tympana as at Dinton (see Fig. 128, p. 155). The lamb on the Bishopstone monument holding the cross was what in earliest Christian painting had been the accepted symbol of "Divine grace" as on the doorheads of Upleadon, Gloucestershire, and Bondleigh, Devon. We have even the "Lamb" as Christ contending with the "Dragon," the accepted symbol of sin, on a Romanesque Capital at St Lawrence-extra-Walmgate at York. More frequently the "Lamb of God" holding the cross (or the flag) receives the homage of birds and beasts, who are the "powers of nature" obedient to their lord, as at Aston, Herefordshire.

The above were among the earliest fancies of symbolic sculpture in



FIG. 17. Bishopstone, Sussex. Memorial slab. c. 1150?.

England: but one special representation of animals was widely current through the whole period of medieval imagery,—that of the Apocalyptic beasts. We find the "lion," the "calf," the "man" (or angel), and the "eagle," continually portrayed as supporting the throne of Christ—being thus identified with the four evangelists—the man symbolising St Matthew, the lion St Mark, the calf St Luke, and the eagle St John. They had been so painted in the earliest manuscripts, but the examples in sculpture begin with us in the eleventh century, and for a hundred years the representations were common in the tympana of the twelfth century as at Elkstone (Fig. 18) and at Rochester (see Fig. 177, p. 198). The motive was in use quite to the end of medieval carving, being found, for example, at the angles of the great fifteenth-century barn at Glastonbury, where are four large and finely conceived sculptures of the evangelist symbols. The symbolic safeguarding of the barn would seem on the lines of that remnant of medieval incantation which has survived to our day, "Matthew, Mark, Luke and John, bless the bed that I lie on."

The folk-lore that gathers round animals and makes popular myth among



FIG. 18. Elkstone (Glos). Tympanum of doorway. c. 1150.

primitive peoples was in the Middle Ages definitely adapted to illustrate Christian ethics. Collections of stories and fables, which interpreted nature in the sense of religious instruction, seem to have existed at an early period and were in everybody's minds, so that from them the medieval sculptors drew their subjects just as did the contemporary preachers. The story of the pelican was a favourite. She was said, after slaying her young, to raise them on the third day by sprinkling them with blood from her own breast. The "Pelican" was thus taken as a symbol of Christ, as in the Hawtôn sedilia (Fig. 19) and many other carvings.



FIG. 19. Hawtôn (Notts). Carving of "pelican" on sedilia. c. 1330.

In the same way, the lion appeared as the emblem of the "Resurrection" in consequence of the tale that cubs, born dead, were raised to life by their father's roaring. Its frequent representations grew from this idea as well as from the reference to the "Lion of the Tribe of Judah" (see Fig. 136, p. 160). Wood-carving, particularly upon the brackets of seats, called misericords, all through the Gothic period made use of these fanciful symbolisms that were founded on the fairy-tale natural history of the East, and circulated in the manuscripts called "Bestiaries"¹.

Good examples of the Bestiary subjects occur in the carvings of the choir-stalls at Chester. The brackets representing the unicorn and tiger legends are especially interesting, and we illustrate the latter as one of the best specimens of this class of medieval morality. In the manuscripts we



FIG. 20. Chester. Misericord. The "hunter and the tiger-cubs." c. 1380.

are told that the way hunters capture the young of the tigress is as follows: they wait till she is absent to carry off her cubs, but in retreating carefully place a mirror behind them in their path. When the tigress coming back discovers her loss and sets off in pursuit, she would, owing to her swiftness, overtake them, but is distracted by the mirror: for seeing her reflection in it she takes this for her cub, and stays to admire it, instead of continuing the pursuit. So we are warned not to be like the tiger-mother, but to keep watch over our cubs, that is our souls, nor be deluded into losing them: for the hunters (*i.e.* the Devil) would deceive us with mirrors, viz. the delights and luxury of the world. This then is the story (Fig. 20) at Chester—the misericord-bracket has the hunter riding off with a cub, and leaning back to

¹ The most famous was the "Physiologus," the original of which is said to date back to the second century. Many editions of its stories were common in the thirteenth century, and translations were made into several languages. Romilly Allen's

Christian Symbolism and other works of the same author fully investigate these motives. The carvings round Alne doorway in Yorkshire are distinct illustrations of "Bestiary" sculpture since each scene is identified by inscription.



FIG. 21. Barfreston, Kent. Carving on south side. c. 1150.

set the mirror behind him, while the two "ears" of the bracket represent tigers, one of them looking into a mirror¹.

Some tale of the kind may be intended in the above representation of Romanesque stone-sculpture (Fig. 21). But it is difficult to distinguish with certainty between the symbolical and anecdotal uses made of beast and bird forms in the carving of the Middle Ages, their occurrence being most frequent in the earliest and latest sculpture. In the twelfth century the animals were still those of traditional mysticism, with the pagan signification wrested to a Christian meaning as in the Orpheus myth, or with the world-snake of the Scandinavians. At Barfreston, above, the interest verges on the farcical, as may be said, too, of the capitals in Canterbury crypt of the same date (see Figs. 142 and 143, p. 164). In the wood-carvings of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the common animal motives have become quite frankly those of caricature, and apes, asses, foxes, geese, hares, cocks and owls are frequent as satires on the monks and friars, especially in the misericords (Fig. 22). Such use was common, too, on vaulting bosses and other small

¹ This tiger tale with its various versions is told by G. C. Druce, under the heading "The Sybill arms at Little Mote, Eynsford," *Archaeologia Cantiana*, Vol. XXVIII., 1909.



FIG. 22. Beverley Minster. Misericord in choir. "The Fox preaching to the Geese." c. 1520.

architectural carvings both in wood and stone. The natural history represented often possesses charming qualities of observation and delineation—as in the doves, mermaids, camels, deer, and eagles of many bosses and misericords (see Figs. 641, 642, p. 541). One domain in which the carver of animals had full play in later sculpture remains to be mentioned, that of heraldic representation, the illustrations of which are given in Chapter XII.

In all these later uses the symbolic reference to nature has been quite conventional. The age of romance has substituted its ideas, and we may look to nature in another sense as prompting the fanciful imaginations which a good deal of the lesser figure-sculpture of Gothic exhibits. The carvers of misericords made use of romances such as that of Alexander and his flight to heaven by the help of griffins (see Fig. 630, p. 534). The tales in which knights

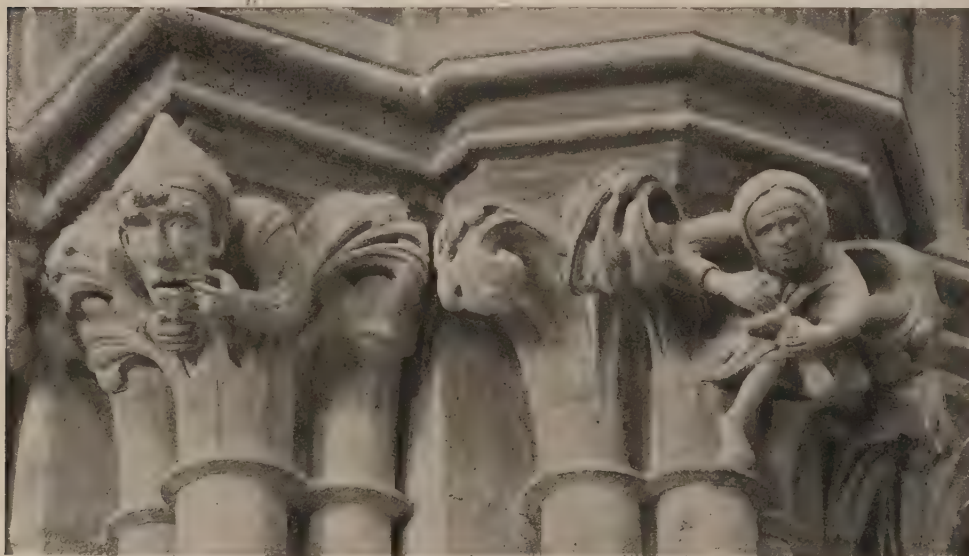


FIG. 23. Wells Cathedral. Capitals in south transept. c. 1200.

were described as delivering damsels from dragons were an especial motive for the panels of chests in the fourteenth century, for example at York (see Fig. 628, p. 532) and on a panel in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

How far such *genre* scenes as occur occasionally in less important positions in our churches are to be accounted as religious or tending to edification is a question. Some medieval jokes were frankly indecent, especially in gargoyles: but most of their fun was mildly satirical, simply anecdotal, or to be called caprices, like the figure of "Winter with the dismal countenance" which Henry III. ordered to be painted over his chimney piece. In this category come such little scenes as those on the capitals at Wells (Fig. 23), "the man with the tooth-ache," and another "with a thorn in his foot." It is to be observed, however, that the

representations seem to have been made of practical advantage in that the chapels or shrines adjoining were able to advance a reputation for healing power as to teeth, legs, etc. Purely anecdotal would seem the scene on another capital at Wells, which shows "thieves in the vineyard" and the punishment they get (see Fig. 246, p. 239). Here again some idea of protecting the orchards of the Chapter may be intended.

Most irresponsible would seem the carving of heads on label-stops, bosses, corbels and capitals, common all through the medieval period of



FIG. 24. Lincoln Cathedral. Head in Angel Choir. c. 1260.

building, which will be abundantly illustrated. Great efforts have been made to interpret such carvings¹ in respect of their surroundings; but we think them to have represented little beyond the sculptor's fancy of the moment. Symbolism or religious idea seldom enters into their conception, save in the wide sense of Vincent de Beauvais that "all life reflected the truths of religion."

The redundant uses of this natural figure-work were specially characteristic of the fourteenth century. Occasionally we may find a topical subject, as the

¹ For example the excellent study by Prideaux and Shafto, *Bosses and Corbels of Exeter Cathedral*.
P. & G.



FIG. 25. Beverley. Percy Tomb. c. 1320.



FIG. 26. Winchester. North transept. c. 1320.

minstrel at Higham Ferrers or the "Monk at draughts" (Fig. 26). In the case of monuments such embellishments were no doubt suggested by the circumstances and conditions of the deceased. Thus there were carved the "Monks" of Canterbury at their desks upon the tomb of Archbishop Meopham (Fig. 27). The shield-bearers of the Beverley monument (Fig. 25) were appropriate in the same way, and we shall see that the relatives and friends were imaged on the tomb chests as "weepers" at the burial (see Fig. 72, p. 76).



FIG. 27. Canterbury Cathedral. Abp. Meopham's tomb. "Monks at their desks." c. 1330.

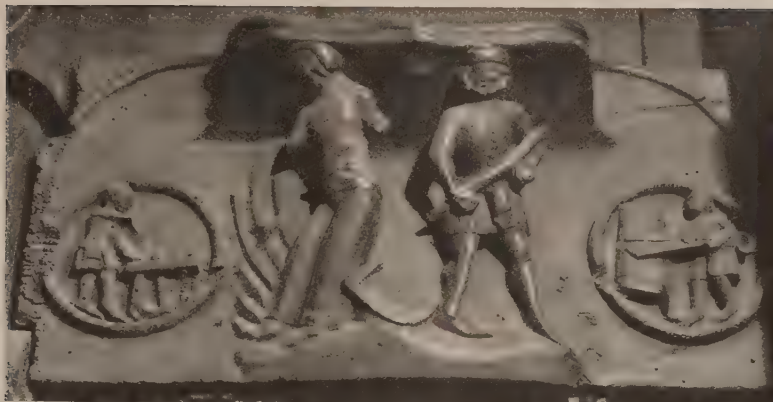


FIG. 28. Cambridge Museum. Misericord carving. c. 1400.

SECTION III. THE MIRROR OF SCIENCE

The world was saved by grace, but this did not mean that man was to be merely a passive instrument in the work. The effects of the "Fall" were, in accordance with the interpretation of theologians, mitigated by man's labour. In the same way the arts and sciences were the beginning of the work of Redemption, that was to be consummated by the infinite Grace of God.

By this interpretation we may explain the appearance on the great French churches of a series of sculptures representing the "Works of the various months," as at Paris, Amiens and Chartres. In the twelfth century these monthly pursuits were frequently labelled by the appropriate signs of the "Zodiac," so that they form a sort of illustrated calendar. Among such zodiac carvings of the Middle Ages certainly the most striking were the cross-legged ladies carrying their tokens, which are to be seen at Toulouse in South France and at St Iago de Compostella in Spain. In England the "Month" representations exhibit simply the labours of the field, as on the font at Burnham Deepdale, Norfolk (see Fig. 130, p. 156). A misericord (Fig. 28) now in Cambridge Museum may illustrate the use made of the motive which was a not unfrequent one with the wood-carvers. But the later sculpture of such scenes was no doubt purely that of *genre*, its concern being with all the occupations of daily life (see pp. 539 to 542, Book II.).

In the early sculpture the zodiacal signs are of frequent occurrence, especially in the mouldings surrounding Romanesque doorways, as for

example at St Margaret's, Walmgate, York. But in both the English carving and that of West France, which has animal-figures of the same kind as the English, they are rather indefinite Zodiac-figures than any ordered and proper representation of the constellation signs. Thus at Kilpeck, Herefordshire (Fig. 29) we find along with several of the usual signs an extraordinary mixture of strange beasts and birds. The Viking instinct for the grotesque carving of animals was too strong to be repressed, and so had vent in superfluous monsters outside the order of the heavenly symbols.



FIG. 29. Kilpeck (Herefordshire). Voussoir carving on West doorway. "Zodiacal signs." c. 1140.

Just as the Toulousian sculptor made the "Zodiac" into figure-sculpture, so in the carvings on the great French Cathedrals can be seen the "Liberal Arts" as seven queenly figures, each with distinguishing attributes, and sometimes accompanied by Philosophy, the mother of all the arts¹. Fine statues appear, too, in thirteenth-century German sculpture, as at Freiburg, and no doubt there were carvings of similar motive in England, though none have been as yet identified. The arch mouldings were the places in which abroad these figures were usually set, as a series of little statuettes.

¹ In the west portals of the great cathedral at Chartres each "Art" has as attendant the celebrity who in history had been her most distinguished exponent. Thus "Rhetoric" is accompanied by Cicero, "Dialectic" by Aristotle, "Geometry" by Euclid, and so on. To the original seven arts,

"Grammar," "Rhetoric," "Dialectic," "Arithmetic," "Geometry," "Astronomy," and "Music" (the learnings which constituted the "trivium" and "quadrivium" of medieval education), French figure-sculpture added others, such as "Medicine" at Laon, "Architecture" at Chartres.

In England in most instances leaf-ornament and moulding have constituted the enrichment of the door-heads, and the statuettes are rarely set in voussoirs. Still, examples of figure-work in door-arches occur at Wells, Westminster, Lincoln and Salisbury (see over page, Fig. 32), and in the first case the small white statuettes set in the freestone of the central doorway of the front outer arch may possibly represent the "Arts." However, the *insignia* which might have identified them are no longer to be recognised.

SECTION IV. THE MIRROR OF MORALS



FIG. 30. York. St Mary's Museum. Romanesque sculpture. c. 1170.

In the Mirror of Morals life is regarded as a battle in which the soul of man is encompassed on all sides by the hosts of sin. The idea of a struggle between the powers of light and darkness is probably as old as the human intelligence. The tradition was expressed in the old Greek legends of the warfare between the Gods and Giants, and as adapted by Christianity appears in figure-sculpture as the fight of "St Michael" or "St George and the Dragon." This motive was always popular, and examples are very numerous from the beginning of medieval carving to its end: the early sculpture of the tympanum made much use of it, as in the illustrations on pp. 129, 130, and again on pp. 149, 155. In the account of the animal motive we have referred to the "Lion" or the "Lamb" as both typifying Christ in combat with the power of evil. In the same sense we have the strong man wrestling with great dragons, as at York (Fig. 30). In the fifteenth century the popularity of the "St George and the Dragon" representation bespeaks the latest development of the motive.

Though the simile of the Christian warfare was once used by St Paul in his epistle to the Ephesians, the conflict that most impressed the medieval mind was that popularised by Tertullian who personified the "Virtues," and represented them as armed virgins overthrowing "Vices." The subject had been circulated in the early Middle Ages by the poem of Prudentius, called the *Psychomachia*, which described the combats of the soul. But the representation of the medieval artist could not be confined exactly to the lines of current literature or theology. While the three theological virtues, "Faith," "Hope" and "Charity," and the four cardinal virtues, "Temperance," "Fortitude," "Prudence" and "Justice," were usually present in any scheme of the kind, the sculptors brought in other virtues—for example, on the font



FIG. 31. Stanton Fitzwarren (Wilts). Font. c. 1160.

(Fig. 31) at Stanton Fitzwarren in Wiltshire, the "Virtues" and "Vices" are given as follows: "Largitas" trampling on "Avaricia," "Humilitas" on "Superbia," "Pietas" on "Discordia," "Misericordia" on "Invidia," "Modestia" on "Ebrietas," "Temperantia" on "Luxuria," "Paciencia" on "Ira," "Pudicitia" on "Libido"—two remaining panels being occupied by "Cherubin" and "Ecclesia." The latter pierces the dragon to which is attached the inscription "Serpens occiditur," the other titles being inscribed on the stone as above. An almost exact replica of this font is that at Southrop (see Fig. 171, p. 191) in Gloucestershire, on which are the same kind of inscriptions.

The same subject is probably to be recognised in the much defaced medallions of the outer order of the great porch at Malmesbury.

In the French sculpture there are many instances of the "Virtues," the most famous being that in the quatrefoils upon the West front of Amiens Cathedral. In England the motive is set round the arch of the Chapter-house doorway at Salisbury (Fig. 32). Though the figures have been much broken and a good deal restored the treatment exhibits its native originality.

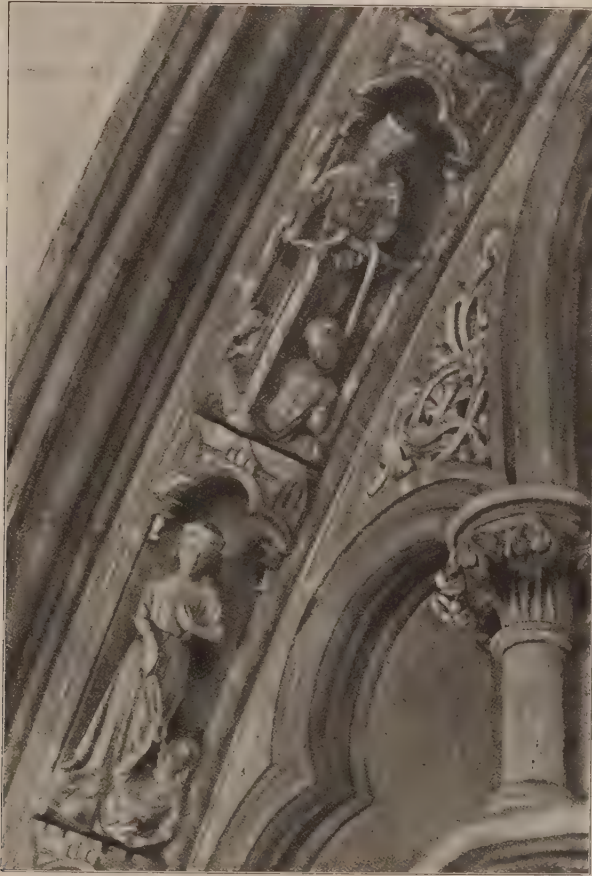


FIG. 32. Salisbury. Chapter-house doorway. Sculpture of "Virtues and Vices" (Chastity and Truth). c. 1280.

"Truth," for example, pulls out the tongue of "Falsehood" with a pair of pincers. "Faith" is figured holding a cup and trampling on "Infidelity," who with bandaged eyes cowers below, while "Chastity" is shown hanging "Lust." Another English example was carved about the middle of the fourteenth century on the front of Exeter Cathedral.

Similar oppositions of moral intention were frequent as motives in sculpture. One of the most popular was that which put in juxtaposition figures of the Christian "Church" and the Jewish "Synagogue." The former is presented as a stately woman, crowned and holding in one hand a staff and in the other a church: the "Synagogue" is an equally beautiful figure, but usually has a swaying or drooping pose with bandaged eyes and broken staff—also her crown is dropping from her head, and the tables of the law slip from her hands. Such is the representation at Reims and Strasburg, and there can be no doubt that the two mutilated statues on either side of the great south door of Lincoln quire represent this subject. Of these Lincoln figures the "Church" has been illustrated (see Fig. 3, p. 3); the "Synagogue" we shall show together with a similar figure at Crowland (see Figs. 361, 362, p. 325). The representation that now remains most perfect is that on the Chapter-doorway at Rochester (Fig. 33), but the heads in this case are modern restorations. A statue of the "Synagogue" from Howden in Yorkshire is illustrated in Chap. VII., Book II. (see Fig. 373, p. 334), and though somewhat worn is at any rate entirely medieval. The motive must therefore have been as frequent in English sculpture as it was abroad.

Other arrangements of medieval figure-sculpture have this scholastic intention of moral or ritual juxtaposition. The "wise" and the "foolish virgins" are characteristic statues on either side of German doorways, though no example on this scale remains in England. In the "Doom" subjects, whether painted or sculptured (as at Lincoln), the "saved" and the "lost" are placed in opposition. On the Wells Front the "New" Testament reliefs to the North are balanced by those of the "Old" on the South. Finally in the parish churches we have inside the clerestory the "angels" harping, and on the outside the "devils" fleeing into the outer darkness—special subjects of medieval sculpture that we shall comment on later.

With regard to the above expressions, and generally in the case of all medieval "images"—viz. the scenes and figures which sculpture and painting presented, it must be remembered that though to modern eyes many of them seem hard to read, this was not so when they were executed. The allegories and symbols of the church were the groundwork of all education in the Middle Ages and were the acknowledged heritage of all literature whether popular or scholastic. Allusions and far-fetched references which now perplex the learned would be topical commonplaces to a clerical audience.



FIG. 33. Rochester. Chapter-house doorway. c. 1340. The "Doctors" of the church in the arch-voussoirs. The "Church" and the "Synagogue" in the jambs—the heads of the latter are modern.

SECTION V. THE MIRROR OF HISTORY

The subject-matter of figure-sculpture was strongly influenced by the medieval ideas of History. It must be remembered, that the history exhibited in the stone of our churches was designedly not that of this world and of its kingdoms, but the great story of the "Fall" and the "Redemption," and of the Kingdom of the Church. It will be convenient to subdivide this subject and to take it under the following headings: (*a*) Old Testament, (*b*) New Testament, (*c*) Apocryphal Legends, (*d*) The Christian Saints, (*e*) Profane or Current History, (*f*) The Invisible World and the Last Judgment. In this way we shall traverse the large ground of Christian motives and see how the sacred story of medieval faith was portrayed.

(*a*) *Old Testament.* The essential history of the Old Testament recounts the story of the "Fall" and its consequences as preparing the way for the ministry of Christ. But the subjects for medieval sculptors were not culled at random from the works of the Old Testament. It will be found that certain scenes were appropriated by certain schools of carving¹, or belonged to the representations of certain times. The trend of theology can indeed be discovered in these partialities. In the early ages of faith the biblical scenes were accepted in their simplest guise as events: but in the twelfth century and thereafter the historical fact was tintured by doctrinal exegesis and the reality of the narrative became of less account. Early in Gothic sculpture we note how events under the Old Law were regarded as leading up to the New, the learned theologians of the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries discovering hidden meanings for all the text of the Old Testament.

We may give some instances of the method which provided scenes for sculpture. The murder of Abel by Cain, for example, was taken to prefigure the murder of Christ by the Jews, and so (like the typical sacrifice of Isaac) was represented in sculpture as a pendant to the Crucifixion. Under the same system Samson carrying off the gates of Gaza was portrayed as prefiguring the victory of Christ over death, signifying how He burst open the gates of the tomb. Accordingly he is so presented in the twelfth-century example in Malmesbury Porch, and again in the fifteenth-century misericord at Ripon (which we show in Fig. 43 *a*, p. 51), though in this latter case the anecdotal presentment has somewhat obscured the doctrinal intention.

¹ The distribution both in place and time of the various biblical and legendary motives in the medieval schools of art is one of the best guides

to the areas and connections of style. But this investigation is one belonging to the whole of medieval imagery, and not merely sculpture.

Again, since in Matthew xii. 40 it was related that Jesus Himself had sanctioned this kind of symbolic interpretation when He said: "As Jonas was three days and three nights in the whale's belly; so shall the Son of man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth," we find the story of Jonah and the whale a favourite symbol of the death and resurrection of our Lord. A vivacious rendering of the scene is, also, among the subjects of the Ripon misericords (see Fig. 43 *b*, p. 51). We may mention, too, in the same series, a representation of the "Spies" carrying the bunch of grapes from the promised land. The grapes hanging from the tree are a type of Christ, the mystic vine, hanging from the Cross.

The patriarchs and heroes of the Old Testament were chosen for sculpture as types of Christ in various aspects, and occur commonly. In the north porch at Chartres we find a whole series of statues: Melchisedek, who as at once priest and king prefigures Christ; Abraham, who in preparing to sacrifice Isaac prefigures the sacrifice of Christ¹; Moses, who holding the Tables of the Old Law indicates Christ the dispenser of the New; and in the same way other Old Testament saints. Moses as holding the column with the serpent has reference to the words of our Lord: "Even as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of man be lifted up." Samuel, as born to a childless mother, appears as a type of Christ: while his preference before the sons of Eli signifies the adoption of the Gentiles and rejection of the Jews. The same system would give us figures of David, Balaam, Joseph, Job and others, as all in certain aspects shadowing forth the sufferings and victory of Christ. It was probably in a series of this kind that there was carved for St Mary's Abbey, York, the statue of Moses (see Fig. 194, p. 214) with the tables of the law and the brazen serpent.

One saying of our Lord's: "The queen of the south shall rise up in the judgment with the men of this generation, and condemn them: for she came from the utmost parts of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon; and, behold, a greater than Solomon is here" (Luke xi. 31), had a remarkable medieval development in the choice of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba as types of Christ and the Church. The Queen who came from afar was typically coupled with the Magi, and so the "King" and "Queen" have their places on the fronts of the great French cathedrals. In England "Solomon" and the "Queen of Sheba" are displayed on one side of a capital considered part of the first abbey building at Westminster: while the other side of the same

¹ In stained glass (as at Bourges) Isaac carrying the wood for the sacrifice makes a cross of the pieces as prefiguring the Cross of Christ. In the east window at Canterbury he is bound upon

a pile of wood arranged in cross-shape. This latter window furnishes a good example of the grouping of Old Testament types with the New Testament events. The "Spies" also occur there.

capital is carved with the "Judgment of Solomon," as a type of the wisdom of Christ (see Fig. 138, p. 162). The statues in the jambs of the twelfth-century west door of Rochester, that some have called "Henry I." and "Queen



FIG. 34. Wells Cathedral. The "Queen of Sheba." c. 1240.

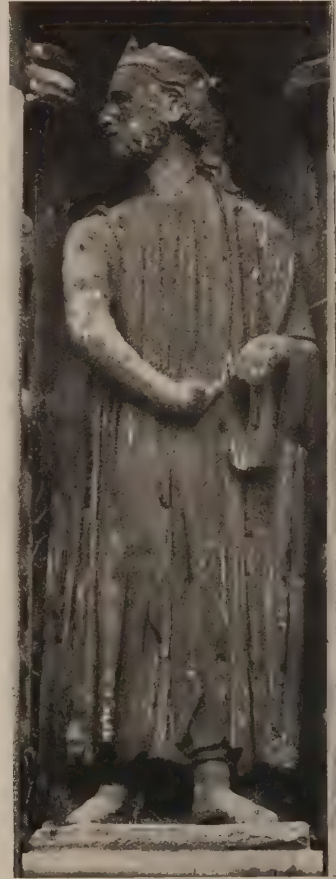


FIG. 35. Wells Cathedral. "King Solomon." c. 1240.

Matilda" (see Fig. 181, p. 200), were no doubt "Solomon" and the "Queen of Sheba," and two figures in a prominent position over the west door at Wells (Figs. 34, 35) have been identified¹ as the same pair.

¹ See *Archaeologia*, 1905, where Professor Lethaby has established these identifications.

The Prophets, again, who had foretold the coming of our Lord, are prominent figures in all the great French churches—notably at Amiens, where each is accompanied by small reliefs, depicting the incident or striking saying connected with Him. The medieval intention of figure-representation can be well noted in the transept windows of Chartres, where each of the four major “Prophets” carries one of the four “Evangelists” on his shoulders. At Bamberg in Bavaria the figure-sculpture of the west door has adopted the same symbolic disposition. At Rouen “Prophet” and “Evangelist” are grouped together, the latter pointing to the scroll of the former to indicate the fulfilment of prophecy.



FIG. 36. Exeter Cathedral. The upper statues of west front. “Prophets.” c. 1380.

In England, as we have said, the decay of our statues has often prevented exact identifications. But it is almost certain that in the great array of statues on the west front of Wells both “Prophets” and “Evangelists” had place (see Fig. 327, p. 303), occupying the lowest tier of niches from which the figures have now almost completely perished. At Exeter the series of “Prophets” is a distinct one, for a number of their statues (Fig. 36) holding scrolls appear in the upper arcade of the west front. We know also from documentary evidence

that among the figures set upon the west front of Lichfield in the thirteenth century "Prophets" were represented. A small example can be seen in the figure holding a scroll inscribed "ELIAS P." among the foliage-carvings upon a capital in Wells Cathedral.

On the west front of Exeter the lowest range of statues shows a number of "Kings" and "Warriors." These as at Wells have generally been accepted as "Kings of England"; for English kings were certainly represented on the internal screens at Winchester and Durham. However, in view of the system of medieval iconography which we have put before the reader, another interpretation is applicable at Wells and Exeter¹. The scheme on such fronts represents not secular but religious history, and the statues would be "Kings of Judah," as ancestors of our Lord and His Mother. At Exeter, for example, the second figure of the series clearly holds a harp, and therefore is undoubtedly David. In the Lady Chapel at Ely the sculpture of the wall arcades shows under the canopies seated figures of Kings who must represent the ancestors of the Virgin—for example, one of them is David holding a harp².

The account of the thirteenth-century statues at Lichfield mentions a "Jesse" or "descent of Kings"—twenty-eight generations—and also a "descent of Priests," in fact the natural and spiritual genealogy of Christ. A favourite subject for sculpture closely allied was called the "Tree of Jesse," which follows the text of Isaiah xi. 1: "There shall come forth a rod out of the stem of Jesse." It portrayed a genealogical tree for Christ filled in with figures of "Kings" and "Priests." A famous foreign example is in the mouldings of one of the door-heads of the north porch at Chartres, but in England the subject was sometimes treated in the reredos at the back of the high altar: an instance well preserved was uncovered on the removal of eighteenth-century fittings at Christchurch, Hants (Fig. 37). "Jesse" is sculptured in high relief reclining at the bottom, while the stem rises from his side and the foliage branching from it spreads to the various niches, once filled with silver-plated statues, which have, of course, disappeared. "David," however, with his harp, and one other "King," which were carved in stone, similarly to the "Jesse" figure, remain.

An example of the subject appears, too, upon the bosses of the vaulted bays in the south cloister-walk at Worcester (see Fig. 592, p. 511). So too in a window of Dorchester Abbey, Oxon (see Fig. 41, p. 50), the stone mullions are disposed as a twining vine, the glass panels giving the figures of the genealogy. At Abergavenny a wooden figure of Jesse was once part of this subject but how combined is not evident. Other instances occur on a door-head at St David's, round the arch mould, and probably at Ducklington, Oxon,

¹ Lethaby, *Architectural Review*, March 1903.

² M. R. James, *Iconography of Ely Lady Chapel*.

on a tomb canopy. The alabaster representations of the fifteenth century have the whole subject in relief upon a single slab or "table," an illustration of which is given on p. 494, Book II.

Such symbolic and doctrinal representations of Old Testament personages were supplemented by anecdotal carvings of various scenes at all dates. Those most often presented were the series of events detailed in the book of

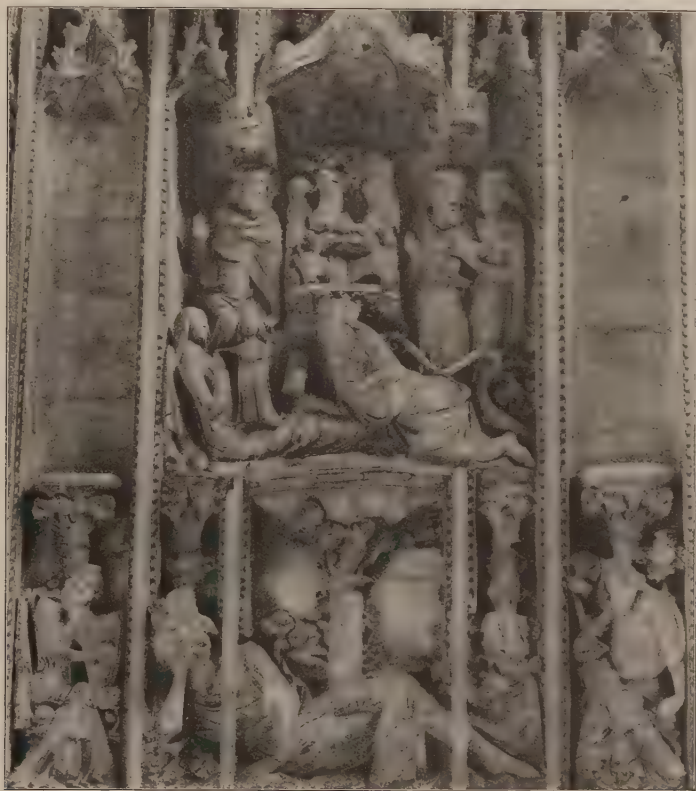


FIG. 37. Christchurch (Hants). Reredos of Beer stone. The "Jesse" subject. The statues in the niches were of wood plated with silver. c. 1350.

Genesis from the Creation down to the story of Noah, stopping at this point. From the rest of the Bible the stories of Abraham and Isaac, of Moses, of Samson, and of David supplied the scenes which were of chief significance to the medieval mind. The failings of the great heroes of the Old Testament were by no means concealed. The drunkenness of Noah and the infatuation of David for Bathsheba (as at Tewkesbury, see p. 385) are

represented by the side of the murder of Abel (Fig. 40) as indicative of the "Fall of Man" and the weakness of the flesh.

The remains of twelfth-century carving in England happen to be rich on the Old Testament side. For example, the reliefs on the west front of Lincoln show "Adam and Eve," the story of the "Ark," and the "Flood" as well as "Daniel in the lions' den" (Fig. 38). And on the porch of Malmesbury in the two rows of medallions upon the arch-moulds, the Old Testament story is given from the Creation to David in many scenes (see Fig. 163, p. 185).

Coming to the thirteenth century, we find the Old Testament subjects carved in relief upon the spandrels of arcades, for example, scenes such as the "Expulsion" (Fig. 39) at Worcester (apparently as part of the "Doom" subject), and more completely in a connected series at Wells, and again at Salisbury. At Wells the reliefs seem designed to supplement the ideas of



FIG. 38. Lincoln Cathedral. Sculpture on west front. Scenes from the Old Testament. "Daniel in the lions' den." "Noah building the Ark." "The departure from the Ark," etc. c. 1160.

the free statues upon the front (see Fig. 14, p. 15). They represent on the south side of the middle doorway the story of Genesis, in sculpture of full-relief with great delicacy and force of conception. At Salisbury the reliefs are flatter and under cover, being upon the spandrels of the chapter-house arcade. They have belonged to the best period of our art, though now restoration has vitiated their genuineness. The subjects here begin with the "Creation," the story of "Adam and Eve" and the "Fall," the "murder of Abel by Cain" (Fig. 40) and the "punishment of Cain," the blood of Abel being represented as a little figure crying from the ground. We then have the story of Noah (see Fig. 278, p. 257), of Babel, of Abraham, Lot (see Fig. 276, p. 256), Isaac, Jacob, that of Joseph in great detail, including "Pharaoh's dream" (see Fig. 279, p. 257), and "Jacob on his way to Egypt" (see Fig. 277, p. 256). Finally is given the story of Moses, the "destruction of the Egyptians" and the "declaration of the Old Law¹."

¹ These sculptures were published by W. Burges: see Bibliography in the Appendix of Book I. p. 107.



FIG. 39. Worcester Cathedral. Spandrel-carving on the arcades of South-east transept. "The Expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise," c. 1200.



FIG. 40. Salisbury. Chapter-house. Spandrel-reliefs on North side. "Cain and Abel." c. 1280.

No such set of Old Testament scenes has come down to us in the English sculpture of the fourteenth century, but in the fifteenth the bosses of Norwich Cathedral were carved with a number of little subjects from the Old as well as from the New Testament. The Old Testament did

not, however, give many motives to the carvings of misericords: there may be instanced sets of scenes at Ely and Worcester of the fourteenth century and a few later at Ripon. The "Noah's Ark" at Ely (Fig. 42), and the already mentioned "Samson" and "Jonah" at Ripon (Fig. 43) will illustrate their method of presentation.



FIG. 41. Dorchester (Oxon). The carved "Jesse" window. c. 1340.

Late adaptations of Old Testament themes for architectural sculpture appear in elevations as in the window at Dorchester Abbey, which is carved into a "Tree of Jesse" (Fig. 41) and in the turrets of Bath Abbey, faced with "Jacob's ladder" (Fig. 44).

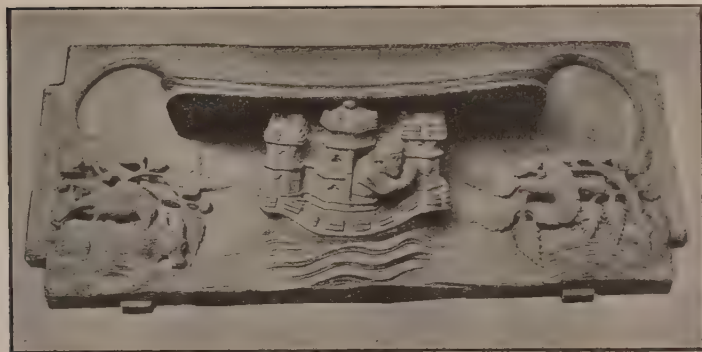


FIG. 42. Ely Cathedral. Misericord in choir. "Noah in his Ark." c. 1340.



FIG. 43 (a). Ripon Minster. Misericord in choir. "Samson and the gates of Gaza." c. 1500.

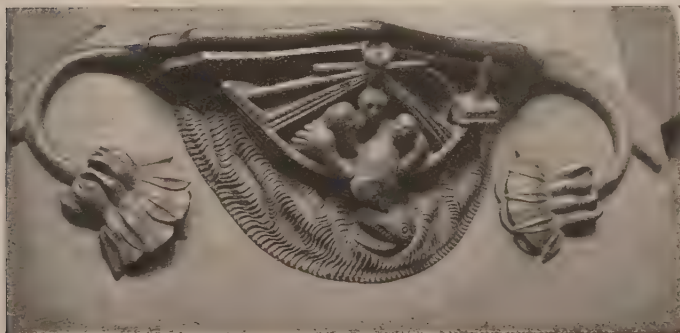


FIG. 43 (b). Ripon Minster. Misericord in choir. "Jonah and the Whale." c. 1500.



FIG. 44. Bath Abbey. Sculpture on West front. "Jacob's Dream." c. 1500.

(b) *New Testament.* In considering the medieval representations taken from the New Testament we are at once struck by the fact that they were the beginning and end of our Lord's life on earth which gave motives to subject-sculpture. What to us moderns seems most appealing,—the noble example of a sinless life and the lofty teaching of the Master¹,—were passed over in comparison with the doctrinal significance of the "Birth" and the "Passion." Now and then a miracle has attracted the medieval imagination, such as the "Raising of Lazarus" represented in the early reliefs at Chichester (see Figs. 120 and 121, p. 138), or "Christ walking on the water" upon the twelfth-century lavatory at Much Wenlock (see Fig. 50, p. 57). Upon Wells front one of the reliefs shows "Our Lord preaching" to an attentive group of listeners: certain "parables," too, are taken for sculpture occasionally, as being, like the "miracles," suitable for the special illustration of doctrinal beliefs. For example, the scenes of "Dives and Lazarus" occur on Lincoln west front as illustrating the great "Doom" subject (see Fig. 77, p. 81). In the same connection the parable of the "Wise and Foolish Virgins" was used (as mentioned on p. 40)—the "Virgins" appear on the door-heads of some French churches, and are given the dignity of full-sized statues by the side of the thirteenth-century porches in Germany. In England we have the subject on the south or "Judgment" doorway of the Angel Choir at Lincoln in little figures upon the arch-mould (Fig. 45); the parable being viewed in the light it was supposed to throw on the "Second Coming of Christ²."

The effectual part of the Bible narrative in the eyes of the Middle Ages was the mystic drama of the "Redemption." The divinity of Christ was attested by the marvels which surrounded the miraculous "Birth" of the Saviour of the world. In His "Passion," "Death" and "Resurrection" were the central facts of all religion. The sacrifice of Christ saved mankind from the effects of the "Fall," and His victory over death and sin was to all the faithful a pledge of ultimate victory and eternal life. All the details of such events had to be fixed in every memory and, therefore, the most frequent representations in medieval sculpture from the New Testament are on the one hand those of the "Birth"—the "Annunciation," "Visitation," "Nativity" and "Adoration of the Magi"; on the other the scenes of the "Passion"—the "Entry into Jerusalem," the "Last Supper," the "Betrayal," the "Scourging," the "Bearing of the Cross," the "Crucifixion," the "Descent from the Cross," the "Entombment," the "Resurrection," and the "Ascension." These scenes

¹ The occasion when Jesus uttered the words "Suffer little children to come unto Me," which is so great a favourite for modern stained glass windows, has no representation in medieval art.

² In the French churches, as Bourges and Auxerre, there remain representations of other parables, such as the "Prodigal Son" and the "Good Samaritan."

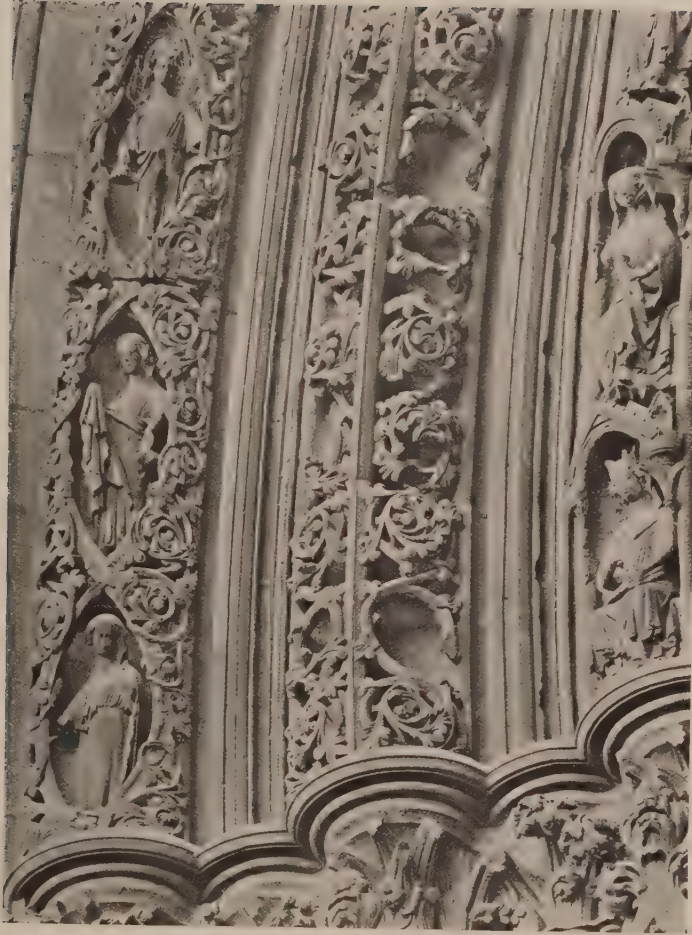


FIG. 45. Lincoln Cathedral. South door of Angel Choir. c. 1270. The carving of the "Wise and Foolish Virgins" is on the outer order to the left. The inner order to the right shows figures of "Kings" and "Queens," probably the genealogy of Christ.

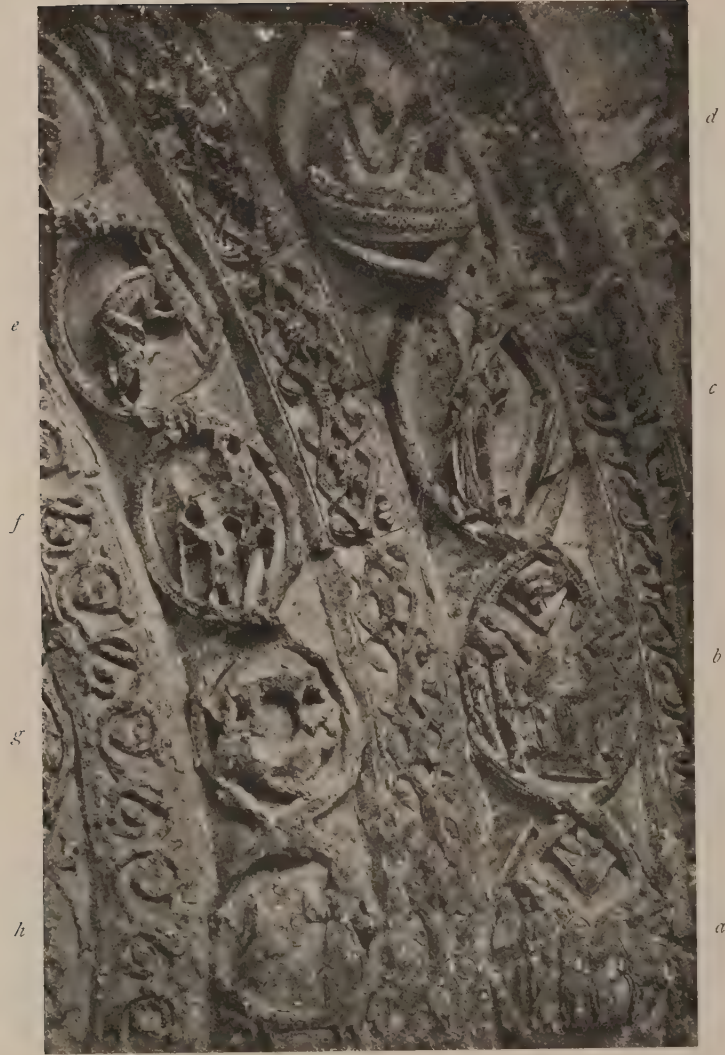


FIG. 46. Malmesbury Abbey. The archway of South porch. Medallion sculptures of Bible scenes. c. 1160.

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| a. "Pentecost." | b. "Ascension." |
| c. "Resurrection." | d. "Entombment." |
| e. "Samson carrying Gates of Gaza." | f. "Samson pulling down Temple" (?). |
| g. "David rescues the lamb" (?). | h. "David and Goliath." |

are of constant representation throughout medieval sculpture. They are exhibited upon the earliest Anglian crosses and in Saxon ivories as fully as in the latest carvings of the sixteenth century. They made the stock motives that were passed on from the naïve essays of the Carlovingian to the sophisticated Renaissance arts, and in their representation the main body of Gothic sculpture was always occupied. Our illustrations will constantly give examples, but we show opposite how in the archivolts of the Malmesbury Porch these scenes (Fig. 46) were used as medallion-pictures.



FIG. 47. Worcester Cathedral. In North-east transept. The "Presentation of gifts in the Temple." c. 1220.



FIG. 48. Wells Cathedral. Sculpture on the North side of North-west tower. The "Transfiguration." c. 1220.

Other parts of the Bible story are less frequently in evidence. However, at Glastonbury, c. 1190, the medallions have been given up to the "Massacre of the Innocents," and this is to be found too in the "New Testament" series of the Norwich bosses, c. 1460. A rarer subject was the "Presentation of gifts in the Temple" which appears in the reliefs of the wall-arcades at Worcester (Fig. 47) as well as the more ordinary scenes. The "Transfiguration" (Fig. 48) is another of the less frequent subjects for sculpture but it was placed among the Wells reliefs apparently as introducing the "Passion." The middle scenes of our Lord's life appear in carving occasionally for the edification of medieval worshippers. The one incident

for which the narrative of the Gospels lifts the veil from the history of Christ's childhood, "the disputing with the Doctors in the Temple" is made a motive for sculpture in the reliefs of the Wells front and also in a medallion upon the thirteenth-century tympanum at Higham Ferrers (Fig. 49), where, too, the "Baptism of Christ" appears. This last was a scene most



FIG. 49. Higham Ferrers, Northants. Tympanum carving on West doorway. c. 1280.

- a. "Baptism of Christ." b. "Magi." c. "Annunciation and Visitation."
 d. "Angel appears to Joseph" (?). e. "Christ among Doctors."

often reserved for fonts, to which it was specially appropriate. It may be seen, however, on an alabaster table at Shrewsbury—in this instance apparently part of a retable, in which the story of the Baptist was displayed. As already mentioned, "Christ walking on the Water" was considered appropriate for the monks' lavatory at Much Wenlock, Shropshire (Fig. 50). In the

later art the boss-carvers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries went to the sacred narrative for anecdotal motives, especially such as would introduce a large number of little figures—as for example at Tewkesbury (Fig. 51) and generally in the Norwich vaults.

The importance of the doctrinal significance is shown by the separation of certain leading incidents from the historical sequence of events and their use as independent religious exhibits. Chief among such was the “Crucifixion”—a carving of which, called the “Rood,” was set up in every church, usually with attendant figures of Mary and John. In the same way the “Annunciation,” as a group of two figures, is to be found in many positions—especially it



FIG. 50. Wenlock Abbey (Salop). Lavatory cistern in cloister. “Christ walking on the water.” c. 1160.

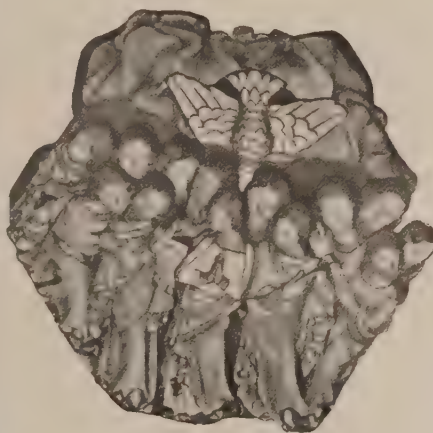


FIG. 51. Tewkesbury Abbey. Boss-carving of nave-vault. “Pentecost.” c. 1340.

would seem on doorways (as in Westminster Chapter-house, see Figs. 356, 357, p. 321) or on gateways, as at Winchester College (see Fig. 466, p. 394) and at Lincoln (see Fig. 471, p. 397). The “Adoration of the Magi” was often appropriated as a separate piece for the reredos—symbolising the homage and gifts due at the altar, as for example on the already mentioned great reredos at Christchurch (see Fig. 37, p. 47), where it occupies the centre of the composition. The “Lord’s Supper” also appropriately takes this position on a reredos at the back of the altar at Somerton in Oxfordshire. Fonts were carved with the “Baptism of Christ,” and also the “Lord’s Supper” as indicating the Sacrament, to which that of Baptism was the introduction.

After 1350 the crystallization of gospel narrative round two centres becomes a confirmed idea in the representations of sculpture. Certain scenes were especially applied to the personality of the "Virgin Mother," the Bible narrative being often completed by additions taken from the Apocryphal story of her "Death" and "Assumption into Heaven." Four scenes, viz.—the "Annunciation," the "Adoration of the Magi," the "Assumption," and "Coronation" were specially put together on the alabaster retables (see pp. 483 and 486). Another favourite arrangement of reredos reliefs or paintings added to the above the "Salutation," or "Visitation" as it is often designated, together with the "Resurrection" and "Ascension" of our Lord, and was called "The Seven Joys of Our Lady." In the same way a set of scenes groups itself round the personality of Christ, as this was particularly displayed in His passion and death. M. Emile Mâle points out how such a separation of the Bible narrative follows the Church Liturgy, since the first group—that of the "Virgin" scenes—belongs to the cycle of Christmas, while the "Passion" scenes are of the cycle of Easter. Good examples are illustrated on pages 463 and 465 respectively.

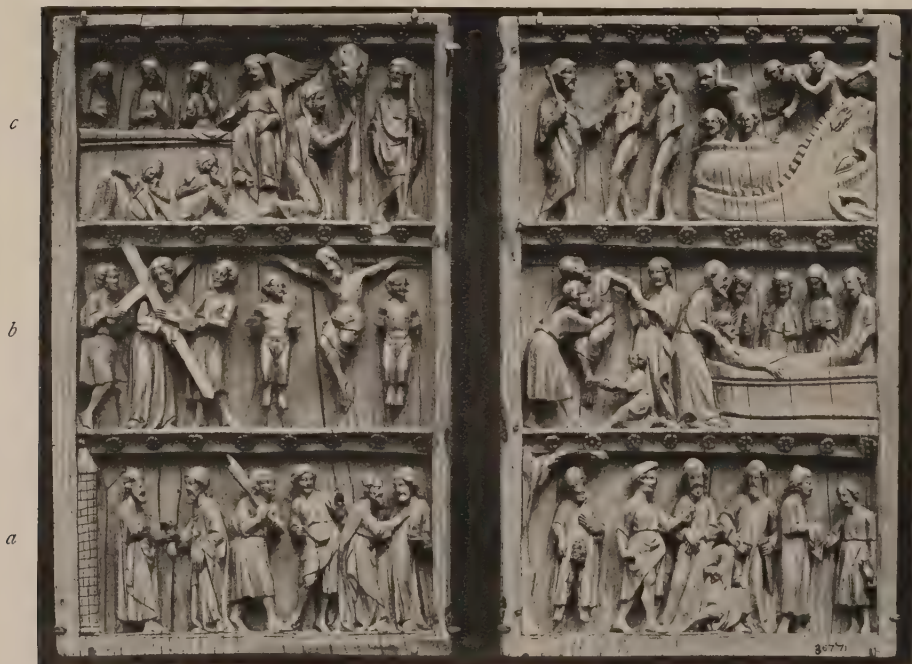


FIG. 52. Victoria and Albert Museum. Ivory diptych. *a*. Scenes of the "Betrayal." *b*. Scenes of the "Crucifixion" and "Entombment." *c*. Scenes of the "Resurrection" and "Limbo." c. 1350. The roses indicate English workmanship.

The set of scenes in which the doctrinal significance of our Lord's "Passion" is exhibited begins in English compositions of sculpture with the "Entry into Jerusalem," of which we may mention examples of the thirteenth century at Wells; of the fourteenth in a boss in the nave vault at Tewkesbury; and of the fifteenth in the chancel of Sall Church, Norfolk. We have the "Last Supper" as already mentioned on the twelfth-century font at Brighton, again in the thirteenth-century reliefs at Wells, the already mentioned fourteenth-century reredos of Somerton Church, Oxon, as well as on many fifteenth-century bosses, as at Norwich. On the alabaster retables of the fifteenth century the series was usually arranged as the "Betrayal," the "Scourging," the "Carrying of the Cross," the "Crucifixion," the "Descent from the Cross," the "Entombment" and the "Resurrection," the Crucifixion subject making the central and largest slab. Many examples of the treatments are given in Chap. XI., Book II.—see the Compiègne retable, p. 467. A more extended setting out of the "Passion" scenes had been frequent on the little ivory folded tablets, which were retables in miniature. We show opposite (Fig. 52) an ivory diptych of the fourteenth century in the Victoria and Albert Museum which has some claim to be taken as English work.

The composition called the "Pieta" or "Our Lady of Pity," which represents the Virgin holding the dead Christ on her knees, combines as it were the "Passion" with the "Virgin" cult. It has happened to come down to us in two or three English medieval specimens—for example, in a wood image at Battlefield Church, Salop (see Fig. 9, p. 9), and in an alabaster image at Breadsall, near Derby (see Fig. 409, p. 359). As a subject on the alabaster retables it was also common, and an example can be seen at Yarnton in Oxfordshire.

The "Easter Sepulchres" should also be mentioned as characteristic uses of medieval sculpture in the service of ritual. Resurrection scenes decorated the altar-like erections on the slab of which the "Host" was set from Holy Thursday till removed to the high altar upon Easter Day. The two most perfect examples are at Hawton Church, near Newark (see Fig. 425, p. 371), and at Heckington Church, near Lincoln (see Fig. 53, p. 60). Others exist at Lincoln Cathedral (see Fig. 418, p. 368); at Navenby, Lincs (see Fig. 419, p. 369), and at Patrington, Yorks. In some churches a tomb memorial of some benefactor was placed on the north side of the altar to be used as an Easter sepulchre, and this was given a "Resurrection" relief, as in two examples (c. 1530) side by side at West Wittering Church, Sussex. This subject was in any case suitable to a tomb-chest, and we may mention a fine example of its occurrence at St David's (see Fig. 527, p. 455).

The fourteenth-century "Easter sepulchres" arranged the figure-work as at Heckington below (Fig. 53): the "Soldiers" set to guard the tomb are carved upon the panel of the tomb-chest crouching in sleep; above it, at the back of the recesses, Christ appears in a relief panel rising or striding out of



FIG. 53. Heckington (Lincs). Easter Sepulchre. c. 1330.

the sepulchre, and usually at the side the "Three Maries" are represented approaching or in attendance. At Hawton the whole composition is crowned by a fine group of the "Apostles" watching the "Ascension," while angels appear in the clouds over their heads. The "Ascension"

subject we shall find most often in connection with the sculpture devoted to the "Virgin" scenes, "Our Lady" being represented kneeling in front of the "Apostles," as in the fragments of the stone retable (see Fig. 542, p. 473) in the Lady Chapel at Christchurch, Hants.

The most usual summary of medieval faith, one that had the prominent place in the motives of figure-work since it was the necessary image in all churches in the later Middle Ages, was that of the "Madonna holding the Child." Numerous examples, seated or standing, can be seen in our illustrations. Not only images and statues, but architectural carving multiplied this subject so that we have it in all positions. In the tympana of doorways



FIG. 54. Chester. Boss in vault of Chapter-house. "Madonna and Child." c. 1260.
(From Cast in Royal Architectural Museum.)

it was frequent, and we see it on a Chester boss of the thirteenth century (Fig. 54), and in beautiful representation as a relief upon a spandrel of the triforium arcade in the "Angel Choir," Lincoln (see Fig. 300, p. 275).

Very common, too, were representations of the Godhead—the "Father" holding between His knees His crucified Son (with sometimes the Dove also to represent the whole Trinity), as in another boss at Chester, and in many alabaster tables of the fifteenth century (see Fig. 586, p. 506).

In such uses the actual narrative of scripture has evidently given place to doctrinal significance. The same may be said of such added scenes as the "Limbo" in Fig. 52 (p. 58). The "Descent of Christ into Hell" was an early imagination as on a stone at Bristol (Fig. 55) possibly of the eleventh century.

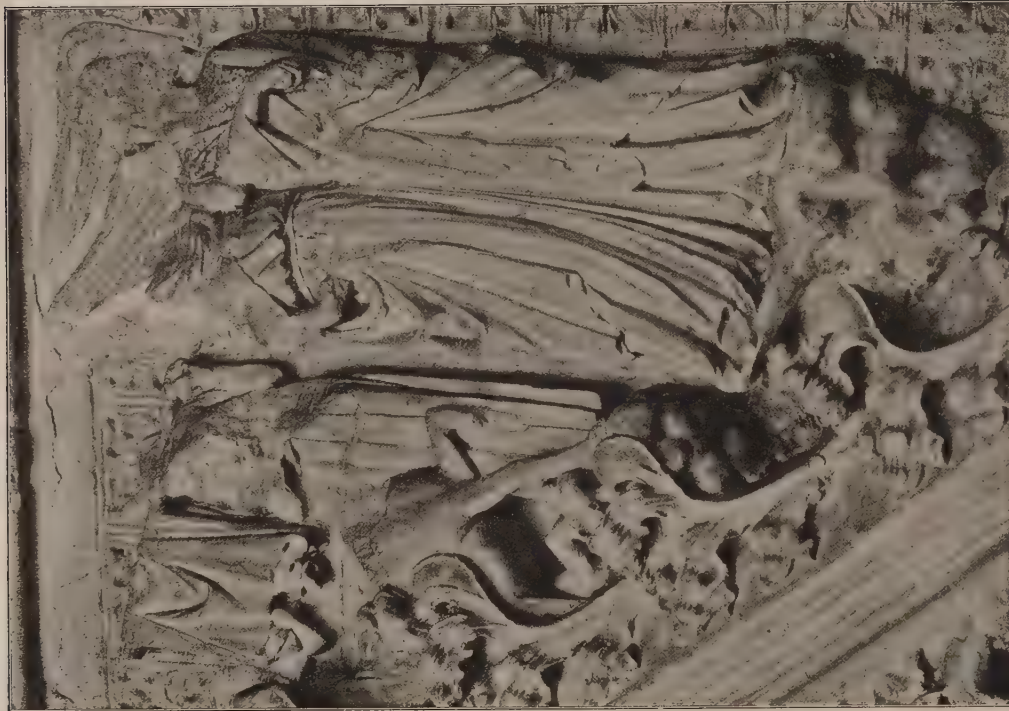


FIG. 56. Ely Cathedral. Relief in Chapter-house. "Journey of the Virgin to Bethlehem." c. 1330.



FIG. 55. Bristol. Canons' Vestry. Early stone showing "Christ in Limbo." c. 1050(?).

But such representation was rather symbolical than in portrayal of events—was indeed in touch with the ancient Orphic mystery. In later times the pictorial possibility of the scene, as in the many sculptures of the “Doom” (see Fig. 315, p. 286), made the motive, and, as we shall see, the apocryphal incidents grew as popular as the canonical.

(c) *Apocryphal Legends.* The brief accounts of the birth of Christ given in the Gospels were in the eyes of the Middle Ages insufficient for pictorial and sculptural effects, and accordingly the artists turned to the large number of legends that from the earliest Christian times had grown up round the childhood of our Lord. Many additional miracles were credited to Him, such as the story of the fall of the idols on the arrival of the “Holy Family” in Egypt, which is sculptured at Amiens—where too the whole history of the “Magi” is to be seen worked out with much apocryphal detail.

Still more in dealing with the lives of the Saints, medieval art drew from legendary occurrences as freely as from the Bible, and the “Virgin” scenes, as already indicated, were largely those of uncanonical faith. It was to be expected, in view of the extravagant worship paid to “Our Lady,” that the exceedingly meagre account of her in scripture should be supplemented. The various Apocryphal Books, such as the so-called Protevangelium, or Book of James, the Gospel of Thomas, and other later works, became popular sources of motives in the sculpture relating to her, as we may see in great detail¹ upon the arcade sculpture in the Lady Chapel at Ely. The subjects chosen include the story of Joachim and Anne, the “Parents of the Virgin”; the “Rejection of their gift in the Temple”; the “Appearance of the Angel”; the meeting at the “Golden Gate”; the “Birth” and “Childhood” of the Virgin; her “Presentation in the Temple”; her “Marriage”; the “Annunciation”; “Visitation”; “Journey to Bethlehem” (Fig. 56); the “Nativity of Our Lord”; the “Adoration of the Magi”; the “Massacre of the Innocents”; the “Flight into Egypt,” and various “Miracles in Egypt.” Then follow certain important scenes in the life of Christ at which the Virgin assisted, the “Baptism,” “Crucifixion,” “Entombment” and “Ascension,” and finally we have a group of Apostles present at the “Death” and “Burial” of the Virgin, her life-story ending with the “Assumption.” Besides these scenes there are a large number of miracles wrought by her after her death throughout the ages, the most interesting being the story of the monk Theophilus, who was rescued by her from the clutches of Satan.

¹ M. R. James, in *The Sculptures of the Lady Chapel at Ely*, has traced the literary sources of the motives, and illustrated the whole series. We

are indebted to him also for pointing out that the imagery of the *Golden Legend* has supplied Apocalyptic scenes to the alabaster tables (see p. 493).

We have already mentioned how one of these scenes—that of the “Annunciation” of her destiny to the Virgin—was all through the Middle Ages¹ constantly taken for separate representation. But vying with this in popularity was the Apocryphal subject of her “Coronation” by Christ—not now at Ely among the stone reliefs because we believe it formed the subject of the principal image set in the middle niche of the east end. The portrayal of her crowning as the “Queen of Heaven,” or as it is sometimes explained the “Marriage of Christ with the Church,” is a very



FIG. 57. Heckington (Lincs). Sedilia in Chancel. “The Coronation” and the “Annunciation.” c. 1330.

common one in medieval sculpture. The sculptural beauty of the thirteenth-century representation is conspicuous at Wells (see Fig. 309, p. 281), and in the boss in the Lincoln cloister, and the later sculpture can be seen at Hereford (see Fig. 404, p. 357), as well as in a large number of ivories (see Fig. 427, p. 373) and alabaster reliefs (see Fig. 547, p. 476). Above the sedilia at Heckington the “Annunciation” and “Coronation” are both given (Fig. 57). Most usually the Virgin is seated on a throne, while her Son, seated by her side, lifts the crown to her brow; sometimes, as beautifully in the Christchurch retable (see Fig. 542, p. 473), she is kneeling to receive it: and sometimes the action of Christ would seem the putting of a ring on her finger. A very similar composition occurs in an early alabaster table in the British Museum

¹ The legend of the Virgin had early representation. We see the scene of her “Burial” among the tenth-century symbolisms of Christian story on the

Wirksworth slab, and to the beginning of the twelfth may be dated a “Coronation” tympanum at Quenington, Gloucestershire.

from Kettlebaston Church, Suffolk (see Fig. 541, p. 472). In the later alabasters and bosses of the fifteenth century a more theatrical staging exhibits her crowned simultaneously by the Three Persons of the Trinity (Fig. 58).

A somewhat similar imagination was that which shows the translation of the Virgin to heaven, called the "Assumption." It was very common in sculpture after 1350. A relief with the motive is at Sandford Church, near



FIG. 58. British Museum. Alabaster table showing the "Coronation of the Virgin." c. 1450.



FIG. 59. Westminster Abbey, Henry VII.'s Chapel. Statue of "St Anne." c. 1510.

Oxford (see Fig. 531, p. 457); and a broken slab with it is at Tewkesbury, while it was frequent upon the alabaster tables (see Fig. 560, p. 486).

In connection with her mother St Anne the "Virgin" appears as a child, as for example in a relief on Speke's Chantry at Exeter, and a statue of the two occurs in Henry VII.'s Chapel at Westminster (Fig. 59), where the Virgin holds a book to show her devotional habits even at this early age. We see the same motive in alabaster statuettes, while St Anne as an old woman with the Virgin and Child is seen in an example at the Victoria and Albert Museum.

(d) *Saints*. Among the saints of the New Testament "St John the Baptist" is one of popular representation in figure-sculpture. Single statues of him are frequent, and can be distinguished by the shaggy coat and by the staff he holds (see Fig. 480, p. 404). Sometimes he bears a disc inscribed with a lamb to illustrate his words "Behold the Lamb of God." In the fourteenth-century tablet of ivory, made for Bishop Grandisson of Exeter (see Fig. 405, p. 357), the Baptist is represented preaching, while at the side the "axe laid at the root of the tree" is exhibited—a characteristic example of medieval motive. An alabaster reredos at Yssac in France (an English production, as were all the alabasters of this kind) gives his story in four scenes (see Fig. 13, p. 13)—his "Preaching," his "Reproof of Herod," his "Beheading," and the "Dancing of Salome." The "Beheading of John Baptist" and the "Dancing of Herodias' daughter" were popular figure-subjects, affording scope for that minute characterisation which delighted the last Gothic sculptors in their architectural works. A boss in the cloister at Norwich has, in a circle of about a foot across, Herod and Herodias feasting at table—the daughter of Herodias dancing before them in a licentious manner, the onlookers applauding, while the head of the Baptist is being brought on a charger¹ (see Fig. 589, p. 509).

Turning to the Apostles generally we find that groups of their statues were continually sculptured in attendance on Christ (see on pp. 80, 81). So they occur at Malmesbury in the twelfth century; at Exeter in the middle of the fourteenth; and placed on the front of Wells c. 1400. The single figures occur separately in various positions, and may usually be distinguished by the attribute or accessory object held in the hand. Thus *St Peter* is represented with short curling hair and beard, and always carries his keys, as at Kilpeck (see Fig. 149, p. 169) or Peterborough (see Fig. 318, p. 294). We give here an alabaster statuette found at Flawford, Notts (Fig. 60), in which he is represented as the first Pope bearing up the "Church." *St Paul* is bald and has a long beard, and carries book and sword, as at Exeter, though his insignia have been broken off (Fig. 61). *St James the Greater* appears in the guise of a pilgrim to his great shrine at Santiago de Compostella. He wears the palmer's hat ornamented with a shell, and has a long staff, as at Exeter (see Fig. 465, p. 392) and Westminster (see Fig. 497, p. 420). *St John* is young and beardless, and carries a chalice, owing to a legend that an attempt was made to poison him. Sometimes the poison is represented as a serpent coming out of the cup, as at Wells (see Fig. 15, p. 22) and Exeter (see Fig. 465, p. 392). In the

¹ This head of the Baptist on a charger was curiously used as the motive of a religious sculpture designed, like the "Trinity" and the "Crucifixion,"

to offer a summary of the Christian faith (see Fig. 584, p. 505, showing the alabaster tablets called *St John's Heads*).



FIG. 60. Nottingham Museum. Alabaster image of "St Peter." c. 1350.



FIG. 61. Exeter Cathedral Statue in upper row of West front. "St Paul." c. 1380.

representations of the later alabasters, however, he is undistinguished except by his youthful appearance and curly hair. *St Andrew* carries his X-shaped cross, as at Wells (see Fig. 15, p. 22), and on the seal of Rochester is shown crucified. *St James the Less* carries the fuller's club with which he was slain, as at Exeter. *St Bartholomew* was said to have been flayed alive, and so carries a knife and his own skin, as again at Exeter. He is to be seen being flayed in an alabaster table (see Fig. 548, p. 477). *St Philip* carries a pile of five loaves, as again at Exeter. *St Simon* has a saw, as he was said to have been sawn asunder—as on the alabaster table at St Stephen's, Norwich, in which many of the Apostles are represented with their attributes. "St Peter" and "St Paul" were commonly carved together, while "St John the Evangelist" frequently balances "St John the Baptist." Beside the rood "John the beloved disciple" stands on the left of the cross, the "Virgin" being at the right. The other Apostles are not always easily distinguished and their attributes vary. "St Thomas" sometimes has a mason's square, and "St Matthew" a book or purse. "St Matthias" is very rarely introduced, his place having been taken by "St Paul." Scenes from the lives of the "Apostles" can hardly be instanced in English sculpture. The "Conversion of St Paul" is the subject of a relief at Reims, and at Peterborough on the base of the central pier of the west door is found a curious carving which may be the "Apostles with Simon Magus."

As with the "Apostles" so with the "Saints" selected for representation—they were fitted to locality and circumstances. We find companies of them sometimes as "martyrs," "confessors" and "virgins." On the Wells front a striking group of "deacon" figures may be either the deacon martyrs or the companions of "St Stephen." The four "Evangelists" of course take a high place, though in early times they were indicated most often, as we have mentioned, by their symbols, the "Four Beasts." At Wells in the thirteenth century "St John" is winged and his "Gospel" rests on the back of an eagle (Fig. 62). On the Exeter front we see the four "Evangelists" carved with their symbols at their feet. The "Doctors of the Church" were represented by the grave figures reading from books or scrolls as on the Rochester doorway (see Fig. 33, p. 41, and Fig. 414, p. 362). Probably they are represented among the Wells statues, as they certainly are at Exeter.

The dedication of churches to a saint would promote the sculpture of his image, as in the "St Peter" on the front of Peterborough (see Fig. 318, p. 294). Also when they possessed relics, or had special connections with any holy name, sculpture would commemorate the fact. Thus on the tympanum of the west doorway at Crowland (Fig. 63) the history of St Guthlac the founder is set out in a quatrefoil medallion. St Cuthbert appears as a statue at Durham in his abbey-church, but also on the spire of



FIG. 62 Wells Cathedral. West front. The "Angel of St John Evangelist." c. 1230.

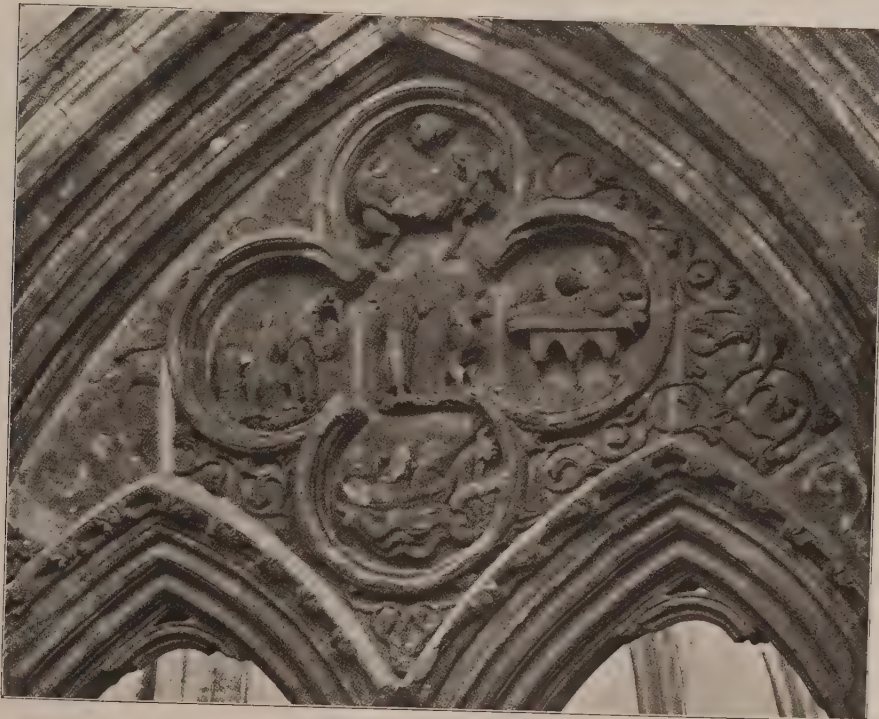


FIG. 63. Crowland Abbey. West doorway. The "Story of St Guthlac." c. 1250.

St Mary's, Oxford. In the same way at Ely the capitals round the interior of the lantern are carved with incidents from the life of "St Etheldreda" (Fig. 65), the foundress of the monastery.

The great patron saints of Christendom appear frequently in sculpture, "St Michael" and "St George" being used, as already explained, in the popular representations of the struggle between good and evil. We see "St Nicholas" with his mitre on the Brighton font and on that of Winchester (see Fig. 183, p. 204); "St Christopher carrying the Christ" is a statue at Terrington St Clement, Norfolk (see Fig. 380, p. 339); "St Catharine with her wheel" is carved on a corbel in the quire at Exeter and her story is a common one for the later alabaster sculptures (see Fig. 572, p. 497). "St Eustace" carrying his children across the river (Fig. 67) occupies a niche on the north-west tower at Wells, and at Mattersey, near Retford, are two fourteenth-century panels in relief representing, one, the "Invention of



FIG. 64. Wells Cathedral. North Porch. "St Edmund the Martyr." c. 1180.

the Cross" by the Empress Helena, and the other "St Martin dividing his cloak" (see Fig. 422, p. 370). At Tuxford, near by, is another panel showing the "Martyrdom of St Lawrence" on his gridiron.

The specially English saints contribute their stories as motives in our carving. "Edward the Confessor and the Pilgrim" are to be seen sculptured on the transept at Westminster Abbey and on the chantry of Henry V. there. In the capitals of the north porch at Wells is given a representation (Fig. 64) of the "Martyrdom of St Edmund, king and martyr." Such a famous native as "St Thomas à Becket" was no doubt often represented in English imagery: his story occurs in glass at Canterbury and Oxford, and a statue at Wells with the top of the head cut off may be our saint. Certainly his martyrdom was the subject of some of the alabaster tables which the English workshops distributed far and wide (Fig. 66).



FIG. 65. Ely Cathedral. The capitals of the central lantern. The "Story of St Etheldreda." c. 1330.



FIG. 66. Alabaster table in British Museum. The "Murder of Becket." c. 1450.



FIG. 67. Wells Cathedral. Statue on the east side of north-west tower of West front. "St Eustace carrying his children across the river." c. 1240.

At St Albans there remains a part of the shrine of the Saint, and on this is sculptured the "Martyrdom of St Alban" (Fig. 68). One of the statues upon the spire of St Mary's Church, Oxford, was "St Hugh of Lincoln," who is accompanied by his tame swan (see Fig. 376, p. 337)¹. Here, too, as already mentioned, were placed St Cuthbert and other English saints.

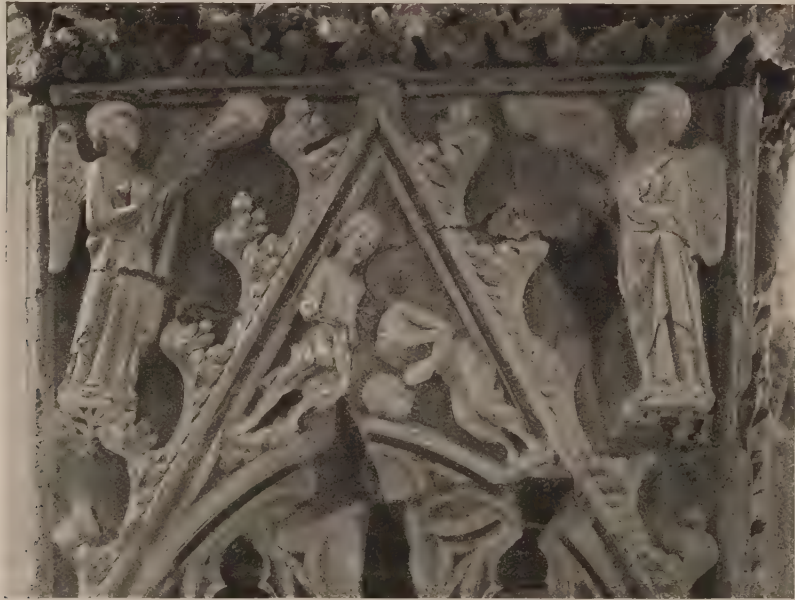


FIG. 68. St Albans Abbey. The shrine. "The Martyrdom of St Alban." c. 1306.

In the last hundred years of English medieval sculpture a different set of saints can be seen coming into popularity, and these new appearances have been referred to the adoption of special patrons by the local Guilds. But it would also appear that at the time of the Black Death certain saints were considered as giving protection against pestilence, and so became popularly presented to worshippers. Thus "St Sebastian" and "St Roch," who are introduced in Henry VII.'s Chapel at Westminster, where the latest medieval iconography may be best studied, came into notice in consequence of their tried efficacy in plague-cases². Flemish influence is, however, the probable origin of much of the latest iconography.

¹ The student of the whole of this subject should turn to the *Golden Legend* (*Legenda Aurea*) of James de Voragine, which was one of the favourite books of the Middle Ages and can afford information as to the lives of the saints, and all the romance, fable and miracle connected with

them which medieval sculpture and painting portrayed.

² E. Mâle's *L'Art Religieux de la fin du Moyen Âge en France* gives many instances of the change of idea which appeared in the latest sculpture.

(e) *Profane History*. As the chief business of the artist-chronicler of medieval times was to set forth the dogma of the church, what we call History was, to a great extent, neglected. A curious example of what passed as such in the early Middle Ages can be seen on the ivory casket ascribed to the eighth century in the British Museum; in this "Romulus and Remus" and scenes from the Norse Sagas appear along with Christian mythology. Remarkable scenes from the Scandinavian legend are found on the Gosforth Cross. Here as elsewhere not facts but the story of events was the accepted motive. In the later carving the *gestes* or popular tales were responsible for some curious representations of ancient worthies—thus Aristotle is represented, but as in love in not a very dignified way. So we have "Alexander the Great" not as the maker of an empire but carried into the skies by griffins. The great commanding personalities of ancient history, as we know them, never had a place as historical characters in our sculptured records. The characteristic attitude towards ancient myth appears in the representations of the "Sibyls," who were believed to have announced the "Redemption" to the pagan world, and who were used in sculpture as female counterparts of the Hebrew "Prophets."

Contemporary events, too, were neglected, for it is a departure when on Henry V.'s chantry at Westminster we have his "Coronations" as "King of England" and "King of France." We have mentioned how certain sets of crowned figures have been mistakenly interpreted as the kings of England¹, whereas the royal descent of Christ was really the intention of the sculptors. Still it is to be noted that at Winchester at the back of the fourteenth-century altar-screen, the sculpture-niches bear the titles of the Saxon kings. Also the *Rites of Durham*, that famous sixteenth-century brochure, which after the Dissolution set itself to describe all the ancient furniture of the cathedral, tells us that images of kings appeared on the pulpitum as early as 1130. Such series, however, may indicate rather the "History of the Church" in England than what we regard as the history of events. It is often assumed that the heads of "Kings," "Queens," "Bishops" and other personages, which were carved commonly as architectural ornaments (see Figs. 445, 447, 450, pp. 384, 385) have been designed as portraits of the reigning family or of the consequential people of the time. The truer interpretation is that this sculpture expressed the presence of all conditions of men in the service of the church, the portraiture of particular persons being only fanciful and incidental².

¹ See *Archaeologia*, LIX. The Saxon saint-kings, Kenelm, Edward the Martyr, Oswald and Ethelbert, have been identified by W. H. St John

Hope at Wells.

² See Book II. Chap. IX. p. 395, where this point is discussed.



FIG. 69. York Minster. Statue on quire-screen. "King Henry V." c. 1480.



FIG. 70. Geddington (Northants), "Eleanor Cross." c. 1290.

It is true that in the last phase of the medieval art, English kings were represented in statues as on Lincoln front and on the Canterbury and York choir-screens (Fig. 69), and also we read in the *Rites of Durham* that the fifteenth-century pulpitum which replaced that of 1130 in the cathedral was given statues of the native monarchs.

The principal way in which contemporary history was made a motive for sculpture lay in the custom of commemorating the dead by memorial effigies. The finest and most interesting monuments to be found in England are the "Eleanor Crosses," erected by Edward I. in memory of his beloved queen at all the places where the funeral procession halted on its way from Lincoln to London. Only those at Northampton (see Fig. 90, p. 99), Geddington (Fig. 70) and Waltham (see Fig. 395, p. 348) exist, but each has



FIG. 71. Ripplingale (Lincs). Recumbent effigies of "Ecclesiastic" (c. 1280) and "Knight" (c. 1310).

several statues of the queen, modelled on the figure of the Madonna—not portraits certainly, yet, as ideal figures, preserving the contemporary repute of the gracious lady.

The memorial figures placed on tombs are to be found not only in our cathedrals but in many of our ancient village churches, and make a large body of historical sculpture, some of which has claim to be considered as portraiture. They took the form of a recumbent statue (Fig. 71) and there are probably as many as two thousand still left: for they, to a great extent, escaped the violence of the Puritan iconoclasts who ruthlessly destroyed the more definitely religious sculptures. Though they are most

often broken and worn, they offer us a figure-sculpture in varying materials and of different dates, with a range of examples which in point of preservation contrast favourably with the broken fragments of decorative and religious sculpture. It is needless to add how much our knowledge of medieval costume and armour has been indebted to these memorials, which represent every detail with the minutest accuracy.

The tomb-chest also, besides its principal figure, had panels very often carved with figure-subjects—sometimes religious pieces (like the “Crucifixion,” “Resurrection,” “Annunciation,” etc.), but more often with little statuettes of the friends and relatives of the deceased, and these latter (Fig. 72) are evident illustrations of contemporary society. Moreover, the canopies (Fig. 73) and tabernacle work which after 1250 made an elaborate cage



FIG. 72. Sparsholt (Berks). Tomb-chest and “Weepers.” c. 1320.

round and above the figure, were often copiously decorated with figure-work ; one characteristic motive being the figure of Christ holding the soul of the deceased, a little naked figure, in a napkin, as in the Percy tomb at Beverley (see Fig. 370, p. 333). In the tomb of Aymer de Valence (d. 1326) at Westminster (see Fig. 729, p. 652) the angels at the head of the “knight” hold up the little figure, an interesting indication of contemporary faith. In tombs of the last period, below the gorgeously decorated bishop or other great man there was often carved a *cadaver*, or withered corpse, a representation very illustrative of the emotional theology of the latest Middle Ages (see Fig. 816, p. 717).



FIG. 73. Salisbury Cathedral. Canopied tomb in quire-aisle.
The effigy of "Bp. Bridport" (1257—1262) is of Purbeck marble. c. 1260.

(f) *Last Judgment.* The past and the present gave that *Mirror* of history in which Eternal Truth is reflected, and it was for this reason that the medieval sculptor found his subjects in earthly happenings. But for his sculpture, too, was the terrific culmination of the great drama of life to which men looked forward with vivid imagination. Early Christian art loved symbols, and one of the earliest for our Lord—the “Agnus Dei,” the lamb carrying a cross—had particular reference to the Day of Doom, because throughout the Book of Revelation, which was the accepted authority to which men looked for prevision, Christ is figured as the “Lamb.” The symbol has been already mentioned as being common in Byzantine art from which it was transferred to Carolingian sculpture.



FIG. 74. Malmesbury Abbey. Tympanum of South door. The “Majesty of Christ.” c. 1160.

Accordingly it appears in Saxon and early Norman sculpture, as on the Wirksworth slab and the cross¹ now in the Durham Cathedral Library (see Fig. 103, p. 124). Towards 1100 and afterwards, its use becomes superseded by a more realistic conception of Christ, as in “Majesty”—viz. our Lord is standing or seated in a *vesica* or aureole, supported by angels, as at Malmesbury (Fig. 74) and at Ely (see Fig. 185, p. 206)². In the earlier

¹ Other examples have been mentioned, p. 28.

² In the seal of the Chichester Chapter the representation follows very literally the account in Revelation. The Judge is depicted with a two-edged sword in His mouth, and in the back-

ground are the Λ and Ω . This is found also in the French glass, where the sun, stars and seven candlesticks appear in attendance and also in English sculpture in the Norwich boss (see Fig. 79, p. 83).

examples of the "Majesty" in sculpture, as already mentioned, the "Four Beasts" of the Evangelists are grouped round the figure of Christ, for example at Sompting (Fig. 75), Rochester (see Fig. 177, p. 198), and Durham (see Fig. 265, p. 248). At Rochester the lintel below is carved with the figures of the "Twelve Apostles," seated as assessors, judging the twelve tribes of Israel. But in the smaller examples (as at Barfreston, see Fig. 175, p. 196)

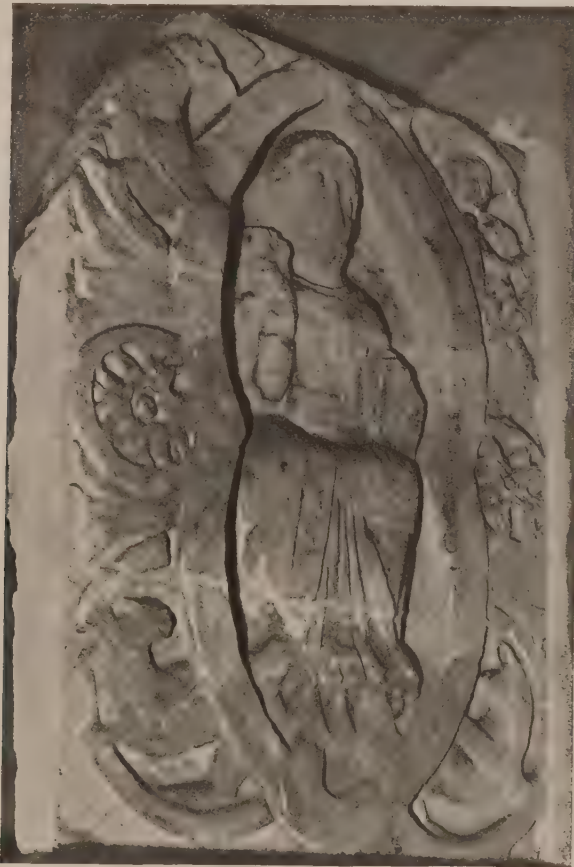


FIG. 75. Sompting (Sussex). Carved slab in nave. "Christ in Majesty." c. 1150.

a somewhat miscellaneous collection of sculptures surround the Christ. At Malmesbury (Fig. 74) the principal figure itself has been kept small, as if realism in sculpture was still tentative. But here the whole sides of the porch-way are occupied by large figures of the "Apostles" with winged angels above (see Fig. 164, p. 186).

The twelfth-century relief-carvings that have been mentioned upon the west front of Lincoln show scenes which seem connected with an elaborate

"Last Judgment." It is possible that there was originally a grouping of these reliefs on either side of one of the fine "Majesties," the fragments of which are preserved in the cloister (see Fig. 125, p. 141). At any rate one panel of the front sculpture contains a row of seated figures (Fig. 76) that may very well represent the "Apostles" as assessors in attendance on the "Christ in Judgment." Other panels give the story of "Dives and Lazarus" (Fig. 77), which was appropriate as one of the parables that gave definite information about the future life. Abraham with a number of small "souls" on his knees is a much-worn sculpture¹; others better preserved exhibit "Satan" as the king of Hell presiding over the tortures of the damned. The souls, whether of the saved or lost, are represented as usual in medieval sculpture by little naked figures, while "Hell" is the open mouth of a dragon or crocodile breathing fire, as in Job's description of Leviathan—"Out of his nostrils goeth smoke, as out of a seething pot or caldron."



FIG. 76. Lincoln, west front. The "Apostles." c. 1160.

The connection which we see in such subjects can be verified from the twelfth-century doorways of South France, on which we find elaborate representations of the majesty of Christ sitting in judgment. Great sculptures with many accessories of detail portray the Day of Doom on the fronts of many large churches abroad which were built in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries—the latest and most highly developed composition being that at Bourges. The English examples left to us on doorways were far from attempting anything on the scale of the French, with the grand characterisation that distinguishes their representations. At Bourges every detail of the scene is realised with great solemnity and beauty of idea—the great archangel standing centrally below the Christ and dividing the just from the unjust.

¹ "Heaven" depicted as on "Abraham's bosom" is frequent in French examples.

In England there exist traces of the composition in two slabs at York; one a tympanum, carved with what seems the "Death of Dives," out of whose mouth the demons are dragging his soul (see Fig. 191, p. 212); the other a big relief with a most spirited representation of the cauldron of Hell and the punishment of the Vices (see Fig. 192, p. 213). There may therefore once have been an elaborate "Doom"-sculpture at York carved in the latter part of the twelfth century in connection with the statues of "Apostles" and "Prophets" (see p. 66). But the south entrance to the Angel Choir at Lincoln, known as the "Judgment" Porch, offers us now the most complete Doom-representation. Here, in the quatrefoil above the doorway, Christ is throned in majesty, with one hand raised to bless, and with the other drawing aside



FIG. 77. Lincoln Cathedral. West front. "Dives and Lazarus" and "Hell's mouth." c. 1160.

His garments to show His wounded side, while around Him are angels who have originally held the "Instruments of the Passion". Below, the dead are rising from their tombs, those on the right of our Lord being beckoned upwards to their heavenly home by angels, while those on the left are carried off by hairy devils and cast into the flaming mouth of Hell. Among the statuettes in the mouldings of the door-head are the "Wise and Foolish Virgins," suitably introduced as present at the Second Coming (see Fig. 45, p. 53).

¹ The following passage from the *Golden Legend* explains the medieval idea as to the "Instruments," and the "Sun and Moon": "The cross and the wounds shall be more shining than

any rays of sun. The sun shall be dark and the moon shall give no light. Hereby may ye understand how much the cross is more shining than the moon, and more clear than the sun."

Generally the doorways of the English churches, being smaller than those abroad, did not admit the elaborate representations of Bourges and Lincoln. Still, we have a sculptured exposition of the "Doom" on a great scale in the upper part of the Wells front (see Fig. 15, p. 22)—Christ above, the Apostles beneath; then the nine orders of angels, while below the dead are rising from their graves, and still further below, in the niches of the arcades, "Saints," "Confessors," "Martyrs" and "Virgins" represent the "Church" in triumphant attendance on the throne of Christ.

Before this, Worcester had presented separately many of the items of the Doom-picture in the spandrels of the wall arcade of the presbytery: Christ appears enthroned; the dead are rising from their tombs; "St Michael" is shown with the scales, a little devil trying to depress the balance; an angel is leading a band of the saved towards "Heaven" (see



FIG. 78. British Museum. Small alabaster tables. "Peter and the Just," "The Unjust cast into Hell's mouth." c. 1450.

Fig. 271, p. 253); a devil carries off three of the damned chained together by his tail, to be cast into the "Mouth of Hell" (see Fig. 270, p. 252); and a poor soul is roasted over a fire in the hands of devils. The scenes of the "Fall" were carved too in connection, as already said, on adjoining spandrels. Two small alabaster reliefs in the British Museum (Fig. 78) would seem a fifteenth-century compendium of the motive—one has St Peter receiving for admission into Heaven some naked figures; in the other the lost souls are being driven by a devil into the mouth of the Pit, the representation of the subject being that common in ivory tablets (see Fig. 52, p. 58). As a painted scene the "Last Judgment" had an almost universal

representation in every English church, being usually depicted over the Rood¹.

The text of the Apocalyptic Vision was naturally drawn upon for the representations of sculpture. The best examples of this taken direct from the Revelation are to be found in the series of bosses in the vaulting of the South Walk of the cloister at Norwich. Here the various visions are presented in order, from that of the "Son of Man" in the first chapter down to the "Battle of Armageddon" at the end. We illustrate two scenes; one taken from Revelation i. 11—16, in which the "Son of Man" appears on His throne with the seven golden candlesticks, the seven stars in His right



FIG. 79. "The Son of Man."

Norwich cloister. Bosses in south walk. c. 1340.



FIG. 80. "The second Angel."

hand, and a two-edged sword proceeding out of His mouth (Fig. 79); the other scene from Rev. viii. 8—9, "the second angel sounded, and as it were a great mountain burning with fire was cast into the sea,...and the third part of the ships were destroyed." This last (Fig. 80) is a good example of the way in which the medieval sculptor goes direct at a subject which would seem outside the possible ideal of either the Classical or modern mind. By his method he simplifies it and produces a graphic work of art, with the tremendous angel trumpeting above and all confusion below.

¹ Examples of the twelfth century have been preserved at Chaldon, Surrey, and of the fifteenth century at Wenhaston, Suffolk. Some remains of similar paintings occur in many churches.

(g) *Angels.* We conclude our sketch of sculpture-motives with one in continual use, and in which the progressive interpretation of medieval idea appears most significantly. The symbolic reticence of the early treatment of "angels" (Fig. 81) during the twelfth century gets gradually compromised, though the aspects of humanity are rendered at first with a grave grace. But the expression passes into joyousness by the end of the thirteenth century (see on pp. 260, 274), and then into a theatrical and finally conventional angelic presentment in the fifteenth (see on pp. 517, 523).

At first angels appear as the symbolic supporters of the "Cross" or "Lamb" which were the symbols of Christ, and also as bearing up the aureole of the "Majesty." They were, also, imagined for the scenes in which the Bible narrative describes their action, as the "Expulsion from Paradise" (see Fig. 39, p. 49), the "Annunciation" (see Fig. 356, p. 321) or "Resurrection" (see Fig. 52, p. 58). The bearded type is commonest at first, as at Malmesbury



FIG. 81. Ely Cathedral. Memorial slab in south aisle of quire. "Angel holding soul."
Blue marble—probably of Tournai sculpture. c. 1150.

in the great angel floating above the apostles (see Fig. 164, p. 186). In the thirteenth-century "Angels," as at Wells, where among the statues of the front are the quatrefoils already mentioned (see Fig. 62, p. 69), the youthful beardless type preponderates which later begins to lean towards the feminine. Angels then, as beautiful ideals, became a recognised motive in decoration, their joyful choir attendant on the services of the church. Among many delightful instances, that of the old choir-screen at Salisbury (see Figs. 280, 281, pp. 259, 260) shows them playing on instruments of music, or as holding the sun and moon. There were, too, charming figures of the fourteenth century used in all parts of the church fabric, as at Beverley or Exeter (see Figs. 398, p. 353, and 429, p. 374).

Angels' wings were useful in sculpture as easily filling the triangular spaces that the spandrels of the English arcading left for decoration. The middle

of the thirteenth century saw this use on a monumental scale, as in the magnificent angel-reliefs of the triforium of the Westminster transepts (Fig. 82; see also the Frontispiece and on pp. 262, 263) or in the great series which has given its name to the famous Angel Choir at Lincoln and which we shall illustrate (pp. 267—275). We may call this use of angels at Lincoln typically English: there is absent the definite theological scheme that would have

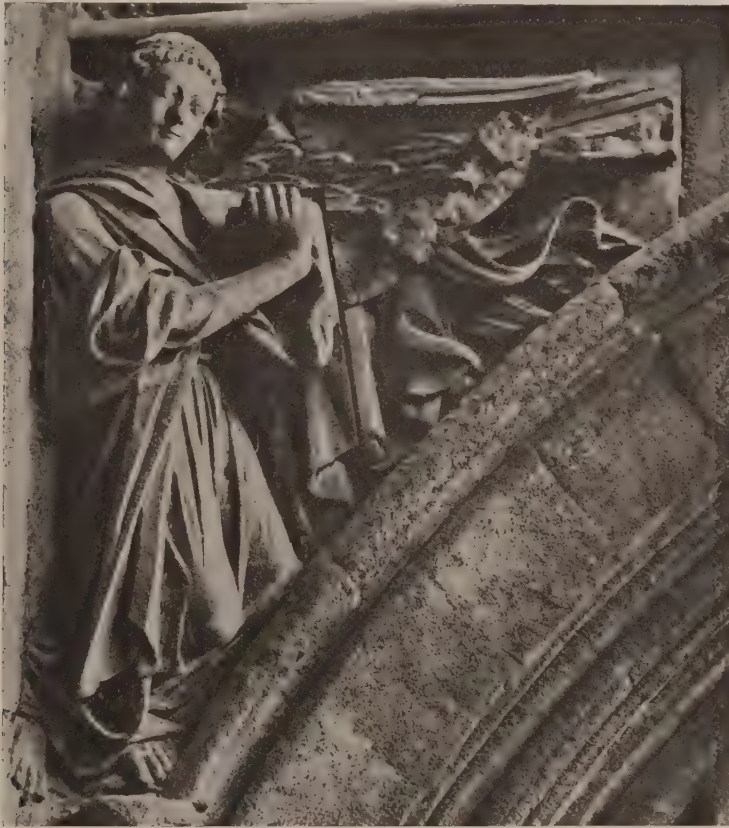


FIG. 82. Westminster Abbey. Censing "Angel" in north transept. c. 1250.

been sure to govern such an important piece of sculpture had it been a French work. It looks as though the Lincoln sculptors had begun with the idea merely of filling the spandrels with a merry choir of angels. In the first part of the new building, at the east end, they are just playing musical instruments, but one is holding up the sun and moon; another is a crowned and bearded figure with a harp, who therefore seems to be "David," placed here as king of musicians. The later series to the west, as explained in

Book II. p. 265, have certainly a theological intention (Fig. 83). The great angel of the Expulsion (see Fig. 4, p. 4), the angel of the Judgment with his scales, and another holding up a small naked "Soul" (see illustrations on pp. 271, 273) seem a connected series in association perhaps with the "Doom" subject of the doorway. One large "Angel," however, has a hawk on wrist, a strange attribute which we cannot explain, except as a caprice. This rather haphazard collection of motives is characteristic of much in English art.

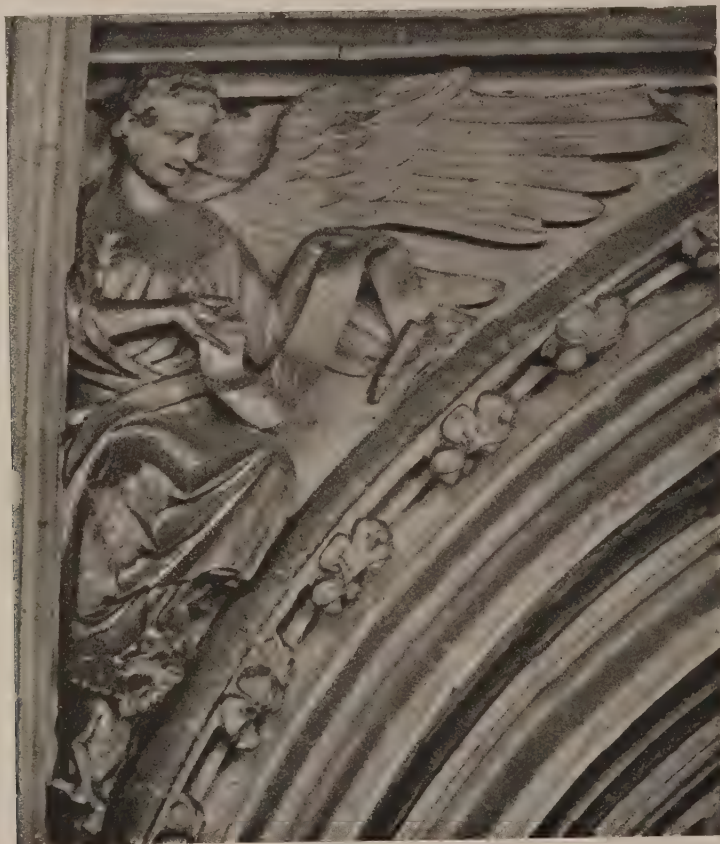


FIG. 83. Lincoln Cathedral. "Angel Choir." c. 1270.

Angel-sculptures grew more and more popular during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, as in the charming figures at Beverley, Exeter, etc. Sometimes the fabric of a church seems alive with troops of the heavenly host, as on the bosses of the vaults at Tewkesbury and Gloucester (Fig. 84). The motive occurs in all positions, as in the pedestal "Angels" at Crowland (see Fig. 260, p. 244) and then at Exeter (see Fig. 398, p. 353); they cluster side by side on strings and cornices at Southwark, at Westminster in



FIG. 84. Gloucester. Vault of choir. "Angel Musicians" above the high altar. c. 1350. 69

Henry VII.'s Chapel (see Fig. 496, p. 419), and at Windsor in St George's Chapel (Fig. 85), to give a few among many similar instances. The timber roof of many a fifteenth-century parish church presents swarms of angels, and conspicuous are the great archangels in feathered dresses such as were worn in the mystery plays—with outspread wings, painted with eyes and golden stripes (see Figs. 603, 605, pp. 517, 519), while in every nook and corner the smaller cherubim are to be seen like hovering bats.

The black angels, or devils, cannot perhaps be illustrated as passing in medieval representation distinctly in succession of phases from the symbolic powers of evil to the grinning imps and belching monstrosities that in the later gargoyles no doubt caricatured the local butts of the village. But if



FIG. 85. Windsor. "Angel" cornice in St George's Chapel. c. 1500.

intellectual devilry was the thirteenth-century expression, the pothouse obscenities make that of the fifteenth.

In concluding this brief description of English sculpture-motives we may refer to our most complete example, that of the front of Wells (Fig. 86), which has been used to instance for us most of the motives of medieval art. A great religious scheme, a sculptured epitome of the dogma of the medieval church extends over the whole front of the Cathedral. Tier above tier stand

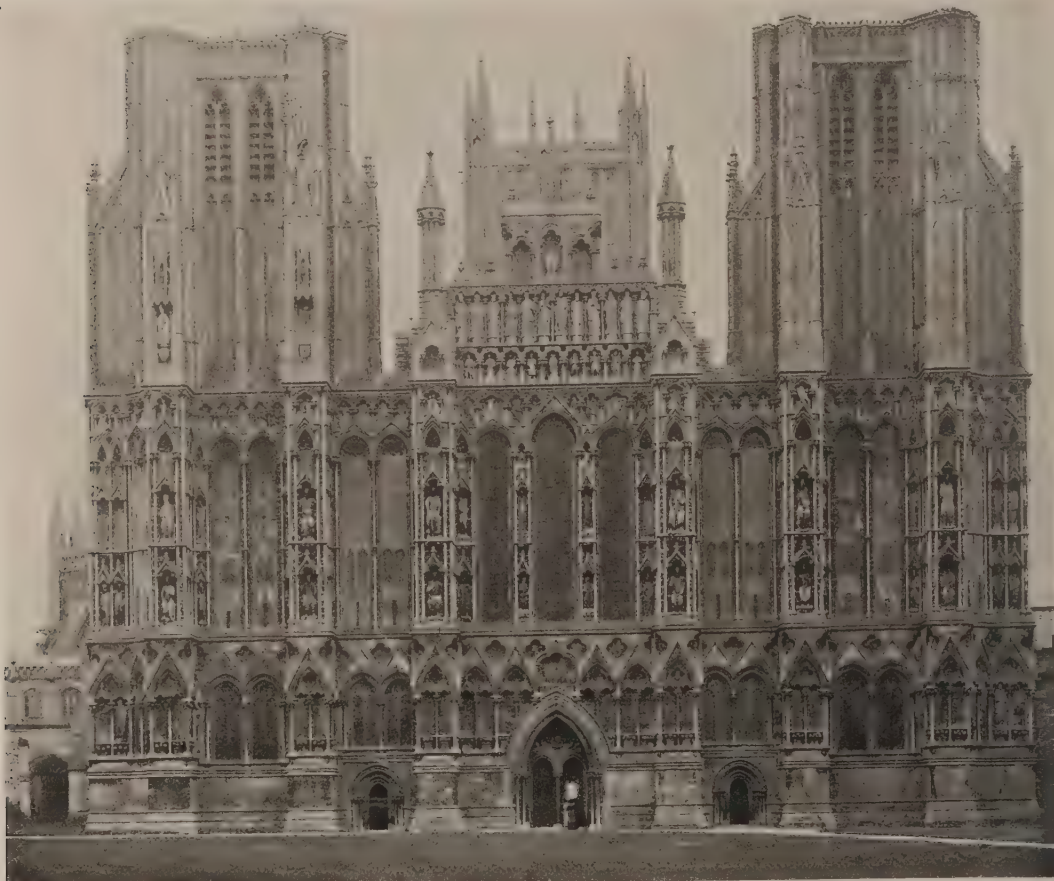


FIG. 86. Wells Cathedral. West front. Main block 1220 to 1240, towers 1390 and 1420.

the companies of prophets, martyrs, doctors, confessors and virgins (Fig. 87). In quatrefoil panels are to be seen rejoicing angels, and above, the Old and New Testament stories are set forth in detailed reliefs. Above, again, the dead are rising from their graves, the angels give glory to God, the apostles stand before the throne (see Fig. 15, p. 22), while crowning the whole is the calm figure at the summit of the gable, the Lord and Master of them all. In a vast iconostasis like this we are taken back into the ages

of faith; the romance of the representation makes real for us the life and thought of the Middle Ages better, we think, than could any mere statement of documents. It is clear that so full an exposition of the creed of Christendom must have been drawn up with great care under the direction of skilled

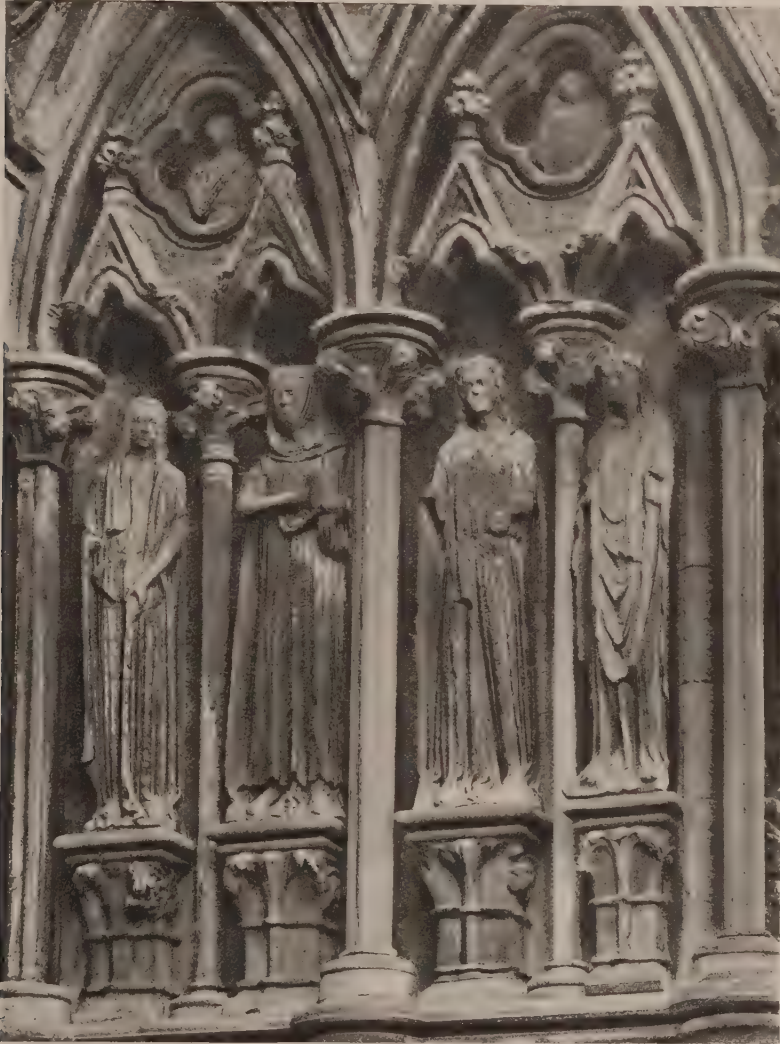


FIG. 87. Wells Cathedral. The figures on north-west buttress of the front. c. 1240.

theologians, thought out in every detail, and embodying a distinct system of theology. The authors no doubt chose their saints from the local calendar or the liturgy in use, but nothing was left to the chance inspiration of the sculptor: every figure had its special meaning and appointed place in the whole

composition. Such was the thirteenth-century ideal—the question of faith was that of the church: the sculptor was but a hand to do the bidding of a superior.

Later, the artisan may be supposed to have followed less august inspirations. One can believe that sculptured groups, as we see them in the bosses of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, or in the later ivories and alabaster tables, were influenced by the mystery plays. As a popular representation the religious drama attempted excitement rather than insight into truth or dignity of circumstance. Situations such as the “Annunciation,” the “Magi,” the “Flagellation,” “Crucifixion,” “Entombment,” “Resurrection,” “Ascension,” the “Assumption” and “Coronation of the Virgin,” etc., were the common stock of the mystery plays, and so a traditional make-up, as it were, of the sacred story grew to be a fixed idea, and this and not religious imagination seems expressed in the sculpture of the fifteenth century.

The appeal of sculpture in the twelfth century had been definitely to the soul, with almost a scorn of sensuous expression. But ideal beauty came to the front in the thirteenth, and in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries this appeal was distinctly to the heart. And so the learned doctors of the earlier period were succeeded by the mystics who followed in the footsteps of St Francis. In their hands sculptured representation in place of calm statement tended to emotional and theatrical exhibition, till we reach the morbid tendencies of the last period of medieval art. The glory and triumph of Christ must be taken as the interpretation of the sculptor's craft which the twelfth and thirteenth centuries developed: His sufferings and death filled the minds of the later artists.

We might, if space allowed, trace the developments of doctrine and manners lying behind the successive influences we have meagrely sketched as working behind the sculptor. First symbolism, then theology, and finally scenic realisation can be seen in turn directing his chisel, and each in their turn stood for something definite and momentous in the religious feeling of the time. So the “Agnus Dei” of the early tympana, which for a time had meant so much, yields place to the “Majesty” of Christ, the token of the earthly sovereignty which the church claimed. Then the single-figure representation of the faith expands bit by bit into the elaborate “Last Judgment,” with scenic accessories that finally grew vulgar and humorous. In much the same way the “Virgin,” at first, in the early sculpture a symbolic *Mater Dei*, in the later has become a crowned goddess or a very earthly mother.

But we must leave the fascinating subject of the progression of types and all the history that lies in it. Enough has been said to give the reader some grasp of the inner meaning that the medieval sculptors wished to express, so that the spirit which animated them may be appreciated. It is this which gives an inexhaustible charm to the study of their works.

CHAPTER III

THE MEDIEVAL SCULPTOR

SECTION I. INTRODUCTION

IN reviewing the materials and motives of sculpture we have as yet made small account of the artists who wrought it with their hands. But the little prominence which attaches to the personalities engaged upon the great works of the Middle Ages is characteristic of the spirit of their age. Its art-history cannot be told in a succession of monographs, dealing with individual reputations, in the way we tell it of the Greek, the Renaissance, or Modern sculpture, in which artists of commanding personality dominate the schools. The actual existence of the Gothic figure-sculptors is scarcely known to us, and personal details are absent. The annals available have no anecdotes of patrons and masters; of pupils and rivals. The names that we extract from the sterile pages of monkish histories or from royal or cathedral account-books are those of day-workmen engaged upon this or that building; or they have been written down as paid for this or that image; or as having sometimes contracted for this or that tomb or effigy. In these cases the fact of the mention cannot be taken as implying any particular distinction. No fame in art—such as attached to Polyclitus or Donatello—was prompting the medieval scribe to record the artist in his books. Only the conscientiousness of the accountant is to be discovered in his entering the payee for a statue, just as he would for a load of sand.

However, the complete eclipse of artistic fame distinguishes only the central or great period of Gothic sculpture. In the first arts of the Middle Ages, those of the Carolingian era and lasting on into the early Romanesque, the classic repute of the arts was still alive and to this prestige was due the common practice of monks who as craftsmen claimed to be the heirs of ancient culture¹. Eulogistic descriptions of great ecclesiastics as skilful in the arts

¹ See examples on next page. The Rule of St Benedict expressly provides for monastic crafts and enjoins humility in the practice of them: "Artifices si sint in monasterio, cum omni humilitate faciant istas artes."

were common up to the end of the twelfth century ; but they are almost absent in the thirteenth, and for some three hundred years the repute of the individual artist must be taken as a negligible quantity. Certainly the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in England gave no witness to that exaltation of the aesthetic capacity which was necessary to the theory of the Renaissance arts in Italy.

It may, however, be said that in preparation, as it were, for such a theory English workshops were acquiring in the fifteenth century a commercial reputation. This was certainly the case as to works of English alabaster. We hear of the tomb of the Duke of Brittany sent to Nantes ; of alabaster images obtained by the Pope's legate ; and we find the alabaster retables of English make carried all over Europe. The demand for such things was, no doubt, an appreciation of their special artistic value, as too was the habit of making contracts with famous monument-firms¹, such as those which supplied the Earl of Warwick's tomb. Finally the engagement of Torrigiano for Henry VII.'s monument is the definite appearance of the individual artist.

We may accordingly view the ground as mapped out for us in three divisions and take three successive types of document as giving us the status of the medieval sculptor. The first are those monastic annals in which the glory of religious establishments is enhanced by ascriptions of skill in the arts to monks and ecclesiastics. This was the pre-Gothic phase. With the era of Gothic building appear the building accounts, in which the sculptor gets mention only as a building artisan, and this was the time of the great architectural figure-sculptor. Thirdly, in the last two centuries of Gothic building we have contracts made with citizens for sculpture, witness to a commerce in art and to reputations gained by certain workshops of art production. As far as England is concerned workshop repute has to be called a symptom of the decline of the Gothic era. These three kinds of references give us all the story we have, and one or two samples of each may serve to emphasise the above distinctions.

¹ Such as that of the Drawswerds of York, who for three generations appear to have been famous imagers.

SECTION II. THE ECCLESIASTICS AS CRAFTSMEN

Extracts were given in Chapter I. from the annals and other records of the religious houses, which tell us that the monasteries in their early days were workshops of the arts, and especially of a painting and metal-craft continually busy in the making and decoration of shrines, images, and the furniture of churches. Without going outside the English documents¹ we can note how an abbot of Abingdon c. 1050 is recorded as "in auri et argenti fabrificio operator mirificus." In the same way we are told of Mauricius, abbot of Evesham a little later, that he was skilful in goldsmiths' work.

Again an inventory has survived which was made at Ramsey Abbey in 1143 of gold- and silver-work melted down to supply a contribution levied by King Stephen. This details one of the images as "de opere Radulphi Sacristae." It was usual for the Sacrist of a Benedictine house to have under his charge a workshop for metal, the monks and assistants working in it as craftsmen. Thus the thirteenth-century historian, Matthew Paris, describes one Anketell, "monachus et aurifaber incomparabilis," making St Alban's shrine.

As late as 1320, Alan of Walsingham, Sacrist of Ely, is recorded 'as building such a workshop for his monastery "Cameram pro selda aurifabri." And it is to be observed that entries of this kind must establish the reputation of the goldsmith in the ecclesiastical workshops as not only a worker in the metals, but as a figure-artist too. Examples like the Gloucester candlestick (see Fig. 144, p. 166) have in most cases figure-ornament as well as arabesque. The most famous of the monkish artists whose reputes have come down to us is a certain Walter of Colchester. He flourished in the first half of the thirteenth century and is continually and eulogistically mentioned as founder, painter, and goldsmith by Matthew Paris, the historian who was his fellow monk at St Albans. It seems that Walter had been originally an artisan of Colchester, and being brought into the Monastery of St Albans to work for the convent, became a brother in 1240². His work, however, was in the decorative crafts of church-furnishing and his reputation that of a cunning goldsmith. The

¹ The most celebrated schools of monastic craft in Europe were: (1) that established by Eginhard for Charlemagne, c. 800, and (2) that of Desiderius, abbot of Monte Cassino, c. 1075. In the French annals of the eleventh and twelfth centuries we hear of a monk of Casa Dei "Guinamundus in architectura et sculptura peritissimus":

of a monk Unald working under Abbot Guillaume at St Benigne, Dijon, as an expert sculptor: also at Autun of Martin, a monk "lapidum mirabilis arte."

² An ecclesiastic mentioned as an artificer along with Walter of Colchester in respect of the making of Becket's Shrine at Canterbury in 1225 was Elias de Dereham, Canon of Salisbury.

stone-sculptor on the other hand cannot, in the twelfth century, be identified as always of the cloister, or indeed as generally a monk. His attachment to the monastery was as a paid workman, though more than one record of personality remains to us in his signature on his works. For example, at Bridekirk in



FIG. 88. Bridekirk (Cumberland). Font with the inscription of "Ricardus." c. 1150.

Cumberland is a beautiful carved font with figures and ornament that may be dated roughly as belonging to the middle of the twelfth century. Its runic inscription¹ (Fig. 88) may be modernised as follows:

"He was Richard who me wrought
And me to grace with joy he brought."

¹ RIKARTH HE ME IWROKT(E).
AND TO THIS MERTHE GERNR ME BROKTE.

Now at this date there was one Ricardus "Sculptor" who worked at the building of Norham Castle, near Durham, as to whom a tale is told by his contemporary, Reginald of Durham. It has accordingly been suggested that Richard of Durham was the sculptor of this font, but Richards were common enough and such identifications can only be accounted guesswork. The title "Sculptor" at this date must not be pressed into special significance, for it meant merely a worker in stone, as is clear from the ordinance of Henry II. addressed "Sculptoribus liberorum lapidum."

In England, as in West Europe generally, the carved capitals of the twelfth-century churches (as for example at Romsey, Fig. 89) are found



FIG. 89. Romsey Abbey. Capital in quire. Inscription of sculptor Robert. c. 1150.

inscribed with names as of sculptors. M. Enlart in the *Manuel* gives several such signatures that occur upon French buildings¹, the most remarkable by a Gilabertus of Toulouse who calls himself "vir non incertus." The signatories in such twelfth-century inscriptions clearly assert their pride in artistry, and in some Italian examples of masonic inscriptions the declaration amounts to bombast; as for example when a certain builder of Sienna is to be found describing himself as "Magister doctissimus peritissimus."

¹ On a twelfth-century tympanum at Bourges is GIRAULDUS FECIT ISTAS PORTAS.

SECTION III. THE BUILDING SCULPTORS

In the great Gothic period, however, the pride and bombast of artistic competence entirely disappear. Indeed Gothic figure-sculpture is never found signed (that we know of) in England, nor are there any notices to show any special artistic distinction attaching to the makers of the most beautiful of our stone reliefs or statues. Thus the figures of the Westminster Chapter-house would seem described in the accounts (see p. 320) only as "II imagines ad tascham cissas"¹—"two figures dressed by the job," there being no mention of the sculptor.

Since therefore no distinct documents connect even the most accomplished and important works of English stone-sculpture with the particular fame of any one, we are really dealing in conjecture when we assign figure-works to this or that master who may be recorded as working at a building. The accounts indeed offer us many names of masons, and all the indications point to the conclusion that the decorative or plastic chiselling of stone was in the hands of the same workmen as those employed on the science of construction. Certainly when an aptitude for the carving of the human figure declared itself it would be cultivated, and the masons who showed such aptitude would have the work of statue-making when it was wanted. We are confronted, however, with a wonderfully level attainment in most of the architectural carving of the thirteenth century, at any rate in the principal works, over the whole of England. It would seem therefore that the great centres of civilization bred at this date a multitude of men gifted with the faculty of being artists as we call them. Accordingly it seems idle to claim that skill in figure-carving made the fame of a mason, for one man would appear accounted as good as another as far as reputation went. The "sculptor" was just a worker in freestone, and was only incidentally conscious that he was a figure-artist. The thirteenth-century stained-glass window at Chartres, which depicts the works of building a church, and is thus a contemporary description of medieval practice, shows a figure being carved alongside of a capital, and the walling proceeding up above. Of the thirteenth century, also, is the sketch-book of Wilars de Honecort, who was clearly by profession a building mason of that date, and half of it can be seen taken up with figure-drawing. He evidently reckoned the figure just as pertinent to his craft as the engineering details of construction.

¹ This entry was found in the Record Office, *Westminster Abbey* has printed some extracts in the roll from which Scott's *Gleanings from* the Appendix, pp. 239—250.

We must be cautious, therefore, of importing nineteenth-century conceptions of what is due to the dignity of the sculptor-*artist* into the thirteenth century, when he was only a sculptor-*mason*. However necessary it may seem to the aesthetic critic of to-day that the figures of medieval sculpture must owe their beauty to great masters in art, so that when a mason gets mentioned, we may assume him to be the famous artist who conceived it all—such identifications are open to question. The most likely place where the fame of a great sculptor would develop would be in the King's works, since for such works the artist, and not the mechanic, might be supposed to have been specially selected, and as far as accounts can go we are well supplied with information. The "Rolls" of expenditure remain practically complete as to the details and course of royal building (at any rate with regard to the Westminster works) for long periods of Gothic sculpture. They are very voluminous and only extracts have been published—but at one time or another they have been searched for artistic notices. As to the King's craftsmen, Professor Lethaby has made industrious research and has very ably handled his material¹. Yet it cannot be said that even now the individual distinction of medieval artists has been actually brought home to us, or that we are nearer being able to fix on the personalities to whom the figure-sculpture of the English school owed its distinctive features.

The entries of Henry III.'s building accounts tell us how a John of Gloucester is styled the King's mason, and is directed to make five statues of kings carved in freestone to be given to the church of St Martin². But then the same accounts also show him to have been the master in charge of the works, and so suggest that the statues were very likely not his own work, but from the general building workshop of which he had charge. Again, in another account, Edward of Westminster (Fitz Odo) is ordered to make brass leopards for the throne, he having told the King "that they would be but little more expensive in metal than if sculptured in marble." But this Edward, as the accounts indicate, was the clerk in charge of the King's expenditure, and his advice would be probably that of a steward, not of an artist. Accordingly there

¹ Though we are dealing here only with figure-sculptors of this period—none of whom can be traced as of definitely foreign origin (for the goldsmith Torel was it appears of London birth, the name occurring early in the records of the city)—the extremely interesting particulars of Henry III.'s employment of certain undoubted foreigners in some other branches of art deserve mention. First there was the remarkable introduction of the Cosmati (Mosaicists) for pavements and other works; and especially for the magnificent base of St Edward's shrine, the inscription on which records it as the work of "Petrus Romanus Civis,"

as to whose personality some contributions to knowledge have lately been made by Mr Frothingham and Professor Lethaby. See also article on *The Monumental Work of the Cosmati at Westminster Abbey* by Prof. Chevalier Formill in *Journal of R.I.B.A.* XVIII. 3, Dec. 1910. Secondly, as speaking to the wide fame of Henry III.'s operations was the presence of foreign painters—John of St Omer, Peter of Spain, and William of Florence—all three being employed on various works by the king. W. R. Lethaby, *Westminster Abbey and Craftsmen*, pp. 257—259.

² Close Roll 43 Henry III.

must be doubts whether entries as to John of Gloucester being King's mason are really proof that he was the consummate artist who carved the "Angels" of the Westminster triforium (see Frontispiece). Nor can we be sure that Fitz Odo was the actual modeller of bronze statues, although he was the son of a goldsmith Odo, who was in charge of the Mint and employed upon the shrine of the Confessor. William of Gloucester, who was styled the "King's Goldsmith" of the period, has one of the best claims for an artistic reputation as a figure-worker, since his name is entered as the recipient of money for gold and jewelled statues in connection with the shrine of the Confessor that was then being made.

Still it is clear, as Professor Lethaby has pointed out, that Henry III.'s artistic conceptions and his continual building produced a school of figure-sculpture, at the head of which may have been for a time (c. 1258) John of St Albans, "sculptor of the King's images," though in the ideas of the time the fact was of small consequence, and we know no more of "John of St Albans" than the single entry which records the above title for him, or perhaps merely mentions a temporary employment on which he was engaged.

The most precise information that we get as to image-makers in the thirteenth century is that given by the Eleanor Trustees, in their accounts published in *Archaeologia* as long back as 1842. These record the sums expended on the memorials to the queen of Edward I., which combined the very beautiful work of various crafts and a figure-sculpture of a remarkable kind which in spite of decay still exists for our appreciation upon the Eleanor Crosses and her tomb. We illustrate opposite (Fig. 90) what we think is a fairly genuine piece of the Northampton cross.

The accounts enter payments to various kinds of craftsmen, but chiefly to masons. There are, however, payments specially to figure-sculptors, *e.g.* to William de Hiberniâ (entered as an "imaginator," as well as a "coementarius"), "pro quinque imaginibus ad crucem, Northamptoni et alibi." Then we have similar payments to Alexander le Imagineur (called also Alexander of Abingdon), "pro factura imaginum ad crucem de Charynge." The figures of this artist may, however, have been of metal, for there are payments to him "for wax" to be used seemingly for casting his figures in accordance with the "cire perdue" system. Moreover he is paid for painting and for iron-work as if he practised many crafts. But again he is mentioned as a stone-worker: for he is entered as engaged at Waltham where we can see that the statues are of stone, and in this case he had a fellow worker, Dymenge de Leger, the two being entitled "operarii." The explanation may be that Alexander was a modeller of figures, and that the stone statues at Waltham were worked by the masons from his designs. Though it will be pleasant to suppose him an all round *sculptor* as we use the term to-day, and when we look at his works in Book II., to



FIG. 90. Northampton. The cross at Hardingstone. Statues of "Queen Eleanor" by William of Ireland. c. 1290.

connect him with a certain style of figure-work, it must be understood that such a title and such a quality of style can only be allowed him with great hesitation.

Finally we may read in the same accounts the valuable entries as to Magister William Torel, who is represented as an undoubted goldsmith unconnected with masonry. He was supplied with wax and metal for the modelling and founding of the bronze effigies of King Henry III. and Queen Eleanor, "Regis et Regine" as the accounts say: these are the magnificent figures that are to be seen to-day at Westminster Abbey.

The vagueness of such records must be accepted, and the doubtful repute of the thirteenth-century sculptors can only be put as we have done it. But the contemporary entries, though they are scanty means for identifying artists, must be taken as of the very highest significance in the light they throw on the conditions of the arts c. 1300, the date when came the crisis or climacteric of Gothic art. The Eleanor accounts to our mind exhibit two symptoms of a shift from an earlier to a later practice in figure-sculpture. First we point to the appearance at this date of a stone-working "imaginator," viz. a maker of detached figures to order, alongside of the metal-working imager, viz. the goldsmith and painter who was the traditionary church furnisher. Secondly we can read here how the monastic artist of the cloister workshop, even in image-making, had given place to citizen workers, such as Alexander of Abingdon¹ and Master Torel of London, who had their shops and supplied churches. There is mentioned, too, in the Westminster accounts some few years later², John Orchard, *Latoner*, of London, as a general purveyor of figure-work, and the entry indicates him as combining a sale of alabaster figures with the laton work of his trade, which would be chiefly in the engraved monumental "brass." The significance of this expansion of shop-work in the arts and its supersession of the architectural crafts will continually be referred to as explaining the course of English sculpture.

¹ W. R. Lethaby claims Alexander as a citizen of London who supplied images to country churches.

² See W. H. St John Hope, *Archaeological Journal*, Dec. 1904.

SECTION IV. THE SHOP SCULPTOR

In the last period of the Gothic style the records of the sculptors disclose them constantly as tradesmen. An indenture or contract of 1394 tells us how Nicholas Broker and Godfrey Prest, citizens and coppersmiths of London¹, agreed to make two images of metal gilt, and these are the bronze figures of Richard II. and Queen Anne of Bohemia in Westminster Abbey.



FIG. 91. Lowick, Northants. Alabaster monument of Ralph Green and Lady by Thomas Prentys and Robert Sutton of Chellaston. c. 1420.

A contract of the same kind is that which recites how Thomas Prentys and Robert Sutton of Chellaston in 1419 undertook to supply "Image contrefait à un esquier en armes en toutz pointz et contrefait à une dame gisant en sa surcote ouverte²." And in Lowick Church in Northampton (Fig. 91) the effigies of Ralph Green and his wife, supplied as above, are there for us to see.

¹ See Bradley and Neale, *Westminster Abbey Church*, II. 107.

² Quoted from Hartshorne's *Effigies of Northamptonshire*, p. 312.

The most complete and informing documents as to the practice and status of the fifteenth-century sculptor are the accounts of the executors who were charged with the carrying out of the monument of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, who died 1439. The particulars are in the muniment room of Warwick, and were published by Dugdale as showing contracts for the work of the chantry and tomb. For example, "John Essex¹, marbler, William Austen, founder, & Thomas Stevyns, coppersmyth, do covenant with the said executors that they shall make forge & worke in most finest wise & of the finest latten one large plate to be dressed & to lye on the overmost stone of the tombe under the image that shall lye on the same tombe," and so on with other particulars, "and for the same they have in sterling money cxxv. *li*." In another contract the above Will. Austen is entitled "citizen & founder of London" and he covenants "to cast & make an image of a man armed according to pattern & also to cast...xiv. images embossed of lords & ladies." In the same form "Bartholomew Lambspring, Dutchman & Goldsmyth of London covenanteth to repaire, restore, & pullish, & to make perfect to the gilding an image of latten of a man armed." Also "John Bourde of Corff castle in the county of Dorset Marbler doth covenant to make a tombe of Marble" etc. "& to do all the work & workmanship about the same tomb to the entail, according to a portraicture delivered unto him"... "the entailing"² to be at the charge of the executors. After which entailing, the said Marbler shall pullish & clense" etc.

The citizens of London referred to in such documents were evidently men of substance and repute and, as we would call them, city magnates. So also must have been the Drawswerd, the imager of York, who gave an estimate to Henry VIII. for the statues to be put upon Henry VII.'s tomb, for he was a member of parliament and Mayor of York. Such great people could be only merchants of art, who, as regards figure-sculpture, must be thought of as the hereditary purveyors of a traditional style of it that had crystallised into a marketable commodity. Their apprentices and shopmen were the men who actually carved and painted. So, too, with the *alablasters-men*, as they were called, whom we come across taking orders for village churches in the fifteenth century. The retables they supplied are characteristically the works of a caste of figure-sculptors, repeating continually the same expressions and the same technique.

It is not necessary to multiply the extracts, for their significance can be seen not to lie so much in the actual names—whether "Sacrist" Ralph of Ramsey, or "Mason" William of Ireland, or "Citizen" William Austen—

¹ Essex must have been the leading tomb-maker of his day: he was consulted by Henry VI. and took with him for the interview with the monarch

the same Thomas Stevyns. See Dean Stanley's *Memorials of Westminster*, pp. 605, 609.

² Entailing, *i.e.* the actual carving or sculpture.

but in the mention of the classes from which these artists have been drawn—the classes which in succession had interest in sculpture. We may observe by the way that nowadays neither sacrists, masons nor citizens as such are our artists; for the modern figure-sculptor is given a training and capacity that puts him outside ordinary workaday life.

What was meant by the shift of sculpture-production from cloister to mason's yard, and then from mason's yard to city shop, will crop up again and again in our discussion of examples. Clerics, artisans and traders each in their turn had the province of expressing in their works the current culture of the English people. As dynasty followed dynasty in this medieval genealogy of artists we trace the gradual necessary ripening of the function of art. The monastic artist was still in evidence up to the middle of the fourteenth century, for there is the curious account in the annals of Meux Abbey, a Cistercian house in Yorkshire, as to an "operarius" (he may have been a lay brother) fabricating from the nude model a crucifixion which excited the devotion of women¹. The mason-artist too, as we have seen, had his beginnings quite early in the twelfth century, though it was in the thirteenth and fourteenth that he dominated the production of sculpture. And the shop-artist had come practically into existence c. 1200 in the marble-trade of recumbent effigies, which was carried on, it would seem, from London and Corfe in the Isle of Purbeck simultaneously. Thus the marblers of London probably became the first "sculptors" as we use the term—viz. makers of detached figures in marble and stone for sale.

Still, the sequence of three dominating interests acting on the production of figure-sculpture in the Middle Ages and controlling its exhibition of art must on the full view be allowed. It is to be seen how this dovetails into the course of medieval building, and in fact expresses the same evolution of society. For church architecture had begun as a religious duty of the monastic orders, and then in its exercise created a class of building artisans, who in the pride of their craft pushed on one side the ecclesiastic traditions. Presently, in the multiplicity of its activities the building faculty subdivided, and split into a bundle of dexterities that grew to fit loosely to one another. When a building could be constructed first and adorned afterwards this adornment was a matter of commerce, and parted company with the building art. Then at the last, when cleric, mason, and shopman had each in his turn played the part of figure-sculptor, there came a new man on the scene—the "humanist." For the Renaissance decided that the sculptor was to be a pedant—and has he not remained so to this day?

¹ See A. E. Bond's *Chronica Monastica de Meux*, Vol. III. p. 55. The suggestion that this use of the model ushered in a naturalistic era

of sculpture in England is not supported by the character of the nude representations which the later medieval style popularised.

In concluding this short introduction we may recapitulate that the medieval art of figure-work obtained its special quality by its development under distinct conditions of great simplicity. And on this ground only can we compare it with the Greek evolution of sculpture. While Greek perfection of statue-carving grew up in the production of detached pieces, votive images placed in the temples, the essence of medieval work was to be an attached art, a sculpture developed in the fabric of building. The Greek in his characteristic period was able to make his figures individual conceptions, worked for close inspection in the finest materials, and he created in his masterpieces an intellectual ideal for each subject which had a prestige for generations. The Gothic sculptor had in himself no such intellectual capacity and his figure-work was hardly conscious of individual creation: his motives were directly under the dictation of authority, and he developed them in the coarse materials of construction. The working ideas as well as the moral characters of the two schools were on different planes and their respective excellences should be recognised without unnecessary comparisons. Just as the crystalline marble in which the Greek worked corresponded with the intellectual incisiveness of Greek thought, so the coarser building-stone of the Gothic sculpture suited the emotional seriousness of the medieval mason-sculptor. Their ideals differed from one another as much as their temperaments, and therefore the works of neither should be discounted in terms of the other. So much, however, has been ably written on the different motives and meanings of the Gothic and Classic arts that we may be excused from attempting to add anything further in this direction. The following account of medieval figure-sculpture will be simply an endeavour to bring together its remaining examples in a chain that will exhibit the sequences of their craft-technique and the several kinds of their craft-expression. We may claim however to suggest this, that an art of sculpture flourished in England during the Middle Ages the quality of which was of extraordinary distinction. What has been left of it, mutilated as the examples mostly are, has claims on our sympathy as the work of our own people; and we can at least ask that the part played by the English sculptors be recognised as having its place in the art-history of Europe, for its importance has as yet hardly been recognised by most critics.

APPENDIX TO BOOK I

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ENGLISH MEDIEVAL SCULPTURE

THE printed works dealing with the English sculpture of the Middle Ages are not many, except as to one branch of its performance, that of the monumental effigy. Sepulchral monuments have long attracted attention, as can be seen in the following works :—

- John Weever, "Ancient Funerall Monuments of Great Britain, Ireland, &c." Fol. 1631.
Richard Gough, "Sepulchral Monuments in Great Britain, &c." 1786—1796.
Charles A. Stothard, "The Monumental Effigies of Great Britain." 4to. 1817—1832.
(Edited by A. J. Kempe.) New Edition with additional letterpress, 1876 (edited by J. Hewitt).
Edward Blore, "Monumental Remains of Noble and Eminent Persons, &c." 4to. 1826.
T. and H. Hollis, "Monumental Effigies of Great Britain." 4to. 1840, 1841.

The above are all valuable collections of examples, drawn and (except in the last work) described, and the illustrations by Stothard, Blore and Hollis are of the highest order of merit executed at the time when English book-engraving was at its zenith.

Since the date of these publications some of the English counties have had their medieval tombs and monumental effigies taken in detail, tabulated and drawn by the following authors :—

- A. Hartshorne, "Recumbent Monumental Effigies in Northamptonshire." 1876.
W. H. H. Rogers, "Ancient Sepulchral Effigies and Monumental Sculpture of Devon." 1877.
F. Chancellor, "The Ancient Sepulchral Monuments of Essex." 1890.
Canon R. Bower, "Effigies in the Diocese of Carlisle." Published in the *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Archaeological Society.* 1899.

The first of these is well illustrated and a monograph of great thoroughness, the substance of which with reproductions of some of the original drawings has been published in the Victoria History of Northamptonshire. There are also drawings of Northamptonshire effigies by Thomas Kerrich in the Print Room of the British Museum.

A. C. Fryer's "Wooden Monumental Effigies" (1910) is the most important recent addition to the study of effigy-work since it tabulates and describes all the examples remaining in England.

Other less important publications have dealt with groups of effigies, and in some cases give illustrations :—

- Hogarth, "Sepulchral Memorials of Northamptonshire." 1850.
E. Richardson, "The Monumental Effigies of the Temple Church." 1843. "Effigies in Elford Church, Staffordshire." 1852.

M. H. Bloxam published several notices, of which the following are in the Library of the Antiquaries, Burlington House, London :—

- "Sepulchral Effigies in South Yorkshire." 1850.
- "Sepulchral Monuments in Oxford Cathedral." 1852.
- "Effigies in Peterborough." 1861.
- "Monuments in Worcester." 1862.
- "Effigies in Elstow Church." 1863.
- "Sepulchral Monuments in Warwickshire of the 13th—14th centuries." 1864.
- "Sepulchral Monuments and Effigies in Leicestershire." 1866.
- "Sepulchral Effigies in Bottesford." 1869.
- "Sepulchral Effigy of Archbishop Sandys in Southwell Minster, &c." 1869.
- "Monuments at West Leake, Stafford, and Hilmorton, Worcester." 1870.
- "Sepulchral cross-legged Effigies of Civilians." 1876.
- "Sepulchral Effigies in Hereford." 1877.

For the most part, the above works have made their interest with the genealogical or personal accounts of the various Ecclesiastics, Knights or Ladies represented, or have dealt with the history of costume and armour, without attempting analysis of the art of the sculptor¹. The notices scattered through the pages of the Transactions and Reports of the various Archaeological Societies have described and often illustrated single monuments, but are largely genealogical and scarcely deal with the figure-sculpture. The Bristol and Gloucestershire Society has for some years been engaged in publishing what will be of value as a complete account of the monumental effigies of its district, an example that the other county societies should follow².

Outside sepulchral monuments our local antiquaries have done scarcely anything for the recognition or tabulation of the medieval figure-work in their districts. It is true that in respect of the earliest sculpture certain parts of the British Isles have been well surveyed, and there are standard works such as the following, which give all the information possible on the figure-sculpture found on standing crosses and stones :—

- W. S. Calverley and W. G. Collingwood, "Early Sculptured Crosses of the Diocese of Carlisle." 8vo. 1899.
- W. G. Collingwood, "Anglian and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in the North Riding of Yorkshire." 8vo. 1907.
- J. Romilly Allen and J. Anderson, "The Early Monuments of Scotland." 4to. 1903.
- J. Romilly Allen, "Celtic Art in Pagan and Christian Times." Fol. 1904.
- A. C. Champneys, "Irish Ecclesiastical Architecture." 1910.

Margaret Stokes has described and illustrated the great Irish crosses in many papers. See especially "Monasterboice" in *Notes on Irish Archaeology*, Lord Dunraven, 1897, and "The High Crosses of Castle Dermott and Durrow," 1898.

The Romanesque figure-sculpture of England has also been well illustrated, but only as regards the doorheads and fonts.

¹ See however A. Hartshorne's "Portraiture in Recumbent Effigies, and Ancient Schools of Monumental Sculpture in England," 1899, and his contribution to Church's "Minor Arts of the Middle Ages," 1894, on the making of wood effigies.

² See pp. 543—565, Book III. where tables are given with the idea of reducing to reasonable and easily digested limits the descriptions necessary for the specification of examples. Under such a system the lists of county effigies need not be bulky.

C. E. Keyser's "Norman Tympana and Lintels," 4to, 1904, makes a complete tabulation of the remains with which it deals.

F. Bond's "Fonts and Font Covers," 1908, gives numerous photographs of Romanesque font-sculpture in England, as well as of the fifteenth century figure-sculptured examples. A. C. Fryer in the *Journal of the Archaeological Institute*, 1903, describes and illustrates the sculpture of many fonts¹.

The figure-sculpture of the Gothic builders in England has, however, been little discussed, examination of its remains being mostly confined to certain prominent pieces in their local connection.

C. R. Cockerell's "Iconography of the West Front of Wells Cathedral," 1851, dealt with the statues of Wells, Exeter, and the reliefs of the Angel Choir at Lincoln.

W. Burges published in G. G. Scott's "Gleanings from Westminster Abbey," 2nd edition, 1863, some valuable remarks on the effigies of the Abbey, and he was also the author of a dissertation on the thirteenth-century spandrel-carvings of Salisbury chapter-house, which he restored and painted.

W. R. Lethaby's "Westminster Abbey and the King's Craftsmen," 1906, gives a full account of the building-artists employed at Westminster—a valuable contribution to the history of medieval art.

T. G. Jackson's "St Mary the Virgin, Oxford," 1897, illustrates the fourteenth-century statues then on the spire of the church.

M. R. James' "The Sculptures in the Lady Chapel at Ely," 1895, describes the fourteenth-century reliefs of the arcade-spandrels of the chapel².

E. Aldis' "Carvings and Sculptures of Worcester Cathedral," 1873, is a set of photographs taken from the spandrel-carvings of the quire.

E. M. Goulburn's "Ancient Sculptures in the roof of Norwich Cathedral" gives photographs, taken from a scaffold, of the bosses of the vaulting.

Accounts of special groups of subject-carvings have also been published, such as Emma Phipson's "Choir Stalls and their Carvings," 1896, which illustrates rather imperfectly a large number of misericords; F. Bond's "Misericords," which is an exhaustive analysis with photographs of the same subjects; O. M. Dalton's "Catalogue of the British Museum Ivories," which tabulates and describes the ivory pieces of presumed English make in our national collection. "Bosses and Corbels of Exeter Cathedral," by E. K. Prideaux and G. R. Holt Shafto is a complete and detailed description.

The leading Archaeological Journals also have published valuable papers, such as:—

"On the Eleanor Crosses," by J. Hunter, in *Archaeologia*, Vol. xxiv. 1842.

"How Exeter Cathedral was built," by W. R. Lethaby, in the *Architectural Review*. 1903.

"On the Imagery and Sculptures of the west front of Wells Cathedral Church," by W. H. St John Hope and W. R. Lethaby, in *Archaeologia*, Vol. LIX. 1904.

"On the early working of Alabaster in England," by W. H. St John Hope, in the *Archaeological Journal*. 1904.

"A sculptured representation of Hell Cauldron found at York," by J. Bilson, in the *Yorkshire Archaeological Society's Journal*. 1907.

¹ We are indebted to both these authors for permission to use their illustrations in this work.

² See the same author, in the *Cambridge Antiquarian Society's Proceedings*, 1901, on the Roman-

esque sculptures at Malmesbury and Lincoln; and the Sculptured Bosses of the Bauchun Chapel at Norwich, published under the direction of the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society, 1908.

"Some Examples of English Alabaster Tables in France," by Count Paul Biver, in the *Archaeological Journal*, March, 1910.

In the above the meanings and subjects of the sculpture are discussed, and to some extent the documents and history of the several crafts. But for any general survey of the whole work of the medieval sculptors in England the student can at present turn to but few authorities.

J. Carter's "Specimens of the Ancient Sculpture and Painting now remaining in this Kingdom, from the earliest period to the reign of Henry VIII," 1780, is a series of examples, not well illustrated, and published with little or no critical appreciation, but of value as showing the condition of English sculpture a hundred years ago.

John Flaxman's "Lectures on Sculpture," 1829, devotes one lecture to English work, giving a few figures of the more celebrated pieces.

M. H. Bloxam, in his "Principles of Gothic Ecclesiastical Architecture," 11th ed., gives a more general account, but as an elementary sketch.

The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* includes an article on sculpture by J. H. Middleton, who quotes largely from English medieval examples.

Sir W. Armstrong, in "Art in Great Britain and Ireland," 1909, gives a short but interesting description of English work.

An American translation, by J. T. Clarke, of Von Reber, "The History of Medieval Art," New York, 1887, may also be noticed as aiming at the discussion of our Gothic sculpture, and Michel's "Histoire de l'Art," Vols. I. and II., 1905—1906, contains accounts of English medieval examples at the hand of C. Enlart. Following this we have had other foreign archaeologists taking an interest in English work—for example, H. Fett has published in Norwegian an account of the sculpture in the Salisbury Chapter House, and Count Paul Biver gives a full and critical account of the Westminster Tombs, *Bulletin Monumental*, 1909, p. 243.

The many writers on English architecture have generally overlooked its figure-sculpture—indeed the statement is common that English art did not produce sculptors in the Middle Ages. That any of their work exists is as a rule a surprise to modern artists and scholars¹. And one reason of this is undoubtedly the false impression given by sham medieval statues, which the ecclesiastical authorities have allowed to appear at Canterbury, Winchester, Salisbury, Hereford and Lichfield. The imbecility of the modern performance of Gothic sculpture degrades the memory of the ancient art. We have been unable to find in the popular literature of the nineteenth century one single allusion to the beauty of English medieval figure-carving, only references to its grotesqueness and insipidity. Our literature is in this matter like the typical Englishman who will develop an appreciation for beauty in art solely on the condition that it has been seen abroad. Ruskin, though he obtained special photographs of the statues of the Wells front, mentions them hardly at all in his eloquent dissertations. Yet these figures at Wells, the censing angels of the Westminster transept, those of the "Angel Choir" at Lincoln, and the magnificent torsos that flank the south door of the same building are worth attention and appreciation not only as English, but as great works that the stonemason's chisel has wrought in the world's sculpture.

¹ We may be allowed to quote an extract from a daily paper under the signature of an historic expert: "In music, sculpture, painting, even archi-

itecture, Britain will hardly go down to the ages alongside of some other nations—nor were the plastic or pictorial arts ever really popular."

BOOK II

CHAPTER I

PRE-CONQUEST FIGURE SCULPTURE, 650—1050

SECTION I. THE ANGLIAN CROSSES, 650—800

DESPITE the importance of the Roman building in our islands—and we think appreciation of it will grow by future excavations of sites—there can be no claim that our English arts have been founded directly on those of the Roman occupation¹. The monuments of Imperial style, if they survived to Saxon times, afforded no models for sculpture in England, like those offered by Roman work in Italy or in southern France. Any sculpture-craft that may have existed in British cities after the departure of the legions has left no memory of its existence. We conclude that the ferocity of the barbarian raids and the devastations attendant on the first Saxon and Norse settlements practically put an end to the working of stone, and that for some two centuries no art of stone-sculpture was practised in southern Britain.

We come then to the latter part of the seventh century as the earliest date when anything of consequence can be called distinctively a beginning of figure-work in England. What then appeared, however, was of a quality that gives a peculiar distinction to the birth of English art. The cross-carvings which were wrought in our islands from c. 650 to c. 1100 stand out conspicuously among the sculptural monuments of West Europe. As we shall show, these crosses may be classified as Anglian, Celtic and Scandinavian, and the earliest and most accomplished, which we call Anglian, we assign to the seventh century. Although figure-sculpture was only an incidental part of their carving, we must give some pages to explain the

¹ The Roman figure-sculpture in stone that has been found in England makes but an insignificant collection beside what many a single town in France or Spain can show us. On the line of the Roman wall stretching from Newcastle to Carlisle, there have been dug up representations of the deities worshipped by the legionaries of the Imperial garrison, but nothing remains of account except a Mithraic "Orpheus" at Newcastle. A stone figure at Colchester, the slab of the "Horseman" at Hexham, and the memorial tablets at the Museum, South Shields, and in the Library of the

Antiquaries, London, may be mentioned as the best pieces of stonework which our island has afforded. At Bath, however, there remains one fine piece of architectural sculpture—a "gorgon" head—which must have been executed in England. But the marble statuette of "Oceanus" and the bronzes found in the Thames (the colossal head of "Hadrian" in the British Museum, and the small "Mercury" and "Apollo") as well as one pretty little bronze at Dorchester, which are all good Roman work, were we think importations and not to be regarded as the works of artists in Britain.



FIG. 92. Bewcastle, Cumberland. Bird sculpture on shaft of cross. c. 670. At the side chequers.



FIG. 93. Bewcastle Cross. The "Christ." c. 670. At the side scrolls and interlacements.

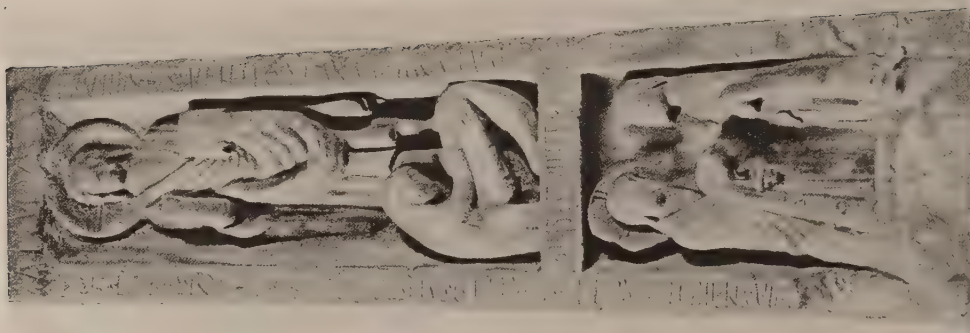


FIG. 94. Ruthwell (Dumfries) (from cast at Durham). c. 700.

grounds on which we put this early date, and reach the significant conclusions that this remarkable sculpture warrants.

It was in the conversion of Northumbria to Christianity that we find the atmosphere in which Anglian art grew up: for in the cause of conversion came that resumption of building in stone, discontinued since the departure of the Roman legions, but still called significantly "*juxta morem Romanum*," as Bede, the historian of the seventh century, records. Remote from the acknowledged centres of civilization, the culture of the Church appeared as the special mother of the arts—creating, training and developing them as it was to do for some nine or ten centuries to come. Since the themes and motives which were to be those of all art until the Reformation appear in Northumbrian cross-work the English beginning of sculpture can be seen to be a most significant one.

Three crafts have left examples of the style and capacity of the English artist in this first Christian era of Northumbria. The manuscript of the Lindisfarne "*Gospels*" (shown to have been executed in England c. 700) is celebrated as one of the most beautiful early writings of the Celtic school, as well as for its sacred paintings of Byzantine type¹. Of equal beauty and skill was the metal-chasing upon the cup to be seen in the York Museum and ascribed by experts to a date nearly that of the "*Gospels*." It was found at Ormside in Westmorland, and may be referred to the same native school of design², for its patterns are those of manuscripts. Finally, in connection with manuscript and cup we may place the stone-sculptures of the Bewcastle, Ruthwell and Hexham crosses.

The Bewcastle Cross (Figs. 92 and 93), though headless, is still standing presumably where it was set up, A.D. 670—a monument, it is said, of the Christian conquest of Cumbria. At Ruthwell, just over the border in Scotland, a similar cross (Fig. 94) has been reconstructed out of the original fragments with some small additions. It, too, had been standing in the churchyard till the year 1670, but was thrown down by the Puritans. In make and sculpture both these monuments are similar: they are cross-shafts of sandstone some twenty feet high, with panel-carvings on all four sides in modelled relief, partly interacements and scrolls, and partly figure-reliefs, as shown in the illustrations. Similar in shape but smaller and of rather different workmanship is a sculptured monument found at Hexham and now placed in the Durham Library. It is called the cross of Bishop Acca (d. 740), over whose tomb the erection of crosses is recorded. What is left is a shaft of sandstone, eight feet high, with extremely delicate and finely traced scroll-work of interlacing vines, but with no figure-work.

¹ See reproductions in Warner's *Illuminated Manuscripts in Brit. Museum*, 1903, pl. 1 and 2.

² See Calverley and Collingwood, pp. 297 and 300.

At both Bewcastle and Ruthwell the figure-panels are similar in style, but on the latter the execution is somewhat coarser. Still, though now worn by the frosts and winds of some twelve hundred winters, there can in both be seen a well-proportioned and technically accomplished sculpture in nearly full relief. There are three figures on the front of the shaft at Bewcastle—the “Christ” in the centre panel (Fig. 93); above, “St John the Baptist,” and below, “St John the Evangelist.” At Ruthwell (Fig. 94) the figure-carvings are on both front and back, with Latin inscriptions in Anglo-Saxon capitals describing them, while in addition are runic inscriptions which will be presently mentioned. As well as the “Christ” and “St John the Baptist” (figures, it is to be noted, almost identical in expression with those of Bewcastle) there are sacred scenes, such as the “Annunciation,” the “Salutation” and the “Mary Magdalen at the feet of Christ,” and one legendary representation, viz. “St Paul and St Anthony breaking bread in the wilderness.” It will be seen how the sides of both crosses and the back of the shaft at Bewcastle are very finely carved with chequers, interlacements and foliage scrolls.

The accomplishment and character of this sculpture upon our English crosses may cause misgivings as to the seventh-century date which archaeologists have assigned to it. The direct evidence of its inscriptions has indeed been more or less canvassed, but for us who approach sculpture on the side of technique the evidences of style are those to which we would direct attention, and the opinion we offer the reader is on this head. Whatever the date of the Anglian sculpture, its peculiar style has certainly been given it by peculiar conditions, and we hope to show that the seventh and eighth centuries offer the circumstances of those conditions better than any later date.

The name “slab-cross” has been given to this class of monument to distinguish it from the architectural or built-up “cross” of later mediæval usage. Its examples remain in large numbers in the British Islands, and are found of many makes and decorations and of various shapes and finish. It is reasonable to assign as the earliest those which are to be seen as rough, unhewn or scarcely hewn, monoliths inscribed with the cross outlines: and then to consider, as an advance on these, those showing a shaping of the cross by sculpture. In both cases, however, the monolith cross would be a form antecedent to the great building era of the twelfth century, though on the other hand, in view of the cross-shape, it dates to the Christian centuries, that is from the sixth onwards in England. We may therefore take these six hundred years, say 600—1200, as the period of slab-crosses in England.

Now the Anglian monuments stand out among our examples generally by reason of the elegance of their shaping: they are slender in the shaft,

which is square in plan instead of flatly oblong as is the case elsewhere. Also the head of the cross is cut out with distinct arms of smaller proportion in respect to the tapered shaft. In Cornwall, Wales, the Isle of Man, Ireland and Scotland the distinctive crosses (see illustration over page) are sculptured with massive heads. The Anglian cross had therefore its own special form which may be illustrated from Cropthorne, Worcestershire (Fig. 95)¹ though this example was probably of later date than the three great crosses.



FIG. 95. Cropthorne (Worcs). Head of Cross. c. 800(?) Late example of Anglian style.

The same distinction belongs to the ornament also. A comparison may be made with the Scotch and Irish crosses, for to these archaeologists have given full attention. The Scotch examples have, on the ground of ornament, been definitely put into three classes with a sequence of evolution for which a rough dating has been suggested². The first class, assigned to the seventh and eighth centuries, is defined as ornamented

¹ W. G. Collingwood as to the Yorkshire pre-Conquest carvings claims that elegance of workmanship and evidence of dressing by a chisel (in distinction from one by a pick or hammer) accompany the square-planned shafts, while a

rougher workmanship characterises the flatter slab-shafts of the Scotch and Irish makes.

² See Anderson and Allen's *The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*, which is very fully illustrated by photographs, etc.

solely by carvings of the peculiar symbols of northern art, circles and scrolls of mystic meaning; a second class is considered to belong to the ninth and tenth centuries, since mixed with the symbols there are graphic representations of animals, and in some cases figure-subjects as well. Then in a third class have been put those Scotch crosses from which symbols are absent; in which, too, there is generally an elaboration of cross-outline, as well as a carving of figures and interlacements. These last are considered as a growth from the second class and as continuing the story of cross-sculpture in Scotland on into the eleventh century and later. This is a simple and straightforward classification, and, if the Ruthwell cross is taken as a Scotch example¹, its conspicuous shape and elaborate ornament must give it a place quite at the end of the series, and therefore a date c. 1100, if not later, would have to be assigned to it.

In much the same way the Irish archaeologists² have been able, by the evidence of their inscribed tomb-slabs, to define advances century by century in the ornament applied to stonework, till from the inscribed cross-tracings of the seventh century it reaches the bold sculpture of immense blocks such as the High Crosses of Kells of the ninth century, and those of Clonmacnois (A.D. 914) and Monasterboice (A.D. 924), which are entirely covered with figure-sculpture (Fig. 97).

However, our illustrations show that the Anglian cross-work differs widely from that of the Scotch and Irish monuments. To date it by their characteristics is not necessary, for we can make a classification of the English examples themselves. The great crosses we have mentioned at Bewcastle and Ruthwell, though the most notable of our English examples, are not isolated works of art or solitary in Northumbria. In the district which we may call by this name (which, besides Yorkshire, Lancashire and the counties northwards into Scotland, can for this purpose be extended to include Cheshire and Derbyshire and probably other places still further south), there are left us shafts and fragments which can be counted by the hundred³. There are examples of many different kinds: the fine figure-work of Bewcastle and Ruthwell occurs in some cases, and well-executed scroll-works and chequers appear in very many others: still, the majority of the Northumbrian crosses do not exhibit such finely wrought ornament, but have rudely executed scrolls and intricate but coarsely designed interlacements, and, moreover, a figure-work that is quite barbarous and unmodelled.

¹ Ruthwell is just over the present border of Cumberland, a few miles from Dumfries, but this border is of comparatively modern date.

² See Margaret Stokes in *Notes on Irish Archaeology*. A. Champneys (whose articles on Irish Architecture followed those of the authors in the *Architectural Review*) has gone fully over

the ground of the evidence, with the same conclusions as the authors. See *Irish Ecclesiastical Architecture*, p. 216 seq.

³ W. G. Collingwood tabulates as many as 260 fragments of crosses in the North Riding of Yorkshire only.

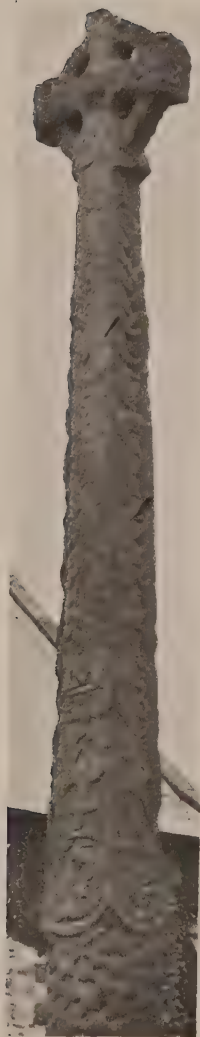


FIG. 96. Gosforth cross. c. 900.
Example of Viking technique.



FIG. 97. Monasterboice.
Example of Irish cross. c. 914.

So distinct are the several varieties of execution that it is not difficult to group the Northumbrian slab-crosses into three or four classes¹, whose styles reflect not local conditions in one district but the motives and capacities of the stone-carvers throughout the district, and thereby indicate periods of cross-making in Northumbria, just as indeed periods with differing characteristics have been assumed in Scotland and Ireland. In some cases these classes or styles of work can be reasonably dated. The Gosforth cross, Fig. 96, one of the finest of English monuments, which we have placed beside the Irish cross on p. 115, and will presently describe and illustrate in detail (see Fig. 106, p. 126)—is shown by its mixture of the Christian and Viking motives, and by the peculiar representation of the latter to belong to the end of the ninth century. Its manner of carving is not solitary in Northumbria, but is in close connection with a whole class of stone-sculpture on crosses which may be taken as exhibiting the current craftsmanship—a craftsmanship which we see in various parts of England, and also in the Thornhill and other crosses in Scotland which the Scotch classification places as c. 900.

Another period of style is exhibited in certain crosses dug up from the floor of the chapter-house at Durham. These eschew the Gosforth ornaments but are covered with a figure-work of a coarse and confused type (see Fig. 103, p. 124). As the site at Durham was not occupied till just on the year 1000 we must perforce take these carvings as representative of the later or tenth-century phase of Northumbrian cross-work. Here again a widely spread body of examples is to be noted in connection, as, for example, the carvings of the Wirksworth slab in Derbyshire, and particularly the carvings of the later Irish crosses which, as we have seen, were carved in the tenth century. It seems reasonable therefore to take the several manners of the Gosforth and Durham crosses as samples of craftsmanship belonging to c. 900 and c. 1000 respectively in Northumbria. Moreover, since the craftsmanship appears as successively influenced by the Scotch and Irish arts of the same kind, a large number of the Northumbrian crosses may be said to have their places properly in the schemes of the Scotch and Irish classifications and can be dated to the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries.

This being so the Anglian cross-work stands outside: its well-disposed and shapely ornament, its rounded forms and correct figures could not have come within ken of the generations that were satisfied with the incised outlines and grotesque modellings of Gosforth and Durham. At least a hundred years

¹ They can be regarded either as (1) local varieties of a common model, or as (2) the works of a succession of schools and capacities in carving. Since, however, the different species are not local-

ised but have been found sporadically all through the district we have named, the second explanation must, we think, necessarily be adopted.

of advance from such barbarous models would seem needed, or, on the other hand, there might have been a hundred years of decline and loss of skill from the modelled work at Bewcastle to the grotesque outlines of Gosforth. It is this latter alternative which we adopt.

French archaeology has boldly ticketed the Ruthwell and Bewcastle crosses "beaux ouvrages du XII^e siècle¹," and as far as the attainment of their figure-sculpture is concerned, such a view is reasonable enough. By the latter part of the twelfth century the sculptor's art in the north of England had achieved works of commensurate skill. The cross at Kelloe, for example, in Durham (see Fig. 204, p. 219), with its well-proportioned delicate representations, is very properly put by C. Enlart to this date. Now if the Kelloe cross be assigned as Anglo-Norman (as it may be on the ground of its details, which are identical with those found on late twelfth-century buildings), then the Anglian crosses are clearly no near neighbours in style. In their shape they are different, and no single point of technique or decoration is common to them and the Kelloe cross. It seems imperative that we assign the sculpture of Bewcastle to an age when at any rate twelfth-century building-sculpture had not developed as we know it at Durham and St Bees.

The other alternative remains; great as may be the difficulty in crediting the remote barbarous island of England with a birth of the arts in the seventh century, there are greater difficulties in the supposition that the Anglian crosses were works of either ninth, tenth, eleventh or twelfth. Not till well on in this last century had English sculpture developed the finish and decorative propriety of Anglian carvings. It is satisfactory that, quite apart from the circumstantial evidences of ornament and sculpture-style which we have reviewed above, some direct indications of early date are to be found upon the crosses themselves and, indeed, with a distinctness unusual in such monuments. Both the Ruthwell and Bewcastle crosses show inscriptions in a runic character, and of the same kind. At Ruthwell the words are those of a religious hymn which exists also in a Wessex version of the tenth century². At Bewcastle these runes have been deciphered to read that the cross was set up "in the first year of the King Egcfrið"—a king of part of Cumberland in 670. It is true that this last important word is much defaced. But doubt is set at rest by the names in other parts of the inscription—said to be quite distinct—of recorded contemporaries, one of these being Alcfrið, half-brother and predecessor of Egcfrið.

Two other particulars are said, on general grounds, to sanction such an approximate date—first, the kind of runic letters employed, and secondly,

¹ See Michel's *Histoire de l'Art*, Vol. I. p. 147. In Vol. II. however an early date for the Bewcastle and Hexham crosses is admitted, though still

denied to the Ruthwell example.

² A. S. Cook, Yale, has published the theory that the Ruthwell version is later than the Wessex.

the general character of the accompanying scroll-works. The first is by experts¹ declared to be that of the Anglian alphabet, which belonged to the first settlements of the peoples from Gothland, and is of a type assigned to the seventh or eighth centuries. Secondly, the ornament upon this cross-sculpture is to be best matched by that of certain objects of metal and ivory that are thought to be of the sixth or seventh centuries—as, for example, the ivory vase in the Maskell Collection exhibited in the Victoria and Albert Museum². To discredit such evidence we must declare these crosses the conscious forgeries of an antiquity maker. But except in our own day where would be the knowledge necessary for such forgery, and, moreover, what inducement could be discovered for it? It is clear that these crosses have not been fabricated of late years, therefore the conclusion is that the figure-sculpture at Bewcastle and Ruthwell, accomplished as it is, was the work of that seventh century which these particulars warrant.

Having so far felt our way, we may turn to another point. The great Anglian crosses, whose figure-sculpture has come before us, do not, as we have said, stand alone as examples of their peculiar art. The same style and merits are, with more or less distinctness, discoverable in many sculptured stones throughout the broad tracts of ancient Northumbria. For example, at Easby, near Richmond, in Yorkshire, is part of a cross with a figure-panel of fine sculpture, though much worn, and with scrolls very like those of Bewcastle: in it a similar arrangement of the panel and the Byzantine features in the sculpture are to be recognised. In Dumfriesshire, at Hoddum and Kirkhill, not far from Ruthwell, bits of similar figure-work have been found. At Croft, in Yorkshire, and at Jedburgh (see Fig. 99, p. 123), in Roxburghshire, are fragments with scroll-carvings evidently in close connection. Again, the delicate arabesque of the Acca cross is matched by the remarkable fragment (plainly of oriental inspiration) which we illustrate (Fig. 98) from Hexham, another piece of the same kind being also in the Durham Cathedral Library. There are, too, standing shafts such as those at Haversham, in North Lancashire, at Irton, in Cumberland, at Abercorn and Aberlady, near Edinburgh, where the workmanship, though less delicate, seems based on this Anglian style. Now the number and wide distribution of such works are evidence for a body of sculptors whose art was not a temporary detached phenomenon barren of results, but the creation of a school. We may

¹ See for example:—H. Sweet, *Oldest English Texts*. T. W. Shore, *Origin of Anglo-Saxon Race*, pp. 42 and 328. Bishop Browne, *Conversion of the Heptarchy*, Lecture VII. W. Greenwell, *Catalogue of the stones in the Cathedral Library of Durham*, passim. The general discussion of the crosses is well put in W. S. Calverley's *Stones of Cumberland*, p. 39, who quotes Prof. Vietor, *Die Northum-*

brischen Runiester, p. 46.

² See the engraving in Maskell's *Ivories*, p. xlv. We are indebted to Prof. Baldwin Brown for a reference to Bernard Salin, *Thier Ornamentik des Nordens*, who on the point of style only, independently of inscriptions, assigns the ornament of these Anglian crosses to the seventh century.

accordingly be allowed to speak of it as marking an era for the English art of figure-sculpture.

Finally, some documentary evidences are to hand in connection with such a school of sculpture. Prior Richard of Hexham, in describing Wilfrid's church (which, built 672 to 674, remained to his day, c. 1140), tells us that it was adorned "hystoriis et ymaginibus et variis coelaturarum figuris ex lapide prominentibus." However much one discounts the rhetoric of this description of a building that was then nearly 500 years old, it seems clear that in the twelfth century there existed if not the figure-reliefs themselves, at any rate



FIG. 98. Hexham (Northumberland). Fragment of cross in Abbey Church. c. 700.

the repute of them. Therefore when we find at Hexham and its neighbourhood pieces of cross-sculpture which, independently of all record, we have ventured to date as of Wilfrid's time, we may be allowed to connect church-buildings and crosses. The probability appears that in Wilfrid's building was the source of the art of stone-cutting which these crosses exhibit. But this being so there need be no theory of the fierce northern races suddenly developing in sculpture the quality of finished accomplishment. The building of Wilfrid was derived from centuries of craftsmanship and from another civilization, and only so could sculptures of naked *amorini* (Fig. 98), of doves and vine-scrolls (see Fig. 92, p. 110) have found their way to the Northumbrian fells.

Still, combined with this alien elegance and what were plainly the imported motives of Greek carving, there were native features in these northern crosses which gave the style a root in English soil. The northern nations early had a skill in metal work, and, as already mentioned, the Ormside cup in York Museum, dug from the ground in the immediate neighbourhood of the Anglian crosses, must be accepted as borrowing oriental motives, but using them on the lines of a native dexterity. Both the cross-work and the bronze bowl show a kind of knot or weaving interlacement that is peculiarly Celtic and Scandinavian. Again, certain forms of chequer or plait appear as native to the Anglian and Irish manuscripts of the eighth century, and are carved, too, on the Anglian stones. Finally, the crosses as monuments themselves are genuinely indigenous to the soil, for the early races of Britain had been accustomed to set up the standing stone, rough or rudely incised, as a memorial or token of victory.

We may, then, fairly make this discrimination, that while the form and material of the Anglian crosses label them as English and a product of British soil, the skill of their carving, and particularly the style of their figure-work, were importations. Wilfrid's evangelisation of the north of England provided the masoncraft of the Bewcastle and Ruthwell sculpture; for Christianity came as a new civilization, and brought the capacity to carve these great blocks of stone, not only with painters' and goldsmiths' patterns, but with figure-postures of classic dignity and motives of oriental elegance.

And turning to the annals which relate Wilfrid's church building and that of his contemporaries, we find plenty of evidence for the view of such an imported chisel-craft as might lay a groundwork of style. The introduction of foreign workmen in the times of the Conversion of England has been recorded often enough. St Augustine is said, by the Italian chroniclers, to have taken "artifices" with him to Canterbury. Wilfrid is stated by Eddius, his contemporary and associate, to have introduced masons (*caementarios*), and Benedict Biscop is said by Bede to have gone to seek masons in Gaul, bringing them back to build his stone church (675 to 680) in the Roman fashion¹. Both made constant journeys to Rome, and so had the opportunity of seeing and engaging foreign craftsmen either in that city or on the way back. Of both it is mentioned that they introduced glass-workers, and of Benedict Biscop it is related that on two occasions he brought over pictures for his churches².

Either Provençal Gaul or Rome itself could have immediately supplied stone-workers for Wilfrid's building, for a decorative sculpture of marble dated to

¹ It is not clear, however, that we now see Biscop's building in the Monkwearmouth Porch.

² Theodore of Tarsus, Archbishop of Canter-

bury, had also the opportunity of bringing into the north of England Greek masons and artists in the last quarter of the seventh century.

the seventh century can be seen at Arles and Rome¹ alike. Still, the character of the work in Northumbria makes a difficulty as to the carvers having come direct either from Provence or from Italy. It is true that scroll-works, with birds, animals, and small figures perched in their interlacements such as are seen at Bewcastle and in the Hexham fragment (see Fig. 98, p. 119), occur in some Italian works dated to the sixth century. But in these cases an immediate derivation from an eastern workshop has been suspected, Alexandria or Antioch being named as the probable source of the craftsmanship. It is true, too, that in north Italy as well as in Rome there remain works of a similar kind, though not of so immediate a likeness, and that these have been dated to the tenth and eleventh centuries. But the detail which the Anglian stone-carvings seem most directly to copy, appears on those pillars at St Mark's, Venice, which are said to have been brought direct from Byzantium; also in the ivory carvings upon Maximian's chair at Ravenna, which was probably an Alexandrian or Syrian work. Moreover, at Athens and places in Syria stone sculptures are to be seen of the sixth century which offer close counterparts to those of our Bewcastle and Acca crosses, as well as to the chased arabesques of the Ormside cup². It may be fairly conjectured that the same sources which supplied eastern motives to Italy would give them to Wilfrid's buildings, so that we think it was probably not from Gaul or Italy but from further east that there came the hands which wrought this delicate work in England.

We have said that Italian³ work of a later date, as in the screens of Torcello (dated by Cattaneo at 1008), have carvings of somewhat similar handling. They are considered as the immediate work of Greek artisans migrating to Italy in the Neo-Byzantine revival of the arts which appeared after 925. It may be said that the tradition of Byzantine art was so unchanging that whether in Syria, in Italy, or in England, the Greek carver would be repeating the same sort of stalked scrolls and interlacing borders, whether as Justinian's workman of the sixth century, or as Wilfrid's imported stone-mason of the seventh, or as the travelling Byzantine artist come to Torcello in the tenth.

Italy, be it observed, however, was near at hand to the Greek centres of craftsmanship, and the streams of eastern style poured in continuously. But the Northumbrian art had its solitary station far from the headquarters of Byzantine luxury, and would, except on rare occasions, be unable to recruit directly from the East. On English soil the eastern motives could hardly

¹ The era of the Roman metal-sculpture is considered to have come to an end in the seventh century, and marble decorative sculpture, at any rate of capitals, began in St Agnese under Pope Honorius. Frothingham, *Christian Rome*, pp. 91, 92.

² Strzygowski, *Kleinasien, ein Neuland der Kunstgeschichte*, 1907. Also Mochatt, *Jahrbuch*

der preussischen Kunstgeschichte, 1904, p. 299.

³ Cattaneo shows at Cividale and Grado vine-scrolls of the eighth century, referring them to Greek workmen. These, however, lack the peculiar characters of the Anglian scrolls, which seem summarised from earlier conventions of acanthus twinings, such as that in the Crypt of St Peter's, Rome.

be maintained in their purity: nor indeed could a craft-skill keep from generation to generation its traditional finesse unalloyed, for English stone is not a material for sculpture like marble. So, in the works of the Hexham school, an immediate blunting of the Greek ideal is undoubtedly apparent. The Ruthwell cross itself seems of coarser workmanship than that of Bewcastle, while many sculptures—as the fragments found at Easby and Croft, for example—are adventures in the experiment of Norse interlacement declining from the original sobriety of the Greek frets. The Anglian vine-scrolls seem often executed by those who had never themselves seen the grape in growth, and would make of it a sort of ivy (as for example, in Fig. 99); who would shape lions, too, as wolf-like parodies of the king of beasts; and mould birds not as doves but as ravens who, forgetful of Byzantine lassitude, peck and bite at the fruit¹ with the energy of a northern bloodthirstiness. In the stone at Jedburgh (Fig. 99) the change is slight from that of Bewcastle, but it is in the direction of a northern rather than an eastern feeling. Coarsening is still more pronounced at Rothbury, Northumberland¹; and at Aberlady, near Edinburgh, on a cross shaft, the scrolls and interlacements have acquired the distinct Celtic inspiration that they have in the Lindisfarne Gospels. Where the efficient workmanship of Wilfrid's masons could not be obtained, the remains show imitative attempts by hands that had not the skill to copy: in place of scrolls modelled on to the ground of the panel, an engraved patterning with rough chamfered edges is all that the carvers can execute.

Deteriorations of style are still more marked in the figure-work of the eighth century. In what we take as the earliest carving, that of the Bewcastle cross, the style of Greek works in ivory, such as the panels of Maximian's chair at Ravenna, is quite recognisable. But in remote Northumbria the lessons of classic modelling get more and more forgotten. From the "Christ" of Bewcastle to that of Rothbury (Fig. 100) there is a change; the long Byzantine features have grown broad and expressionless, while the draperies are represented by parallel scorings of the surface, though there lingers even yet a classic dignity in the pose. Other crosses—as for example those at South Auckland, Durham—show a more degenerate type which we may illustrate (Fig. 101) from a fragment of very similar character that is placed in the York Museum². At Aycliffe and Ilkley in Yorkshire, figure-work takes the shape of a curious zoomorphic decoration, with the hair and nimbus of saints degraded into the strand of a Norse *knot*. The fragment of the Gainford cross (Fig. 102) gives the final stage of lowest type.

¹ Many fragments of this cross exist, some of them being built up into a font, while others are preserved at Newcastle. They are carved with animals and vine-scrolls, as well as with figure-subjects.

² The whalebone casket in the British Museum, where Byzantine motives were mentioned, Book I., p. 73 has them cut with a rude barbaric outline. The runes on this are interpreted as dating it to the eighth century.



FIG. 99. Jedburgh (Roxburgh), c. 700.



FIG. 101. York. St Mary's Museum.



FIG. 100. Rothbury (Northumberland), c. 750.



FIG. 102. Durham Library. Cross fragment from Gainford.

It is of course largely conjecture that the crosses and stones above mentioned are to be arranged as to their dates of execution in the order of this significant decadence. Still, such a sequence seems to meet all the facts that are at present known about them; and at any rate, taking the beginning and end of figure-work only, it is clear that just as a first elegance seems dated at Bewcastle (see Fig. 93, p. 110), so the final barbarous degradation has been reached in those crosses of Durham which as we have said must be dated to c. 1000 or after (Fig. 103). It must be allowed, moreover, that in the ninth century



FIG. 103. Durham Cathedral Library. c. 1000.

the Anglian refinement of Bewcastle was succeeded by a Norse or Viking art of cross-ornament in all the western part of the British Islands, and this was weak on the figure side though vigorous and decorative in its patternings and interlacements. The suggestion of a general decline of style is therefore based on the facts known to us. On the one hand the power to remember and represent the motives of the East may be assumed as decreasing: on the other the intertwining of animal grotesques takes the place of the scrolls of oriental decoration. This later phase of northern carving is distinct enough, and our next section will discuss it as Norse style.

But as an appendix to Anglian art some pieces of early sculpture must be mentioned which may appear to carry it on into later centuries. Unfortunately they are much decayed, but they seem to mimic with some

success Byzantine (or Greek) art in the way we have been discussing. At Masham, in Yorkshire, close to the church porch, there stands what appears to be the shaft or drum of a column. It is carved all round with arcaded niches in tiers, each niche with a relief subject. The lowest are grotesque animal sculptures of a peculiar and elegant kind to be found also on a square cross-shaft at Cundall, a village close by. In the upper parts of the shaft at Masham the decay has gone so far that it can only be recognised that there have been standing figures of "Christ" and the "Apostles" and below these two rings of figure-reliefs, which show something of the poses and methods of the Anglian representations. One is inclined to take such a column as possibly the version by stone-carvers of a metal or ivory shaft like the Ciborium pillars at St Mark's, Venice. A stone, made use of for the font, at Wilne, Derbyshire, would seem to have been part of a similar column which has been supposed that of a cross-shaft. On the other hand, at Masham the arcadings indicate distinct bases, capitals, and the general proportions of a Romanesque arcade building. We conclude that such would not be carved in England until the architectural forms had been perfected. This, however, was not till the latest period of Saxon building, that of the eleventh century.

Similarly the "Monks'" (or "Offa's") stone, as it is called, in Peterborough Cathedral, would seem a stone reproduction or rendering of a metal or marble tomb-chest. It is a solid oblong block, four feet by eighteen inches, coped at the top, and might therefore be thought cousin to the hogback monuments found on Scandinavian sites which are dated to the ninth and tenth centuries, and which in some cases show straight lines in place of the characteristic curved backs. The delicate scroll-carving (see Fig. 104 on next page) of the coped top has much in common with the Anglian types, and the figures in the arcadings may be compared to some extent with those of the Anglian crosses. But again, as with the Masham column, the arcadings seem those of Romanesque sculpture and such as would date the carving to the eleventh century at the earliest. Another stone at Peterborough is a fragment with two figures with caps (or mitres) which have a likeness to those on the Carlovingian ivories of the ninth century: but again we find no certain ground for dating.

These fragments have deserved notice here, for it is possible that they may be pre-Conquest. And another of the kind is the tomb-slab at Bishopstone, Sussex, figured on p. 28, Book I., on which the sculptor has clearly made use of Byzantine motives, copying ivory-carving or painting. But in this the execution has a boldness of modelling which suggests the twelfth century and is in any case outside the limits of Northumbrian style. To the whole question of the copying by stone-carvers of ivory and painting motives we shall return later. Our only observation here is, that apart from the details of execution the use of Byzantine motives affords no criterion of date.

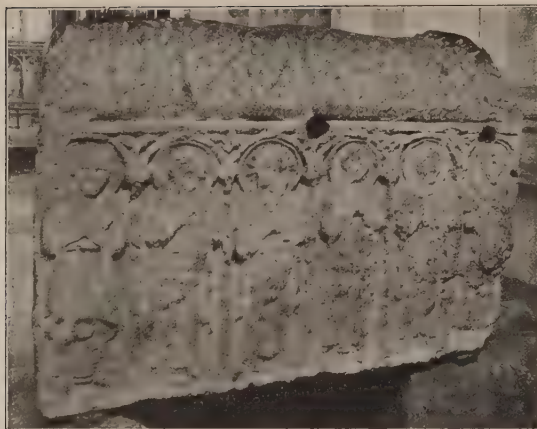


FIG. 104. Peterborough. The Monks' Stone. W. G. Collingwood, *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 1907, contends for an eighth-century date.



FIG. 105. Melbury Bubb (Dorset). Font upside down to show original supposed use as base of cross. See F. Bond, *Fonts and Font Covers*, p. 106.

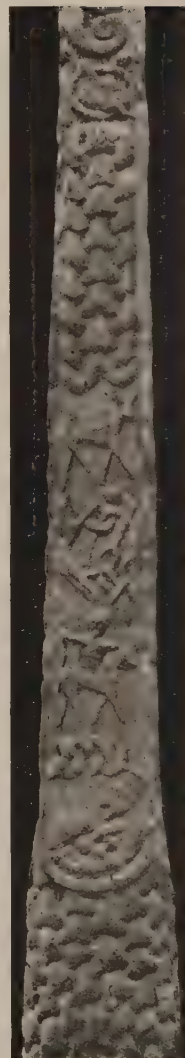


FIG. 106. Gosforth (Cumberland). Shaft of Great Cross. The introduction of scenes from the Eddas is considered to indicate a date c. 900.

SECTION II. VIKING AND MID-ENGLAND SCULPTURE. 800—1066.

We have already spoken of the Gosforth Cross (Fig. 106) and other monuments which would appear by the details of their subjects to be dated to the ninth and tenth centuries. Though this sculpture has, as we have observed, none of the elegance of that Greek technique which we discovered in the earlier carving, the ambition of the great cross has by no means passed away. At Gosforth (see Fig. 96, p. 115) the shaft is fifteen feet high, and for grace of outline and decorative completeness must rank among the finest tenth-century monuments of European art. And though as figure-sculpture the representations are primitive, still with the degradation of the earlier scroll-sculpture and figure-work there have appeared fresh ideas. A vigorous outlining of animals (Fig. 105) as well as exuberant elaborations of the Celtic motives specially mark the Norse art to which the name "Irish Viking" has been given, though its monuments extend far and wide in western Europe.

Particularly the interlacing *knot* becomes characteristic, and throughout the British Islands elaborate and fanciful twistings frequently associated with dragon representations appear on the sculptured crosses found in Ireland, West Scotland, Wales and the Isle of Man. The most magnificent productions of this "Irish Viking" art belong to the tenth and eleventh centuries: they exhibit an acute drawing of animals, but never, one may say, any advance from their degraded human representations. These latter are, however, copiously employed in the most characteristic examples of the Irish work. At Clonmacnois, Monasterboice (see Fig. 97, p. 115), and Kells, for example, are high crosses over twenty feet in height and seven in width, the whole broadly covered with figure-sculpture, but with a technique far removed from the classic elegance of the earlier Northumbrian work. Great cross-monuments were continued into the twelfth century in Ireland and the Isle of Man, and, as we have said, their style had spread into the north of England, where finally as late as c. 1000 the Durham crosses exhibit the peculiarly barbaric rendering of figure-motives which is characteristic.

At this date, however, there came among the South Saxons another beginning of style, which, while still of Norse technique, possessed qualities of comparative refinement and expression. A distinction between North and South in this matter of handling may be recognised possibly as early as the tenth century, and seeing how frequently in our future pages we shall be pointing to different schools of sculpture style, as exhibited in the North-East and South-West of England, the early exhibition of their parting makes a very interesting point in pre-Conquest figure-sculpture which we shall take up in the next section.

We deal, no doubt, very summarily with controversial points when we put all the northern and western cross-work of Great Britain of the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries together, and call this sculpture that of the "Irish Viking" style, with a general locale in North England. Still, in view of the rudeness of its figure-work we have not thought any detailed separation of the Irish, Danish or Norse elements in sculpture necessary. Any tracing of ultimate origins, whether to early Christian effort in Ireland, or to pagan culture in Scandinavia, or to an overland importation of it from the shores of the Euxine, would be outside our province. Whatever view be adopted as to the dominant influences at work in late Celtic art, its flourishing era in the north of England, as elsewhere, would seem to coincide with that latest phase of the Viking irruptions, when in the tenth century mere raiding passed into colonisation, and the Northmen founded new kingdoms in the British and Mediterranean seas. It was, in fact, not until this stage that its interest for English sculpture developed. The beginnings of Viking art had been decadent or simply barbarous, but nevertheless its genius had an importance for the growth of English style. In the vigorous patterning and zoomorphism of its figure-sculpture there lay somehow the seeds of an energy that was to re-create art in medieval England. To the Norse invasions of western Europe seems due the peculiar vigour of Romanesque invention, that was afterwards to grow plastic and humane in the hands of the Gothic builders; rightly named Gothic in England and Normandy at any rate, since the Norsemen were largely recruited from Gothland. It would seem indeed a matter of history that the decaying energies of the Carlovingian Renaissance were fertilised by Viking spirit and by Viking craftsmanship.

This, however, was to come; and we cannot call the Saxon sculpture a step in this direction. The gradual passage from barbarism to refinement, from puerility of technique to the Gothic power of modelling, belonged entirely to the twelfth century and owed we think little to Saxon influences. On the other hand, a generation after the Conquest there came in architectural sculpture what we may call a Norse revival, mostly in the tympana of church doorways where strange shapes occur with no trace of Saxon elegance, and of such elementary sculpture and rudeness of design that their best matches could be got perhaps in the South Seas. Well executed and much enriched Anglo-Norman mouldings appear in the same stones and prove the work that of the first half of the twelfth century.

Here and there, however, we are prepared to recognise earlier carving in pieces with a technique immediately derived from the cross-sculpture and making the link between the tenth and twelfth centuries. We find some door-heads that seem out of place in the Anglo-Norman arch-mouldings that surround them, and may therefore have been built in as fragments of



FIG. 107. Ault Hucknall (Derby). Ancient sculpture let into west wall. c. 1000(?).

previous sculpture. This may be the case at Leckhampstead¹, Bucks, and in the example given above (Fig. 107) from Ault Hucknall (Derbyshire). A similar lintel remains at Southwell Minster (Fig. 108) with a "dragon" carving that may be compared with what appears at Dolton, Devon, where the font is clearly made up of two pieces of an ancient cross. Such dragon pieces are characteristic Viking motives, and in some cases have direct evidence of a



FIG. 108. Southwell Minster. Over doorway inside north transept. c. 1000(?).

¹ C. E. Keyser, *Norman Tympana*, Fig. 66.

pre-Conquest date in their inscriptions. The church of St Nicholas, Ipswich, for example, has slabs lettered with Saxon characters, one, a tympanum with a boldly inscribed figure of a wild boar, another slab with a carving of the conflict of "St Michael with the dragon" (Fig. 109). In the Guildhall Library of London is a stone that was dug up in St Paul's Churchyard, carved with a "Warrior and dragon," the modelling being indicated by incised spirals; and this also is dated by a runic inscription to the time of Edward the Confessor. Finally, the authenticated Saxon buildings at Deerhurst can supply us with an example of a "wolf-head" stop (Fig. 111). We give also from Brixworth (Fig. 110) the fragment of cross-carving which is built into the porch to illustrate how the technique of the Irish-Viking cross-carver was continued into building work.



FIG. 109. Ipswich, St Nicholas. Stone let into wall. c. 1000(?).

But this technique exhibits, as well as the cross-carvers' motives, a derivation from the craft of wood-carving, which has used incised lines for the details of modelling. The elementary method of the wood-carver can be seen on the incised coffin-lid with the figure of St Cuthbert, which is in the Cathedral Library at Durham, and supposed to belong to the eighth century. The wooden ships of the Vikings and the doorways of their Halls were adorned with rudimentary sculpture, and the presence of this wood-technique seems to offer the best presumption of pre-Conquest execution in stonework. Elementary execution and grotesque form are of themselves no criterion of

early date. However much shapelessness and savagery—as in much early tympanum-sculpture and in many font carvings, which we shall illustrate in the next chapter—may seem to be at quite the beginnings of sculpture, these qualities are not therefore to be called Saxon, or to be taken as the first efforts of our national art. A more legitimate explanation is that they show the Scandinavian wood-carver learning the crafts of church-building in stone and feeling his way with difficulty to modelled representation. For, as we have said above, there are evidences for a Saxon sculpture presumably pre-Conquest which, instead of being flat in execution and elementary in its representation, was of round modelling and often of delicate and refined expression, and to this we may now turn.



FIG. 110. Brixworth (Northants).
Fragment of cross in porch.



FIG. 111. Deerhurst (Glos).
"Wolf-head" stop. c. 1000.

SECTION III. WESSEX SCULPTURE. 950—1066.

Any firm ground for the exact dating of the early southern sculptures, to which we have given the above name, is difficult to find; yet their classification in one group is not on that account less distinct. Pieces of stone-sculpture, the handling of which is, as we have said, not that of the northern cross-work, are to be seen in various places which were the sites of Wessex building in Saxon times: yet it is equally distinct from what appeared in England in the sculpture upon Anglo-Norman buildings. The pieces are detached bits or, if built in, not actually in their original walling. They are often panel-carvings in relief, and while their handling is sometimes that of the elementary planes of Irish-Viking work, there is developed a distinct modelling of the figure upon the ground; in many cases they exhibit also a perspective arrangement of the figures which is quite alien to Norse art, and moreover a pictorial use of the three-quarter profile in face carving—a refinement which the Anglo-Norman builders did not achieve till 1170 or later.

One type of these carvings consists of "crucifixion" subjects or stone-carved "roods," often life-size, whose original position would appear to have been on the west fronts of the Saxon churches, for in one case—that of Hedbourne Worthy, near Winchester—the sculpture remains *in situ* upon a building which is of undoubted Saxon work. In this case there has been much defacement (a later building having been set up against the wall), but what is left shows the original and finely-conceived arrangement of the rood, set high up in the west gable of the church: a fragment of the hand of the figure lately discovered shows delicate and well-proportioned sculpture.



FIG. 112. Langford (Oxon). Draped "Crucifixion." c. 1000.

At Langford, in Oxfordshire, in proximity to what is a late Saxon building, but at present not part of it, is the remarkable "Rood" which we illustrate (Fig. 112). Its extremely delicate style is unlike anything we know in Anglo-Norman carving, and it is to be noted that the draped type of the "Crucifixion" which it exhibits cannot be associated with any known school of twelfth-century representation. The close fitted garment of the "Christ" is peculiar, but is to be seen on the figures of sculptured slabs at Daglingworth (see Fig. 119, p. 137) near by. These are of coarser type, and are thought to be distinctively Saxon. Another remarkable piece in the neighbourhood is a much damaged sculpture of the "Virgin and Child" at Inglesham—the mother seated sideways in ancient form and the "Child" in the robe of the Langford "Christ." How different these representations are from what we shall see in

twelfth-century art, can be recognised by turning to our later illustrations (see Figs. 153 and 185, pp. 171, 206).

At Romsey, in Hampshire, where was a famous Saxon nunnery, there exists a remarkable stone "Rood" (Fig. 113): the crucified "Christ," undraped except for the loin-cloth, has the legs side by side, and the arms straight: above is the "Hand of God" descending from the clouds. The sober well-



FIG. 113. Romsey (Hants). Stone "Rood" by side of south door.

proportioned art of this sculpture exhibits qualities of workmanship even superior to those at Langford. The figure is of life-size, carved upon large stones that are placed as if taken from another building and built up with the twelfth-century wall. Though now at the side of what was the Nuns' cloister, close to their door into the church, it might have held originally a gable or west-front position like that at Hedbourne Worthy.

At Barking, in Essex, where also a nunnery existed before the Conquest, there remains a "Crucifixion" with the figures of "Mary" and "John" relieved upon a plaited ground—much as is to be seen on some eleventh-century crosses, and on the "hog-back" monuments of North England mentioned a few pages back. The sculpture is a relief worked upon large stones and now built up in the wall of a chamber, called that of the "Holy Rood," and part of the fourteenth-century gateway. The draperies and attitude of the "St John," which we illustrate (Fig. 115), should be compared with what will be shown at Chichester (see Fig. 121, p. 138).

Moreover, the same qualities of just proportion and delicate relief are to be found in the two "Angels" carrying napkins, which appear on either side of the sanctuary-arch in the Saxon church at Bradford (Fig. 114). Here again, however, the stones, as we now see them, are not in their original places: they were found in the body of a later wall above their present fixing. The pre-Conquest manuscripts can be cited to illustrate the motive in this case: the representation of angels poised horizontally with the feet upwards had been a common one on Byzantine and Carolingian ivories, and was frequently used on either side of a medallion containing the "Lamb" or a Cross. At Bradford, therefore, we may conjecture that their carving was in connection with such a symbol, possibly above the chancel-arch.

We may add to the above tentatively two carved stones separated from the original settings at York and Lincoln, and possessing somewhat similar qualities of delicacy of execution with a rendering of drapery that would make them unusual among twelfth-century English examples. The "Virgin and Child" slab at York, now placed in the east wall (Fig. 116), is a small relief worked in hard yellow stone, and of very delicate handling, which may find its best counterpart in the early marble carving of Southern France. There is the square C employed in the inscription "Sca. Maria," and this suggests at any rate a date before 1125. The cushions on the seat and at the feet are those of Carolingian manuscripts of the eighth and ninth centuries, and the refinement of the whole is conspicuous beside the coarse building-sculpture of Yorkshire up to 1150. There remains, too, a carving in the cloister of Lincoln, a work somewhat similar in style to that of York, but of more vigorous execution. It represents "St John" (see Fig. 125, p. 141) and has been part of a "Majesty," this composition being disposed as in the eleventh-century manuscript paintings.

Now with regard to all this sculpture, whose quality surpasses not only Viking accomplishment, but that of the mid-twelfth century in England at Malmesbury, Barfreton, or Ely (see Figs. 164, 175 and 185, in Chap. III.), we remark that the draperies and attitudes are those of the best Saxon drawings of the tenth and eleventh centuries. The "Christs" on the roods are of the earliest types, and generally there is no departure from the details



FIG. 114. Bradford (Wilts). "Angel" over chancel-arch. c. 1000.



FIG. 115. Barking (Essex). The "Holy Rood." "St John" by the side of the cross. c. 1000.



FIG. 116. York Minster. Slab against east wall of quire. 2 feet high. "Madonna." Date uncertain.

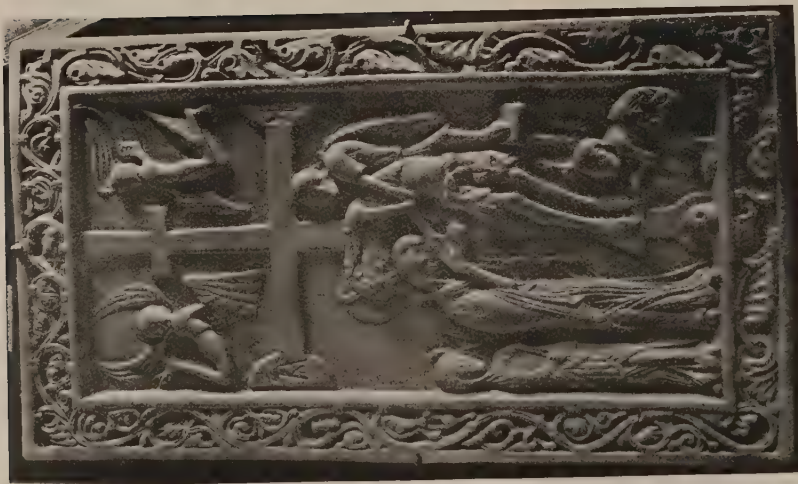


FIG. 117. Victoria and Albert Museum. Saxon Ivory. The "Deposition" or "Taking down from the Cross." c. 1000(?).



FIG. 118. Stepney Church. Stone Slab. "Crucifixion," with "Mary" and "John." c. 1000(?).

and expressions which are found in the Winchester manuscripts¹. For example, in one dated c. 1015 is a painting of King Canute and Queen Emma making a donation to Newminster with a "Majesty" that has its figures composed as in the Lincoln stone. Ivory carvings, too, which on account of their style are reputed Saxon, offer similar points of resemblance in the treatment of motive. For example, the "Deposition" at the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington (Fig. 117) has flying angels on each side of the rood with napkins as in the Bradford example. In another small ivory found at Lewes, and considered as pre-Norman, is to be seen the "Hand of the Almighty" appearing from a cloud above, as at Romsey.



FIG. 119. Daglingworth (Glos). Crucifixion slab. c. 1000(?).

Still, there is another side of the question. As well as these well-executed and generally well-proportioned reliefs, there are found sculptures with peculiar mannerisms. At both Romsey and Langford, in addition to the "Roods," there can be seen slab-reliefs of the "Crucifixion" small enough to be executed in single stones. At Stepney (where again a Saxon church is authenticated) is a large slab (Fig. 118) three feet six inches high, and this, one can say, is in all particulars a large-scaled stone version of the ivory book-covers of Carlovingian style. But these smaller versions are as at Daglingworth (Fig. 119) disfigured by contortions and exaggerations of rendering that may be claimed as specific marks of Saxon art. Now the great

¹ British Museum, *Ecclesiastica*, iii, 82. The Saxon "Crucifixion" illuminations of similar date offer the particulars which the Romsey rood and the Lincoln and York works could have copied.

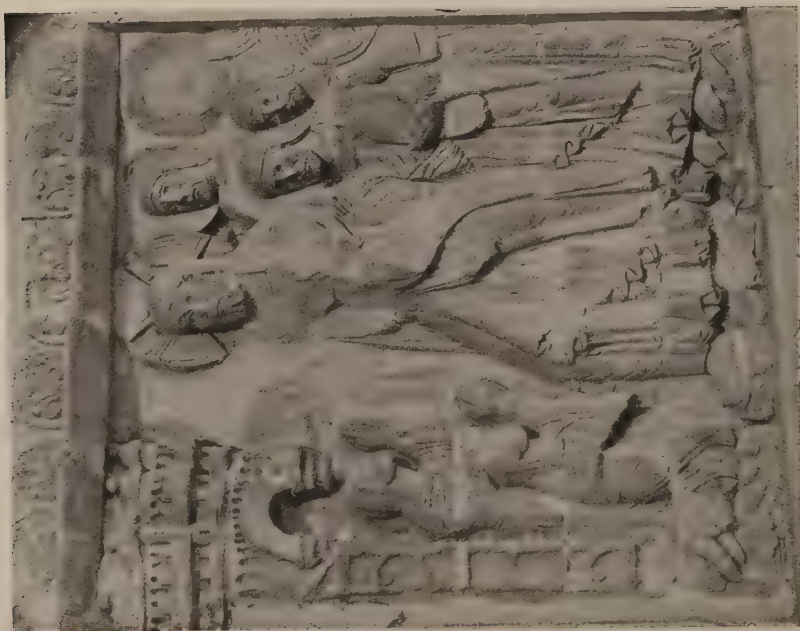


FIG. 120. "Christ and the Apostles coming to Mary's house," Chichester Cathedral.

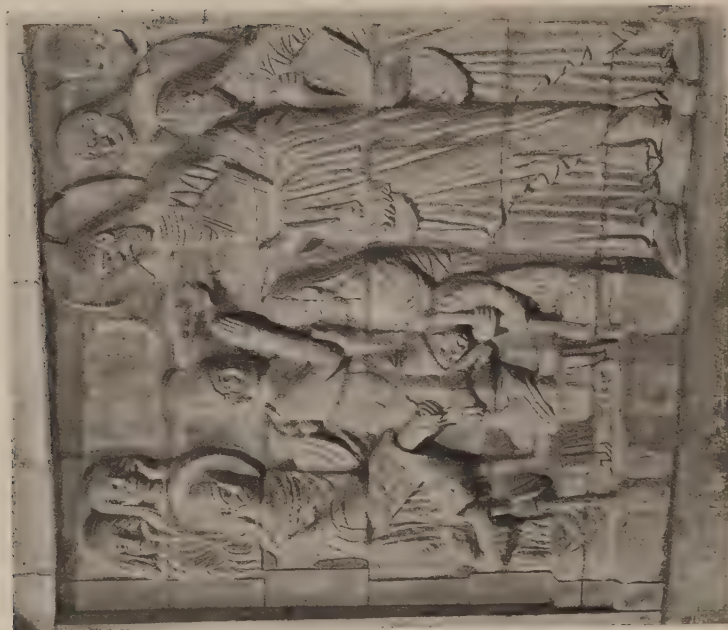


FIG. 121. The "Raising of Lazarus," Carvings in south aisle of quire. C. 1000.

stone-works that were first mentioned avoid such evident deformities. Therefore, though much is to be said for the view that the finer works, whether in stone or ivory, are in their motives survivals of Saxon style, it is difficult to assert that they are necessarily of the same pre-Conquest execution that may be readily allowed to the more mannered smaller pieces.

The question of pre-Conquest style comes, however, best to a head in the two panels built into the south side of the quire of Chichester Cathedral (Figs. 120, 121), one representing the "Christ at Mary's house" and the other the "Raising of Lazarus." These reliefs are about three feet six inches square, carved not on single slabs but upon walled blocks of Caen stone, and therefore likely to have been executed locally. They came from behind the stalls of the choir in some reconstructions before the fall of the spire in 1861. They have been accounted for as having been brought from the Saxon cathedral of Selsey, which was in existence prior to the Conquest but whose site is now under the sea. The conveyance from Selsey is, however, not tradition but conjecture, and quite as probably these slabs may have belonged to the Saxon church of St Peter at Chichester itself, for such a church preceded the cathedral, and is perhaps represented in the first seal of the See.

The two panels exhibited in the cathedral are not the whole of the stones that were found. Other fragments remain in the museum of the cathedral, and are interesting as indicating that the panels were part of an enclosure or standing screen, for they show carving on both sides. Finally, we have found in the out-of-the-way little church of Toller Fratrum, Dorset, a carving of similar execution, showing "Mary Magdalen washing the feet of Christ," only the lower part of His figure remaining.

Now in their detail these examples of southern sculpture have distinct analogies with the figure-painting of the Saxon era which is referred to the times of Dunstan. In the tenth century the capital of Wessex had in its great monasteries a style of manuscript-painting in which outline-drawing of great elegance was practised. Expression and action were realised in the figure-paintings that illustrate the bibles and psalters of Winchester, and, be it observed, the remarkable point in the Chichester carvings (at any rate as compared with the general Anglo-Norman style of the twelfth century) is their expressive finesse. For example, here at Chichester we have something quite different from the staring bull's-eye that was to summarise face-expression for some hundred years in the carving of buildings (see illustrations pp. 147, 170) and in the Anglo-Norman manuscript too. A matching of the countenance and gesture to the idea of the scene in the two panels gives different expressions and different poses in each, and the various characters are individualised to a certain extent. There are various delicacies of execution in the almond-shaped eyes drilled to receive jewelled centres; in the distinct

realisation of the three-quarter profile and in the emotion depicted in the countenances (Figs. 122, 123). The hair, again, has various representations of its texture, and is more delicately rendered than by the rough pellets that afterwards did duty for locks in much of the twelfth-century Anglo-Norman carving. Other marks of style lie in the zigzag hems of the draperies and the high-shouldered attitudes, common to the Winchester paintings of the tenth and eleventh centuries, and the ivories which are reputed as Saxon (see Figs. 117 and 124).



FIG. 122. The heads of Martha, Mary and an Apostle in Fig. 121.

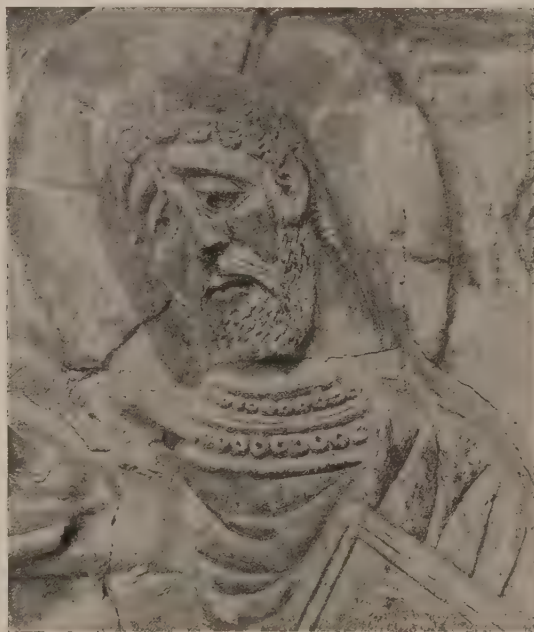


FIG. 123. The head of Christ in Fig. 121.

As far, therefore, as the expressions, drapery and pose of the figures are concerned, the motives for the sculpture at Chichester have come from pre-Conquest style. Moreover, the architectural details, viz. the battlements and arcades of Mary's house, can be matched in manuscripts dated certainly before 1000, and the capital of the pillar (see Fig. 120, p. 138) is that of the Saxon tower-arch at Sompting. One of the slabs has a border which is just that upon the Stepney slab—a stone translation of the edging characteristic of Carolingian ivories. Indeed, the handling of the draperies, and their ornament suggest the copying of ivories; compare, for example, the drapery of Christ in Figs. 120, 121 with that in the ivory tablet (Fig. 124).

This last ivory relief, which is in the Victoria and Albert Museum, is accounted if not Saxon, at any rate as belonging to the northern school of eleventh-century art, and its general likeness to the Chichester sculptures



FIG. 124. The Victoria and Albert Museum Saxon Ivory. c. 1000.



FIG. 125. Lincoln Cloister, probably c. 1160.

in style and characterisation must be recognised. There are the same peculiarities of zigzag folds, high-shouldered stooping figures, and the greater size given to the important personages. We are entitled to say that every point of the Chichester handling can be matched in Saxon representations, and that no expression usual in the twelfth-century sculpture of England occurs at all. And this can be said, too, as to the York Madonna (see Fig. 116, p. 135) and the Lincoln "St John" (Fig. 125).

But here we come to another point of discussion. Foreign archaeologists are disinclined to allow a Saxon date to any of the above English sculptures, and their ground is the likeness they see to works which have an accepted twelfth-century date abroad. For example, the "Madonna" at York is, in the proportions of the figures and the sculptor's representation of drapery, very near to those somewhat larger marble reliefs which are built in at the back of the quire-screen at St Sernin's Church, Toulouse: and a date after 1100 has been given (somewhat doubtfully, we think) to these particular sculptures¹. Again, the "St John" at Lincoln has, as well as a similar handling, just the postures and expressions of sculptures at Toulouse—for example, the "Apostles" in the Museum there and also certain figures at Santiago de Compostella in Spain which are accounted of the Toulouse school and dated c. 1125². Still more does the sobriety and elegance of the Romsey rood (see Fig. 113, p. 133) suggest to the foreign archaeologist the great wooden "Crucifixions," which remain in St Sernin's, Toulouse, or at Halberstadt and Wechselburg in Germany, works which belong to the end of the twelfth century at the earliest.

Such comparisons seem justly made: we recognise that the York "Madonna" and the "St John" at Lincoln have the bead-roll edging of folds, which is characteristic of the marble carving of Provence and Toulouse, and this feature may identify these pieces as contemporary. In the same way the Romsey rood is too like the twelfth-century wooden "Crucifixions"—which remain on the Continent, but in England have been everywhere destroyed—to leave us without the suspicion that the English stone-work had some similar rood for its model. We know, of course (see Book I., p. 8), that great wooden "Crucifixions" were set up in our large churches, in Saxon cathedrals as well as in those of the Norman Bishops. But the portrayal at Romsey would seem late rather than early, and can hardly, we think, be placed with any confidence before 1100.

Are we, then, on the ground of the foreign likenesses in some of our above examples, to declare for a twelfth-century date all round, disregarding the clear Saxon complexion that so much of this English sculpture has, and shirking the difficulty that the known Anglo-Norman work was something quite different? We do not, except as to the above three examples, see much ground for a summary denial of the possibility of pre-Conquest workmanship. Taking it in its most distinct form, the handling found in the Chichester reliefs is that also of other works—such as the Bradford Angels

¹ The cloister sculpture at Moissac, with its inscription of 1100, seems to us to date the less developed pieces at Toulouse as of the eleventh century.

² On the transept. We are not, of course, meaning the famous sculpture of Matteo, on the west front, casts of which are at the Victoria and Albert Museum.

and Stepney Crucifixion, for example—and we need not mix up with this the style of the York “Madonna,” and the peculiar draperies of Toulouse as shown in the Lincoln “St John.” It is not a great difficulty that there should be a likeness in motive and, to a certain extent, in detail, between a Saxon work and a possibly later Tulousian sculpture, since the origin of the marble or stone-carver’s art in both cases was the same—in either case the mason’s effort was to copy works in metal, in wood or ivory. The style copied was that of the image-makers—the goldsmiths, the metal-founders and ivory workers—a style which in the circumstances of the eleventh and twelfth centuries lay outside the local and native currents of architectural stone-carving. The tradition of the Byzantine arts was for long the staple of all the Carolingian schools, and works, whether executed in Saxon England, in Germany or North Spain, would get immediate likenesses from this fact alone. Accordingly, somewhat similar capacities of appropriating motives need not be accepted as the monopoly of definite dates. Indeed, at first the stone-mason’s efforts at architectural sculpture were to make him coarser and ruder in his style than he had earlier been. It is the refinement of our Saxon carvings which is the best proof of their early execution. When stone-sculpture left tradition behind and grew alive by virtue of its own technique, then its movement every day created the ability of the stone-mason’s chisel, and then the accomplishment of the twelfth-century building established local native schools—schools of sculpture whose efforts can be classified as their dexterity grew, first equalling and then overtopping the traditional facilities in representation which in the Romanesque atelier the goldsmith had alone possessed.

The subject of pre-Conquest figure-sculpture has been a difficult one, because in traversing it we have had to venture upon the thorny question of origins. The skill for English sculpture, as well as the motives of its execution, necessarily came at first from outside England; and since the civilization of the Anglo-Saxon was a long process and drew from many quarters, a complicated story has had to be put before our readers. The four centuries from 650 to 1050 have been summarised by separating three schools, which, roughly in succession, derived from three several civilizations and had, to put it again roughly, three several centres of production in England.

The first figure-sculpture which has claim to be called English would seem to have grown from the direct introduction, in the latter part of the seventh century, of Greek stone-workers into the north of England, and was exhibited in the crosses and sculptured stones of Northumbria. Similar work may have been produced in the south of England, but the evidences

of it are lost. In the north, the Greek elegance which was conspicuous at its first introduction declined in successive degradations as the skill of the Anglian craftsman was blunted by the inroads of a barbarian culture, that of the Norseman, with whom there came into Britain fresh sources of decorative execution to initiate another phase of our English sculpture.

We call this second the Irish-Viking period. The "plait" and "knot" of its sculpture were the usual barbarian patternings of savage peoples: but, also, Scandinavian art had been largely coloured by that overland trade from the East by which Goths, Anglians and Jutes got their alphabet, and so we have oriental designs coming by a new channel into English art. In its figure-work, however, Viking sculpture never got beyond a barbaric representation of natural form, though its vigorous animal-carving and dragon-work, we believe, contributed much to the vigour of Romanesque and early Gothic execution. It was specially in the mid-counties of England that this energetic animal-representation passed from the barbarian cross-work to the architectural uses; and we shall presently discuss the twelfth-century figure-work in England as taking up from this source a progressive vitality such as owed no allegiance to Carlovingian traditions. We would trace to the Norse origin the stark attitudes and ferocious realisms which in twelfth-century sculpture superseded the suave well-worn themes of Byzantine design.

The third separate school of pre-Conquest figure-sculpture must also be recognised—that which grew up out of Carlovingian art in the crafts of the Saxons in southern England and was intimately connected with the spread of monastic culture in western Europe, especially in Germany. In the service of monasteries and cathedral churches came copyings in stone of the Biblical and symbolical themes which were inspiring the cloister-painter in his illuminations. There were copyings, too, of the figure-works that had appeared on the reliquaries, pyxes and coffers of Greek craftsmanship, which were the especial treasures of the monasteries. This copying we have called, in England, the "Wessex" art of figure-sculpture, and whether its works were before 1066 or after, we see in them the same motives that elsewhere in Europe led to the monastic development of figure-sculpture. The pre-Conquest goldsmiths' work must, at any rate, be counted as one source of twelfth-century style in stonework, and this point will be taken up in the next chapter.

CHAPTER II

ANGLO-NORMAN SCULPTURE

SECTION I. THE BEGINNINGS OF STYLE

THE question of Saxon figure-sculpture has been attended by the difficulty that there has been little verification of architectural date for it. The Conquest should bring us on to firmer ground: for from the time when the Norman abbots and prelates reached England, a more or less continuous record of architectural style is in our possession. In many cases Anglo-Norman figure-sculpture *in situ* can be dated by the architecture—by being found in walls the building of which is recorded, or associated with detail which corresponds to that of dated buildings. Moreover, the bearing of the architectural position on the development of sculptural style now becomes evident, and is deserving of some preliminary discussion.

There can be no question that the Norman Conquest introduced a period of great building in England. The artistic as well as the political situation meant the bringing to an end of the old order and the start of a new. But the immediate *effect* on English sculpture, as, indeed, the later part of the preceding chapter has indicated, is to be discounted. The circumstances do not warrant the assertion that it was the introduction of art to the artless Saxon, or the teaching of continental culture to the barbarian races of England. It must be remembered that the Norman himself was in race as in culture very much akin to the Saxon; and though it may be said that by 1060 he had absorbed the Frankish civilization, there is no likelihood that this was in advance of the Anglo-Saxon; the Winchester arts of manuscript-painting and of ivory-carving point, indeed, the other way. Perhaps, therefore, the immediate result of the Conquest may be best likened to that of the Dorian invasion of Greece, as the swamping of the refined but somewhat decadent arts of the conquered. For if Norman invasions set back culture for the moment, eventually they brought the vigour of a new youth to old traditionary crafts, in France, Sicily and England alike.

Archaeologists, we think, talk too readily as if admittance into the destiny of French architecture was the especial gift of the Conquest to England. It is at any rate too large an assertion to say that our Gothic sculpture started in growth as a sister to the French owing to the accident of William's successful invasion. What was moving art along the path to Gothic was not this or that conquest in those shifting times, but the spread of monastic institutions—and already before William conquered England the

Benedictine inclinations of Dunstan had brought England under an hierarchy¹ whose supremacy stretched outside national limits and had no thought for the geographical entities we now speak of as England, France, and Germany.

Indeed the circumstances of the Conquest tended rather to create a separate destiny for English art, because the Normans, in as far as they were conquerors, were Vikings. It was Viking energy that conquered England, and everywhere such conquest seems to have meant, in a generation or two, a great building of churches. The remarkable fact of the art-history of the eleventh and twelfth centuries was the extraordinary building fertility in fields that had been watered with blood a century before by the ravages of the northern pirates.

In England the effect of the Conquest was specially to produce a rich crop of architecture. The Saxon spoil meant great possessions for the Conqueror's monasteries, and fed from this wealth the works of the great Anglo-Norman ecclesiastics of England achieved that building evolution which marks the passage from the earlier to the later Middle Ages.

Now it may fairly be said that ultimately in the creation of this architecture the decorative expressions of the Greek culture that for some six centuries had governed the arts grew obsolete. The gilded and mosaic magnificence of church-building that had been the Byzantine ideal was gradually merged in that sinewy masonic conception, which was Gothic in the making already by 1100. Our view therefore is this: that in the fifty years after 1066 figure-sculpture in England was, by the fact of the Norman Conquest, started on its architectural career, but that it did not obtain any style from the continental origins of Anglo-Norman architecture, or at any rate did not do so immediately. The Norman elements were negligible, and what appears in sculpture had its basis upon the anterior Irish-Viking craftsmanship.

On this point, however, we should say something more. The arts of North-West Europe, as they were standing at the middle of the eleventh century, may be recognised as belonging to two schools: on the one hand were what have been called the "Irish-Viking" arts, whose area and influence in the British Isles we have already sketched. But the Viking invasions and settlements had been widespread in Europe generally, and the barbaric patternings and energetic figure-motives of Scandinavian wood-carving were diffused not only throughout our islands, but along all the seaboard of Europe—up the Rhine, round France, and even into northern Italy². Meanwhile the mainland areas of the continent were still in the domain of that latter-day Byzantesque which Charlemagne's big empire had fostered.

¹ In 1044 the Benedictine Robert of Jumièges, where had been built the earliest great Norman church, was Bishop of London, becoming Archbishop of Canterbury 1051. The introduction of

the French ecclesiastic was an old story long before the Conquest.

² We offer no theory as to how this occurred, but the fact is to our minds indisputable.

The Carolingian renaissance, which was directly in touch with eastern sources and had been founded on the technique of the ancient classic crafts, had from the ninth to the eleventh century been the important event of West European culture. But by the year 1050 its style had run its course and new conceptions were appearing. In mid-Germany and southwards, the Othonian culture in the eleventh century still looked to the Neo-Byzantine schools of Italy. But there came, too, Norse motives by way of the Rhine, and Rhenish Carolingian passes into Rhenish Romanesque without break of continuity. In North France, on the other hand, the Viking invasions of the tenth century proved destructive to the anterior Carolingian culture, and put an end to the Byzantesque crafts. Figure-work was for two centuries extinct (as far as one can judge) in the Romanesque building of Normandy and Picardy. It was farther south that a sculpture grew into consequence, in the hands of the builders of Toulouse and Burgundy and in both these schools the instrument to its advance was the monastic culture of the great abbey of Cluny which had been the living force of Christianity 1000—1100. Still, style—Toulousian or Cluniac—had achieved little by the year 1066, the date of the Norman Conquest of England, nor indeed did the Anglo-Norman architecture either side of the channel do much until some generations afterwards.



FIG. 126. Durham Castle. Capital in chapel. c. 1070.

In England and Normandy alike the mason's interest lay on the building side; his stone-sculpture was that of zigzags and arabesques, or such contorted bizzarries as have earned the name of "Hindoo" and even "Cambodian" from French archaeologists. That this rude carving came into England we see from an example in the chapel of Durham Castle, work of c. 1070, and its character can be judged in the illustration (Fig. 126). Similar Anglo-Norman execution appears also in Yorkshire fonts, such as that of North Grimstone, which is

carved with what purports to be the "Last Supper": it can be seen that the bodies of the disciples are hatched in the same rudimentary fashion as is the stag on the Durham capitals¹ and on others at Creully in Normandy.

We have therefore the position in England, that following the Saxon elegance (and alongside of it indeed in certain survivals of that elegance which we noted in the last chapter) there came a very elementary carving of the figure in architecture. In most Anglo-Norman churches figure-sculpture is almost non-existent, or very meagre, and in some cases its performances are quite savage, and this, too, almost up to the middle of the twelfth century. It is true that while making this comparison we note that the antecedent Saxon arts had been those of the cloister-artist—the painter, image-carver, goldsmith and ivory-worker. But still it must seem strange that at Winchester itself, where for a hundred years distinguished artists had painted, the Anglo-Norman architecture of the Cathedral shows such little recognition of the Saxon culture, and such rude methods of stone-carving².

On the other hand, however, there had existed in many parts of England a slab carving with elaborate figure-motives, barbarous indeed, but with an accomplished technique as far as outline was concerned. The home of cross-sculpture had been especially in north-eastern England: it was nurtured in the Dane-law, and after the year 1000 such a style must have been in close connection under Sweyn and Canute with Scandinavia. Now inasmuch as the Normans were Vikings, the Norman invasion came in effect as a reinforcement to these Scandinavian inspirations of art. The building faculty of the Anglo-Normans in Durham and mid-England was ready to absorb the local Danish tradition, so that despite the new conditions of the Conquest, figure-sculpture exhibits a continuous strain of style linking the ninth to the twelfth centuries. For example we may point to the character of the dragon-carvings, which we illustrated on pp. 129 and 130 of the last chapter: and other illustrations here may show the sequence without break on into the tympanum sculpture of the Anglo-Norman building (Fig. 127 opposite and Fig. 128, p. 155).

In southern England this is less the case. Not only was the Scandinavian reinforcement, as it were, averse to the Wessex culture (just as it had been to the French Carolingian), but in addition the great masonic developments of Romanesque seem to have crushed out the anterior building arts. In the districts where carvings such as the Chichester panels and the Romsey rood

¹ See also the uncouth font in the York Museum which came from Hutton Cranswick in the East Riding, and those of Kirkburne, Cowlam and Cotnam in the same neighbourhood. Equal rudeness, though not perhaps the same style, appears on three fonts in the neighbourhood of Honiton, Devon, at South Milton, Luppitt and Dunkeswell respectively,

and on one in the Midlands, Curdworth, which however may be pre-Conquest. All these are illustrated in F. Bond's *Fonts and Font Covers*.

² The heads, etc., in north transept are a fourteenth-century carving out of the blocks of the Romanesque capitals. We illustrated one of these in Book I. Fig. 26, p. 34.

are in evidence—whether pre-Conquest or post-Conquest, certainly carvings of the Saxon cult—Anglo-Norman building starts with no carving at all. All the stone-work of Bishop Ralph's Cathedral at Chichester was at first quite plain and unadorned, and at Winchester the near neighbour of Romsey, the enormous construction of Bishop Walkelin's Cathedral in the last quarter of the eleventh century was apparently carried on with scarce a chisel ornament of any kind. The first piece of figure-sculpture in stone which we know of within its walls is the font, which as we shall show in Book III. is a work from Tournai in Belgium to be dated c. 1150. Compared with contemporary sculpture elsewhere in England these black marble font-reliefs with the story of St Nicholas are of less attainment in figure-representation.



FIG. 127. Moreton Valence (Glos). Tympanum of north doorway.
"St Michael and Dragon." c. 1120.

The first English sculptors came, we must think, as the successors of the mid-English cross-carvers who, before the Conquest, were already decorating the door-heads. The traditional Danish technique, with its suggestions of wood-carving, appears in the beak-heads and head-corbels characteristic of the Anglo-Norman builders. But their capacity may be seen advancing from first rude outlining to vigorous representation of relief in the tympana-carvings (Fig. 127), which in the mid-England counties show a continuous series dated to the hundred years after the Conquest. The development of figure-sculpture ran on somewhat parallel lines in the west of France: still we need not conclude that the original suggestion or craft of the carving came from abroad, for certainly

English cross-carvings and the sculpture of the English tympana would seem first in the field.

Other sources for the motives and style of the English stone-sculpture no doubt there were, and the decoration of Anglo-Norman building at any rate gave one distinct germ from which figure-sculpture grew. Though the architectural surfaces of the great cathedrals were plain, they were elaborately painted, and such painting provided not only motives but a technique: the architectural sculptors can be recognised attempting to model form by shallow groovings which traced the lines and shadows of the painted subjects. The skill of the stone-carver to exhibit what he attempted was, in comparison with the painter, markedly deficient: but certainly some twelfth-century figure-work in South England may be placed upon the basis of attempting to copy the lines of illuminations.

In the course of a generation, however, stone-cutting learnt its craft better, and the preliminary techniques, which we have separated, were outgrown. By 1125 the crafts of the Viking shipwright and those of the cloister-painter can no longer be said to have been the source from which figure-sculpture was derived: we reach a figure-work that is a genuine *architectural* product, in which a third element or source of style undoubtedly makes its appearance.

This third source was described in our Introduction as present in the monastic crafts of church furnishing. The metal-work and ivories which were the treasures of sacristies and the adornment of altars came before the mason immediately for imitation, and their figure-work particularly became his motive. Here English figure-sculpture would be in connection with the whole of the continental art. As we have insisted in Book I. p. 93, there were goldsmiths in the English monasteries, and a general forward movement in the cloister crafts was symptomatic of the monastic expansion of the eleventh century. At the beginning of the twelfth century everywhere in West Europe there had begun a copying of the objects of ancient workmanship—which had been mostly of Byzantine or Italo-Byzantine origin. In such things the English monastic practice of the arts had perhaps two phases; the first we may call the Othonian phase, and the second the Toulousian, as respectively echoing what were successively the main powers in the Romanesque ornamental arts.

The German revival of the arts, 1000 to 1100, had under the dynasty of the Othos established schools of painting and also of metal-founding—as exhibited, for example, in the famous doors of Hildesheim. The twelfth-century style of the English mason will be seen, in one district at any rate, to take its forms from the metal-work modelling that was extensively practised in English monasteries.

The other starting-point of West European art we have preferred to entitle Toulousian, though it is that which has often been called Cluniac.

To what extent this owed its eminence to influences spreading from the great Burgundian Abbey of Cluny has been the subject of much dispute. Vehemently asserted by Viollet-le-Duc, it has been as vehemently denied by later critics of his theories. As to figure-sculpture, which is the point of interest here, while no central model of style can, we think, justly be placed at Cluny, yet the Cluniac houses, wherever founded, seem very generally to lie at the beginning of a good deal of figure-sculpture. This is the case at Toulouse, at La Charité-sur-Loire, as well as at Vézelay and Autun. We shall offer as the best explanation with regard to two of the prominent Romanesque schools of sculpture in England that they were in the neighbourhood of great Cluniac foundations, Lewes and Wenlock.

But for its main influence on English art Toulousian sculpture may have had other conveyance than in the carving of Cluniac monasteries. We shall point out that the latest phase of English Romanesque sculpture appears in two close alliances—one with what we call the “zodiacal” ornament of West France, the other with the flourishing school of figure-work that appeared at Santiago de Compostella in the north-west of Spain. In this remote corner of Europe—while Rome itself was lying in the slough of constant barbarian ravage—the famous shrine of St James had become a religious centre, which was flocked to by pilgrims from all parts of Europe: for a time it must have been the centre of the religious arts.

This sketch of the subject has been necessary to explain our classification. We shall take first those figure-pieces in which the Norse technique and the Scandinavian motives were dominantly represented: secondly those which seem to base their carving and found their subjects on the paintings: thirdly those which appear to copy the detail of metal-work or the modelling of the founder. But the distinct headings must not be pushed beyond the intention of our classification. In a sculpture-craft that is yet in embryo the recognition of characteristics is a dubious matter. Motives and methods are taken up from all sides, and with no settled purpose, so that it is difficult to define clearly how the origin from a former art has come about. In his attempts to express form with the chisel the carver does what is easiest, that is, he copies what he has in immediate association with him. So the beginnings of a new art are like waters on a table-land—dammed back in stagnant pools, and having no definite trend. But directly a flow is created, they make an evident channel which, deepening rapidly, becomes the permanent shaper of the landscape, absorbing tributaries which at first had no inclination towards it. So the current of architectural art which was so determinately set going by the Norman Conquest, carved out a permanent passage for English art and carried sculpture along with it out of the region of the traditional models, the débris of Byzantine culture, that had been its first surroundings.

SECTION II. THE DANISH STYLE. 1066—1140.

We have pointed out how the greatest abbey and cathedral churches of the first Anglo-Norman building in England do not appear to have been adorned with sculptured figure-work, however much their walls were, as we know, painted with imagery, and their roods and reredos-beams (see p. 8, Bk. I.) furnished with wooden and metal figures. Yet the figure-sculpture in stone which we find associated with the Romanesque ornaments belonging to English building from 1075 to 1150 is by no means inconsiderable. The examples are, however, not in the great, but in the smaller (most often parochial) churches; or if in connection with monastic building, appear in its later accessory architecture rather than in that of the first great body of church-building.

While East and South England were distinguished for the foundations of the greater Benedictine abbeys¹, and their Benedictine architecture from the first developed vast proportions, there was a marked absence of figure-work in its sculpture. In mid-England and the West—though here too there was much Benedictine building following the Conquest—the abbey churches were on a smaller scale and of a somewhat different style². But in this district appeared early a rich building of parish churches, and the doorways of these churches are frequently adorned with sculptured tympana. Out of two hundred existing examples of Romanesque art which the industry of C. E. Keyser (see p. 107) has brought together, more than half are to be found in the stretch of country occupied by the four dioceses (see Map, p. 551) of Lichfield, Worcester, Hereford and Wells, with the adjoining western and northern part of the diocese of Salisbury. On the other hand, the five eastern dioceses of Ely, Norwich, London, Rochester and Canterbury, together with those of Chichester and Winchester (though in this district Anglo-Norman cathedrals and abbeys were of much greater consequence), afford a dozen examples only of figure-carved tympana. And if we look into particulars this contrast becomes more striking. The tympanum-carvings of the south and east are not in any continuous series, but belong (except for a few sporadic examples as those at Ely) to two distinct groups; one, that of the pre-Conquest carving at Ipswich and

¹ Two great Benedictine foundations were at Canterbury, two at Winchester, others at Westminster, Rochester, St Albans, Bury St Edmunds, Norwich, Ely, Peterborough, for all of which great

churches were building after the Conquest.

² There were large Benedictine churches built at Coventry, Worcester, Gloucester, Tewkesbury, Chester and Shrewsbury.

London, which has been described; the other, a well-marked set of Kentish pieces carved towards the middle or later part of the twelfth century, which we shall call those of the Rochester school. There appears therefore a gap of some generations, and as far as we can see, nothing to connect this later school with the earlier pre-Conquest style. Tympanum carving of figures was not, it would seem, practised, and what other sculpture occurs, such as for example on the capitals at Westminster (see Fig. 138, p. 162) or on the font at Darenth, can be held as that enforcement of painted decoration which has been mentioned as the embryonic stage of a carving craft.

It is quite otherwise with the large body of the mid-England carvings: they can be placed in a continuous series, for in their local, or we might say parochial style, the motives of Irish-Viking cross-sculpture were reproduced, and the technique has the traditional capacity exercised in the wood-carving of Viking ships and Danish house-halls. The crosses of the tenth and eleventh centuries were carved in wood fashion in two planes, with the outlines cut down on to the lower and bordered with a chamfered edge, while the particulars and details of drapery are etched in on the flat of the upper. This is the method we find adopted in the carving of a large number of the Midland tympana, and it is one associated with the subjects and style of Scandinavian art, with the dragons, the knotwork patterns, and those interlacements of biting beasts which were the stock subjects of Scandinavian symbolism as illustrated on pp. 129, 130.

The examples already noticed have been early in the Anglo-Norman building, some of them apparently of pre-Conquest execution. But the same tympanum-sculpture appears in architecture that is to be dated c. 1100 and after, and we find well onward into the twelfth century the early features of design—the interlacements, symbolic beasts, and petticoated figures, that are indeed often just as grotesque as in the earlier art. The figure-representation at Ault Hucknall, illustrated as pre-Conquest, p. 129, is not a bit ruder work than that at Long Marton, Westmorland; Kencott, Oxfordshire; Stoke-sub-Hampden, Somerset, which the architecture shows to be post-Conquest. On the other hand the interlacements and dragon sculptures are of excellent handling, as at Hoveringham, Notts, or Knook, Wilts: and moreover the beast and bird outlines have that lively spirit that appears in so much of the Scandinavian carving, as, for example, the intensity, almost Assyrian, shown in the flying serpent at Netherton, Wilts. The fighting motives of Scandinavian fancy were retained when the mason had grown quite skilful in architectural carving, and went beyond intaglio representation. Tympanum carving at Ribbesford, Worcestershire, and at Charney Bassett, Berks¹, are examples well on in the twelfth century, but still of the Norse

¹ The above are all illustrated in C. E. Keyser's *Norman Tympana*.

school. We show opposite (Fig. 128) from Dinton (Bucks) a fine example of Norse imagery; the beasts are the souls of the righteous vigorously battenning upon the "Tree of life" (the world-ash of the Sagas) and below the bat-like "St Michael" (in the fashion of Odin) is engaged with the "Dragon" (the Helworm of the Scandinavian fancy). So, too, in such examples as the "St Michael" of Moreton Valence, Gloucestershire (see Fig. 127, p. 149); the riding "warriors" of Ruardean and Brinsop, Hereford; or the "St George" at Fordington, Dorset (Fig. 129) Scandinavian energy has yielded little of its spirit to the humaner promptings of continental monasticism; yet in these representations the proficiency of the sculptor has advanced far beyond the first uncouth efforts of an uninstructed craft.

Tympanum carving may be supplemented by that of fonts, since both were probably worked by the same hands, and at any rate illustrate the same motives and a similar sequence in the method of Anglo-Norman figure-sculpture. There are left many examples of fonts carved with the ornaments of early twelfth-century architecture: some have figures in arcades treated very flatly in cross-work style: others show dragons and interlacements in the style of the doorheads. The fonts have to be dated by their ornament, since as portable objects they need be no part of the building of the churches in which they are now found. The best classification would be on the ground of the various stones that are used for their making, and it would seem probable that where similar stone and ornament occur in groups (as is certainly the case with the Purbeck-marble fonts) it indicates a centre or craft of font-making in some city or quarry. But no complete survey has as yet been made on the basis of material¹, and we can only point tentatively to what appear centres of quarry-craft for the making of certain fonts which are distinguished by figure-sculpture.

The Swanage stone, quarried on the site of a Danish settlement, appears to be the material of some of the earliest fonts in South England, and that of Melbury Bubb, Dorset (see Fig. 105, p. 126), with its Viking sculpture may be an instance, though more probably the base of a cross. There are however a set of round bowl-fonts wrought apparently in the same stone, with sculptured ornaments of dragon-work in many parts of Dorset as at Chelborough, Piddleton and Puncknowle. The fonts of Torkington, Sussex, and others of the kind within reach of the English channel, may possibly be from the same centre, and perhaps also those near Honiton, Devon, at South Milton, Dunkeswell, and Luppitt, which have a very savage sculpture.

The district of the Rutland stone, which was extensively quarried for the Romanesque building of the eastern counties, appears as another centre

¹ F. Bond, *Fonts and Font Covers*, 1908, gives We are indebted to him for the illustrations in photographs of a large number of examples. Figs. 131, 132, 134, 135, 136, 162, 172.

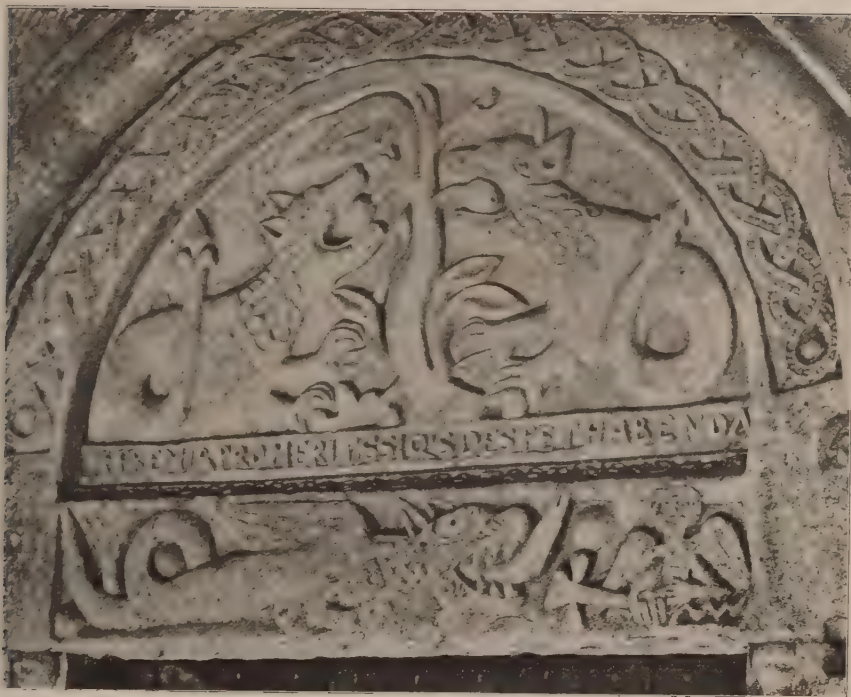


FIG. 128. Dinton (Bucks). Tympanum of south door. c. 1125.

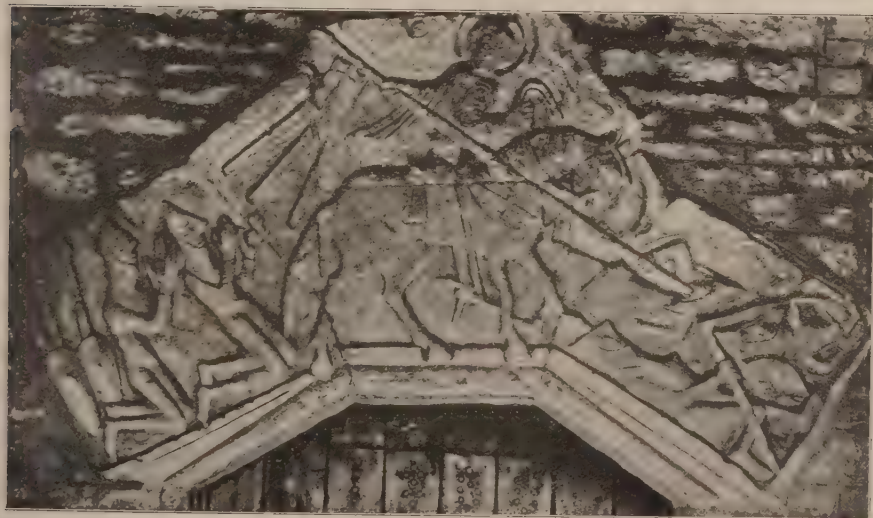


FIG. 129. Fordington (Dorset). Over south doorway. c. 1125.

of figure-sculpture upon fonts, which are square cistern-shaped blocks, carved in the flat planes of the Irish-Viking technique with the figures set in a row of arcades, as for example at Lenton, Notts, and Burnham Deepdale, Norfolk



FIG. 130. Burnham Deepdale (Norfolk). Square font. c. 1100.



FIG. 131. Harpole (Northants). Tub-font. c. 1140.

(Fig. 130). It is because we recognise such arcades on the "Monks" stone at Peterborough (see Fig. 104, p. 126) that we have expressed doubts as to the

Anglian date suggested for that monument. It is open for us, however, to assume it a model to the font carvers of Barnack. But in what seem later editions of such works the Anglo-Norman mason certainly declares himself, for there is a decided copy of structural columns in the font at Fincham, Norfolk, followed by those of Sculthorpe, Toftrees (Fig. 132), Shernborne and South Wootton, a group which exhibit a bold sculpture of animal heads in the round that can only belong to the latter part of the twelfth century, yet present a survival of the Scandinavian motive in sculpture.



FIG. 132. Toftrees (Norfolk). Square font. c. 1150.

In the same way some tub-shaped fonts of Northamptonshire have at first arcades and figures, as at Wansford, close to the Rutland quarries. Later, in the neighbourhood of Northampton, we find at Harpole (Fig. 131) and East



FIG. 133. Stone (Bucks). Chalice-font. c. 1125.



FIG. 134. Eardisley (Hereford). Chalice-font. c. 1125.

Haddon dragon scrolls that have the handling of the capitals at St Peter's, Northampton, built c. 1140 (see Fig. 141, p. 163), much as we see too in tympanum-carvings at Pitsford, Northamptonshire, and Egleton, Rutland.

The connection is plain, too, between the ornament of the tub-font at Avebury, Wiltshire, and that of the tympanum-carving at Highworth near by (see p. 161), and a similar association with building-work must be recognised at Stone, Buckinghamshire, on a font which is said to have originally been at Hampstead Norris (Fig. 133). This has a sculpture of interlacements, with animals, fishes and figures, just on the lines of the tympanum-carvings at Dinton (see Fig. 128, p. 155) and Lathbury in Buckinghamshire. The quarry-craft of the Dunstable stones may perhaps be the source of these fonts which show the flat technique of cross-sculpture applied to tub-shaped blocks, or to the forms that have a bowl and stem like a chalice. The style survived after new motives had replaced Norse symbols, as in the "Majesty" of the Water Stratford tympanum (see Fig. 174, p. 195), which may be compared with the



FIG. 135. West Haddon (Northants). Square font. c. 1150.

low reliefs on a neighbouring square bowled font at West Haddon, Northants (Fig. 135), representing a "Baptism of Christ" and the "Ride to Jerusalem."

Illustration has been given (see Fig. 88, p. 94) of the font at Bridekirk, Cumberland, which is signed by its author in Northumbrian runes. The reliefs depict the "Expulsion from Paradise" and the "Baptism of Christ" in just the spirit of the cross-carving, but the ornament is that of the voussoir carving on the south doorway of Durham nave.

The coarser quality of western sandstone carving appears in a group of chalice-fonts in the West Midlands remarkable for sculptured interlacements and animals with a style of modelling that can be seen in the tympanum-carvings. The convoluted dragon at Chaddesley Corbett, Worcestershire, may be compared with those on the doorheads of Ruardean and Brinsop. We shall illustrate the tympanum-carving of their near neighbour Fownhope (see Fig. 153, p. 171), and in the fonts at Castle Frome and Eardisley (Fig. 134) are the same Viking motives. But in these cases the characteristic

metal-work suggestions appear such as the early stone-carving exhibits in the western country (see next Section). Later this metal suggestion has yielded to the technique of a distinct sculpture-craft in the Shobdon and Stafford fonts—remarkable pieces (Fig. 136) which we think can only be explained as offshoots of Toulousian or Cluniac sculpture.

It must be understood that in technique these latest sculptures of fonts and doorways have left cross-sculpture far behind: if they illustrate Scandinavian art it is in its final stage of accomplishment, when it has become part



FIG. 136. Stafford. c. 1180.

of the general advance of West European sculpture—just as do the wood-carved doorways of Norway, or the chairs in the Copenhagen Museum. At any rate the mason who carved such pieces as the fonts of Stafford, Bridekirk, or Porchester (Hants), if he still made dragons and strange monsters, was in full possession of that monastic culture of the arts which in pages 175 seq. we shall take as the third source of Anglo-Norman sculpture style.

We hope however to have made it clear that the monastic art of sculpture as it developed in England would draw from the Viking as much as from the direct Byzantine sources of West European civilization. The doctrine of the northern religion, which offered fighting as the highest good, survived Christian conversion, so that the period of Scandinavian art was not over as long as the symbolisms of religious building took delight in furious beasts and biting dragons, as long as the conflicts between good and evil, between Christianity and paganism, between the church and world, were exhibited in the motives of the chase and the battle. The pictorial exhibition of this symbolism was in fact native to the instincts of the Norsemen.



FIG. 137. Highworth (Wilts). Tympanum. North side of chancel. "David and the Lion." c. 1150.

Such motives gained their spirit from the experiences of the forest, however much the eastern griffins, the gentle doves and all the classic philosophies of the *Physiologus* (see Book I, p. 30) were employed to give them traditional countenance. The "Lamb" subduing the beasts of the field, "Sagittarius" shooting at a monster, "Samson" or "David" wrestling with the lion (Fig. 137), "St Michael" or "St George" overcoming the "dragon," "Christ" treading the asp and the basilisk under foot or harrowing the serpent in Hell—these were treated by the carvers as realisations of the grim life of northern wastes, though the faith might interpret the symbols according to the immemorial canons of eastern mysticism.



FIG. 138. Westminster Abbey. Fragment of capital in Chapter-house. The "Judgment of Solomon." c. 1100.



FIG. 139. Hereford Cathedral. Fragment of capital. c. 1100.

SECTION III. THE PAINTING STYLE. 1066—1140.

The architectural carver essaying his art in Anglo-Norman churches had necessarily before his eyes the coloured decorations with which the architectural surfaces were covered. We may see side by side in not a few twelfth-century buildings (as at Ely) the capitals of the pillars, some painted and some carved in relief with the same patterns. The earliest efforts of the figure-work sculptor were directed to capitals, and the carving of them with scenes on the lines and shadows of the painter. Thus at Westminster (Fig. 138) and Hereford Cathedral (Fig. 139) fragments of early building show sculpture which is a grooving into the surfaces of the cushion capital as if to give the effect of the lines of painted scenes—a different artistic intention from the outlining of one plane on the background of another which made the technique of cross-sculpture. In the Westminster capital, which may perhaps be c. 1100, there can be recognised the rudimentary modelling and the characteristic Norman profile (with upturned nose and retreating chin) which is the pattern of figures in the Bury and St Albans illuminations.¹ In this way we think the Anglo-Norman architectural carver made his first attempts at figure-work.

The capitals of the crossing at Southwell, also, appear specimens of sculpture aiming to reproduce an illuminator's scene, and others might be instanced, as at Seaford, in Sussex, for example. Some tympanum-carvings suggest the same practice, *e.g.* at Handborough, Oxfordshire (Keyser, Fig. 133), as also does the font at Darenth, Kent: in both subjects are represented by grooves and hollows rather than by outlined planes. At Romsey in Hampshire

the capitals that have this anecdotal character (Fig. 140) seem suggested by the carvings on the black marble font at Winchester (see Fig. 183, p. 204). But after the first quarter of the twelfth century the Romanesque capital in England began to give up figure-representations, and made its decoration



FIG. 140. Romsey Abbey. Capital in aisle of quire. c. 1150.



FIG. 141. Northampton. St Peter's Church. Capital of nave. c. 1140.

most often with interlacements and "zodiacal" patterns. This indicates a change in the style: for the new arabesques have often the suggestion of a metal filigree, as at St Peter's, Northampton (Fig. 141), and the grotesques, too, take a new character—one which we shall show as a widespread

architectural manner. Thus, in the carvings below (Figs. 142 and 143), which in a sense may be said to owe their ideas to the painting motive as found in the illuminated bestiaries, the technique owes its brilliance to practice in rich architectural ornament characteristic of the latest stage of European Romanesque and to be regarded as a masonic development.

It would seem, therefore, that the association of the carver's technique with the painting of manuscripts and walls, though close at first, weakened when the stone-carvers turned to the works of ivory and marble as giving them methods of modelling that could be imitated in stone. In one matter however, that of the subjects of stone-carving, the influence of the painter may be said to have only begun its reign in the twelfth century. The figure-work of capital-carving was essentially, in its copy of painting subjects, anecdotal representation, to be distinguished as such from the sculptural representation that filled the great reliefs of the architectural façades. The picture-practice of sculpture may be called the *genre* of medieval art, and its fancies for many centuries were the adornment of churches. When, after 1200, the capitals lose this style the spandrels of arcades take it up; and then, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the bosses in the vault were carved with the miniature scenes just as the capitals had been at first. Thus a long pedigree can be provided for the quips and fancies that our Gothic masons scattered so liberally over their scheme of building construction. But it was the rich manuscript-painting of the eleventh and twelfth centuries that gave anecdotal grotesques their first popularity.



FIG. 142. "David and the Lion." c. 1150.



FIG. 143. The "War of the elements."

Canterbury Cathedral. Capitals in crypt of quire.

SECTION IV. THE METAL-WORKER'S STYLE. 1066—1140.

There is no need to go beyond the extracts from the records given in Book I. (see pp. 5, 6) to show that the arts of the goldsmith and metal-founder were being practised in England at the time of the Conquest. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries figure-working in metal was an esteemed craft in many monastic houses¹. Its methods however were rather cosmopolitan than local, and the early style of metal objects displays but little variation in technique or motive all over West Europe. Two districts have left prominent examples dated to the tenth and eleventh centuries. But while the metal-workers of southern Italy were especially famous, and their bronze doors remain to this day in proof of their skill, no connection of our English arts with these seems probable. The case is different in respect to similar works that were being wrought in central and western Germany, such as the Augsburg and Hildesheim doors. Though the eastern crafts were the prompters and models here as in Italy, the German bronzes exhibit a more decided departure from the Byzantine models and, moreover, a treatment to which Scandinavian feeling has contributed. At Hildesheim the craft is fathered upon Saint Bernward, Bishop of Hildesheim (995—1022), and to his hand are attributed, in addition to the famous bronze doors, fonts also in bronze, columns and candelabra, as well as gold and silver crosses. In what sense the attribution of craft-skill to an ecclesiastic is to be taken was explained in Book I., p. 93, but some personal expression in the direction and training of metal-workers may be conceded, and at any rate such examples as remain of this early German bronze witness to an extraordinary vigour in style and workmanship. Cologne, as the central depôt of Rhineland commerce, became specially known as developing a flourishing art of metal-working². In fact the Othonian Renaissance (as it has been called) established many ecclesiastical workshops in the Rhine valleys and made a school of art throughout North Europe from the tenth to the twelfth century³.

Thus, while our English practice of metal-work may have had its Celtic origins, we can scarcely doubt that the style of the German monastic crafts was paramount c. 1100 in an English Benedictine workshop like that of the

¹ In the British Museum is the top of a censer that was found in the Thames: it has repoussé beasts and birds, and modelled lizard heads. A ruder bronze of the same kind, dug up at Pershore, is inscribed in Saxon and is considered to date to the tenth century or earlier.

² Bronze or brass was in medieval England called "cullen," from Cologne. Some writers, in

view of this German style, are content to suppose that all the bronze objects found in England were imported. But the documentary evidence as to the existence of our English crafts makes this unlikely.

³ This was written before the publication of J. Tavernor Perry's *Dinanderie*, where many particulars of the metal art are given and it is specially assigned to the Valley of the Meuse.

Gloucester monastery; and that we owe such a remarkable example as the Gloucester candlestick in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Fig. 144) to



FIG. 144. Victoria and Albert Museum.
Bronze candlestick from Gloucester. c. 1150.



FIG. 145. Kilpeck (Hereford).
Jamb of south doorway. c. 1150.

Othonian culture. In our illustration the modelled figures of the Evangelists should be noticed in the knop of the stem as well as the animals and figurines with interlacing scroll-works which seem more of German than of Celtic inspiration.

It may be suggested therefore that in the early twelfth century the stone-carver could have had such works before him when he was put to adorn fonts, doorways and arches. Certainly a treatment of stone in accordance with metal-work promptings appears in much of the sculpture of the western midlands: If the original knotwork motives came from the cross-sculpture, they often seem immediately copied from interlacing wire-work. Thus the label with figures of the zodiac round the doorhead of Kilpeck (see Fig. 29, p. 36) and the similar use at Iffley, Oxfordshire (Fig. 146), are transcripts in stone



FIG. 146. Iffley (Oxon). Head of west doorway. c. 1160.

relief of a gold necklace, though medallions and arabesques formed of stems branching from open mouths were common also in painting. In the Kilpeck doorway (Fig. 145) the shafts are ornamented with foliage scrolls with little figures in their interlacements—which can be seen to be on the model of the Gloucester candlestick, or of similar goldsmiths' work in ivory. The Castle Frome and Eardisley fonts in the same neighbourhood repeat this peculiar type almost exactly, and would seem to be from the same mason's hands (see Fig. 134, p. 158).

Goldsmiths' work of similar style is seen in the tau-shaped crozier-heads, which are of the morse ivory, *i.e.* from the walrus, a material indicating northern production, and carved with little figures and intertwining scrolls. An English example now in the British Museum (Fig. 147) was dug up at Alcester in Warwickshire and has small subjects in medallions in the middle of the crutch—the "Crucifixion" on one side and "Christ treading under foot the young lion and dragon" on the other. The ecclesiastic comb, also in the



FIG. 147. British Museum. Ivory crozier-head found at Alcester (Warwick). c. 1100.



FIG. 148. British Museum. Ivory comb found in Wales. c. 1100.

British Museum (Fig. 148), has the handling of the Gloucester candlestick, and was found not far off in Wales. Since other ivories (as, for example, the pen-box in the British Museum¹) have been found in the same neighbourhood, it is reasonable to look to the monastic houses, such as Gloucester, as developing in western England this art of the ivory-worker, in close alliance with the cloister crafts of the goldsmith, metal-worker and painter.

¹ See O. M. Dalton, *Catalogue of British Museum Ivories*.

We see therefore that in the monastic workshops of the early twelfth century the stone-carver could be referred to established models of figure-work. It is not necessary, perhaps, to separate the respective patterns of ivory and metal, seeing that their forms at this date were so similar. At York in the doorway of St Margaret's Church; at Lincoln in the west doorway of the Cathedral; and at Ely in the door to the cloister, we have carvings that by their smooth surfacing suggest direct copies of the ivories. On the other



FIG. 149. Kilpeck (Hereford). "St Peter" at side of chancel arch. c. 1125.



FIG. 150. Durham Cathedral. Sanctuary knocker (bronze) on north door. c. 1125.

hand the handling of the mane in the beast at Bridekirk (see Fig. 88, p. 94) seems reminiscent of that on the bronze at Durham (Fig. 150). Kilpeck has inside shafts composed of a series of "apostle" figures (Fig. 149), which are notched out in the angular relief that suits the workmanship of the bronze chaser. We can find the same suggestion that the carver was deriving his

style from metal-work in many of the projecting heads which are put beneath corbel-tables and are characteristic of Anglo-Norman style c. 1125. The example below (Fig. 151) from Romsey in Hampshire shows how the staring eyes and angular features seem to repeat metal-work types like that of the Durham handle. At Kilpeck (Fig. 152) the Norse elements which we saw in Fig. 111, p. 131, are also apparent. It is clear that the modellings of the founder were immediate inspirations of projective or full-relief to the stone-mason, and could give him the technique of it as a supplement to the lined engraving which the Norse wood-workers had bequeathed. Such object



FIG. 151. Romsey Abbey (Hants). Corbel-table of quire. c. 1125.



FIG. 152. Kilpeck (Hereford). Corbel-table of apse. c. 1125.

lessons would be more effectual than when his efforts at contour were founded on the shadow-lines of the painters.

Still, we may think that the style of western England most directly reflects the influence of metal-work, and this welding motive seems distinct in the Malmesbury doorway (see Fig. 163, p. 185) of the second half of the twelfth century. Indeed the medallion treatment (see Chap. iv., p. 245) which was to play so great a part in the after ornamentation of the English doorway was conspicuously at first a legacy from the habits which the earlier stone-sculptor had acquired in copying metal-designs.

Moreover, along with the suggestions of metal straps and wire-work that present themselves in twelfth-century stone-carving, the subjects of it, too, derive from relic-chests and shrines that were the work of goldsmiths. In the second quarter of the twelfth century the religious motives of ecclesiastical art, which belonged to monastic craftsmanship throughout West Europe, appear in England, taking the place of the Scandinavian and Saxon themes which pre-Conquest sculpture had bequeathed. The "Majesty of Christ," or the "Madonna with the Child" supersede symbolic lions and lambs. We come to the end of the riding knights, fighting beasts, and convoluted dragons. Again we notice that it is in the western midlands that twelfth-century sculpture gives us the earliest indications of this momentous change. At Quenington, Gloucester-



FIG. 153. Fownhope (Hereford). West wall of nave. "Virgin and Child." c. 1150.

shire, is the rude portrayal of the "Coronation of the Virgin," the subject¹ which is conspicuous in the iconographic system of Gothic sculpture, and was its sign-manual for many generations. Here it would seem dated about the middle of the century. So too the "Majesty" at St. Giles' Hospital, Hereford, and those at Rowlstone and Shobdon are curious examples of the tentative skill of the stone-mason employed on motives new to him, and evidently taken direct from iconic design. The new method shows itself well established in the "Virgin and Child" at Fownhope (Fig. 153), where the metal strap style is also in full display.

There came a change in the handling of draperies along with the advent of the new motives. The rendering of detail by parallel scorings of the surface, as in the example above, was a conspicuous habit of goldsmiths'

¹ There is another doorway with the "Descent of Christ into Hell." C. E. Keyser's *Norman Tympana* gives illustrations of all these works.

technique, which we may see too in the ivory-workers' representations c. 1150, as in the sets of chessmen (Fig. 154), in which both head-features and drapery are just as at Fownhope. Also we can turn to the figure-modelling on the ancient seals, in which the skill and style of the goldsmith in twelfth-century work can be seen to be progressively represented. Book I. has already given some account of the medieval seals and a few examples put here in comparison with the stone-sculpture may illustrate our point. Our earliest seals seem after 1100, and what might have been thought to be pre-Conquest (Fig. 155), the seal of Edward the Confessor, is now considered a forgery made by the Westminster monks in the early part of the twelfth century. The same date is given to the similar seal of Lincoln Cathedral (Fig. 156), though



FIG. 154. British Museum. Ivory chessmen. c. 1150.

it may have been modelled on the lines of an earlier make. Both can be taken as examples of the hard, archaistic treatment which at the outset was founded on an elegant but decadent tradition of figure-work. The seal of Abingdon (Fig. 157) is later and has the goldsmith's draperies that we have mentioned as offering models for the stone-work. That of Binham Abbey (Fig. 158), on the other hand, has the liveliness of a new idea, and its modelling has become adventurous, as if in sympathy with efforts of stone-carving. The set affords a sort of epitome of figure-style as its ideas passed from the bench of the goldsmith (*sella aurifabri*) to the lodge of the mason (*opera caementarii*) and shows a constant inter-communication. There are tympanum-carvings that clearly suggest that the mason has been set to found his stone reliefs directly on the small patterns of a seal modelling. That of Elkstone, Gloucestershire, for example, which was illustrated as an



FIG. 155. Westminster seal. c. 1100.



FIG. 157. Seal of Abingdon Abbey. c. 1150.

early example of the "Majesty" (see Fig. 18, p. 29), keeps close to the minute orderliness of the seal engraver, and makes no effort beyond it.



FIG. 156. Seal of Lincoln Cathedral. c. 1100.



FIG. 158. Seal of Binham Abbey. c. 1170.

However, crafts of modelling on a larger scale than that of the seal-makers were before the stone-sculptor to train his ideas of representation. The lead fonts of the twelfth century have come down to us in not a few examples—the most remarkable being a group of six¹ in the Severn country southward of Gloucester. These have all been cast from one mould, being tub-shaped bowls decorated with flat arcaded niches that are occupied alternately by upright scrolls of foliage and by seated figures very similar to those on seals. Nearly the same pattern, but with seated figures all round, is to be seen at Dorchester, Oxfordshire (Fig. 159), and Walton-on-the-Hill, Surrey, the figure-modelling being in these cases of



FIG. 159. Dorchester (Oxon). Lead font. c. 1170.

the bolder type found in the later twelfth-century seals. At Ashover, Derbyshire, the lead font had narrower arcades and as many as sixteen standing figures. At Wareham the lead font (Fig. 160) is not circular but hexagonal, and the standing figures are of a different type though of much the same date. The Severn and midland fonts seem to have immediately afforded models for stone-work—for example the font in Hereford Cathedral has been sculptured with arcades and figures like those of the Severn series (Fig. 161). A coarser copy of this, also in stone, appears as the base of a plain lead font at Burghill a few miles off.

¹ On both sides of the Severn river and its estuary—Oxenhall, Sandhurst, Frampton, Lancut, Tidenham and Siston—the last not far from Bristol, where probably was the manufacture of fonts.



FIG. 160. Wareham (Dorset). Lead font. c. 1170.



Fig. 161. Hereford Cathedral. Stone font. c. 1170.
The lion figures are modern.

A stone edition of the lead patterns is at Coleshill near Birmingham and shows a new feature (Fig. 162) in its large panel of the "Crucifixion," the rest having the arcaded panels, alternating with standing figures of saints and leaf-scrolls much as in the Severn fonts. This example, one of the most accomplished works of Romanesque relief-sculpture, must be dated after 1150, and its figure-work has a style that will call for explanation (see Fig. 172, p. 192). The workmanship in this case, as in so much of the latest Anglo-Norman stone-carving, shows a close alliance with the ivory-carver's technique rather than with



FIG. 162. Coleshill (Warwick). Stone font. c. 1170.

that of the modeller of seals or the goldsmith—the masses are brought up strongly from the ground and the surface detail flatly finished, as is the fashion in ivories. Elsewhere too the latest Romanesque reliefs have the minute dexterity and equable workmanship of the ivory-carver—as for example in the Lincoln shafts (see Fig. 187, p. 209) and the Durham carvings, p. 219.

The goldsmith's craft of figure-work in metal and ivory, with its petty subject-skill and delicate modelling, lay behind much in the start of medieval sculpture, and one conspicuous legacy passed on by it to the methods of the English statue-makers calls for notice. The fonts have shown us the arcade motive—

each little arch made a niche for a figure. We gave an early, perhaps pre-Conquest, example of this decoration for stone-work in the Monks' Stone at Peterborough (see Fig. 104, p. 126). But behind this lay a long and distinguished pedigree: for was it not along the line of this goldsmith's decoration upon coffers, and then in the stone copies upon fonts and coffins, that the marble statue of the Greek temple may be said to have transmitted its race to the stone statue of the medieval cathedral?

The Greek image, looted from its sacred cella and carried in triumph to Rome, found itself appropriated for the courts of Roman palaces, and was given in the wall of the atrium an arched recess for its honour. The Roman or Byzantine ivory-carver took over the motive of statue and niche together, as the common-place decoration of the Roman house, and it was so pictured in relief upon the consular diptychs, the consul himself figuring in the place of the Greek god. Then the stone-carver, borrowing in turn from the ivory-worker, made a series of such pictured niches as decoration for the side of the tomb-chest or sarcophagus, with a standing or seated figure in each bay, as in many at Arles. The decoration of arcades and figures became in this way the standard one for reliquaries, which goldsmiths made as glorified tomb-chests with apostles and saints on the sides. Finally the stone-mason of northern Romanesque, again borrowing from the goldsmith, took over these arcades as the decoration suitable for his fonts. Learning the method of it he used it over doorways, and we have examples at Lullington, Somerset, and at Leigh, Worcestershire, exhibiting a single arched niche with a figure. Rows of such niches occur on door-heads, as at Pampisford, Cambridgeshire, and Syston, Lincolnshire, near relations of the font-carving at Coleshill (see Fig. 172, p. 192). But arcade decoration was c. 1150 no longer a mere ornamental reminiscence: constructed arches on the big scale of architectural elevations were common in the Anglo-Norman style, spread in ranges and tiers over the whole face of the church front, as we see at Ely or Dunstable. And in them the figure-subject regained its original isolation as a separate piece, and if at first flatly modelled in the tradition of a relief, soon grew to the roundness of a detached statue. In this way the ancient types of classic sculpture survived the dark ages. The seated "Zeus" of Olympia reappeared as the "Christ" of Lincoln or the "St Peter" of Peterborough—and the standing "Athene" of the Parthenon was revived as the "Mary Magdalene" of Lanercost or the "Eleanor" of Waltham Cross. The ideals of Pheidias in the creation of his majestic models had themselves been those of an ancient, long-descended art, and now in Gothic sculpture the same ideals return with a wonderful recurrence of expression, directly the sculptor began to develop a sense of freedom, and to escape from the tyranny of the earlier conventions in his use of block stone.

The point here is, however, that the form which this revival of the statue assumed grew out of the craft of the goldsmith. Neither the ancient statues themselves nor the credit of them remained to bridge the gap between Classic and Gothic, and to be taken up as the pattern for the first efforts of the medieval sculptor. We can judge this by what took place in the South of France. The marble sarcophagi of Arles were there still able to show to the sixth and seventh centuries the ancient technique of sculpture, though infinitely degraded. But their classic figure-work is not the starting-point of the Romanesque workmanship in Toulousian sculpture. This turned to another technique, and made its beginnings in the eleventh and twelfth centuries not in statue expression but upon the lines of the painted figure, or in copying in flat planes the little works of metal and ivory that were of the goldsmith's craft. It would seem as if the power of the chisel to cut out and model faces, hands, and drapery in the round had been discredited by the Pagan uses—as if a new untainted birth of sculptural handling was demanded by Christianity. The medieval mason learnt first to trace his figure with an incised line and to round its incision so as tentatively to suggest projection; and then to bead and zigzag the surfaces in representation of the ornaments and drapery folds. Such were the first efforts at modelling, as we see them in Romanesque figure-work, and it was not till well on in the twelfth century that a hollowed scoring in broken lines begins to reclaim from the past the representation of natural form. Then the statue in the round quickly followed on the discovery by the stone-mason that he had this power of natural representation. He had mastered all that was to be learnt in the school of the goldsmith's art, had followed the prescribed foot-steps to the limit of the field, and now found the path open into a new region. At this point English sculpture ran directly into the line of European sculpture generally, and we must turn to the continental schools as guiding our latest Romanesque sculpture along the way to the common goal.

CHAPTER III

THE LATER ROMANESQUE FIGURE-SCULPTURE

SECTION I. THE RENAISSANCE OF FREE FIGURE-WORK. C. 1150.

IN the twelfth century the centre of civilization was shifting from the East to the West—and as a symptom of the change the art of Western Europe underwent a revolution that has been called its emancipation, and which was uniform and simultaneous throughout the wide district of monastic culture. In effect religious style, discarding symbolism, passed to intellectual representations of Christian faith, just as the art of building in this, the passage era from the early to the late Middle Ages, passed into the constructive vitality of Gothic. One incident in this was the progress of figure-sculpture, which in the fifty years from 1150 to 1200 developed a modelling in the round out of pictorial and intaglio representations. The masons no longer took over the technique of painting wholesale, but adventured themselves in their material, and in accord with the heroic scale of their architectural ambitions.

This meant specially the attainment of an architectural scale for figure-work. The artist was called upon to give plastic value as well as indicative suggestion to the ideas of the faith, and to do this in the fabric of his construction. Accordingly he now made his occasions on the fronts of the great churches, where a treatment of the sacred themes could be as suitably placed for observation as in the altar-furniture inside, which had been the goldsmith's province. Twelfth-century sculptors are to be seen dealing mainly with doorways and the façade-sculpture adjoining them. We have first of all the doorway magnified and elaborated, its tympanum and voussoirs more and more encrusted with figure-subjects in relief; and then, secondly, we have sacred statues realised upon the door-jambs, or set in the arcades that flanked and rose above them as the constructive facing of the church-fronts.

In England, though the pieces which bear witness to such an ordered art in our twelfth-century sculpture have been separated from their architectural settings, the analogy of continental examples is sufficient warrant that our fragments too have belonged to definite architectural schemes. Here, as well as abroad, while the hints for the figure-treatment had been at first those of Byzantine jewellery, yet, now as lifted into position upon a great

church-front, the monumental conception of architectural sculpture has come as something new—an original inventive achievement of twelfth-century style, made in the great practice of building.

This achievement can be summed up as composed of three developments. First as to subject—the revolution of the sculptor's art proceeded by abandonment of much of the ancient symbolism. Themes which allowed of natural human expression and action were now adopted, and instead of the knots and interlacements, the dragons and warriors that had filled the earlier door-heads (see, for example, Figs. 128, 129, p. 155) we have in the later, as we have pointed out, the "Majesty of Christ" as a gracious king, as at Barfreston (see Fig. 175, p. 196), or the "Virgin and Child" in natural human form, as at Fownhope (see Fig. 153, p. 171).

Secondly, the handling of the scenes adopts new principles. The positions and attitudes which had been appropriate to the small works of the goldsmiths become modified, now that the sacred personages are displayed on a larger scale and worked in the round. The renderings of "apostles" and "saints" as seated figures in the shallowly recessed arcades of the shrine-makers and font-modellers (see Fig. 159, p. 174) are no longer the models, and at the end of the century we have life-size figures standing free, as at York (see Figs. 193—196, pp. 214, 215).

Thirdly, in the realisation of the ideals which such fresh ambitions introduced, a new technique appears. The linear and shaded expressions of feature and drapery that were natural to painting are displaced. The eyes and mouth become no longer tracings, but are shaped to nature: the hair is no longer rendered as pellets, but has surface scorings to represent texture: the draperies exhibit their contours and surfaces not as incised lines, but are given the undulations and foldings that the eye observes in natural drapery (see Worcester, Fig. 266, p. 250). At the same time, no doubt, much in the older representations was seen to be awkward and misproportioned and was amended. But all this advance in method was not exactly the learning of the art of figure-representation *de novo*. The medieval sculptor was not a barbarian inefficient started on a block of stone, and essaying painfully to make of it a representative figure of a man. The new figure-technique was really a step from one medium of expression to another. Figure-representation was no new thing in Romanesque art—but its traditional technique had been based on its success in pictorial effects, and, as far as modelling went, in works on quite a small scale. The sculptor now learnt to be big in style, to concentrate attention on essentials, and to bring the expression of sculpture into the structural scheme: and this learning was the endowment that the great architectural practice of the Romanesque mason in church-building gave him. For the new conceptions of figure-sculpture

altered its position and office in the building, bringing it out into the air instead of hiding it in interiors.

All this was not achieved at once or without hesitation : now one item of the programme and now another makes its appearance, and roughly in the order in which we have set them out. The twelfth-century sculptor, in his acquisition of new ideals, began by enriching the carved work on his doorways with definite human representation as in the Malmesbury medallions (see Fig. 46, p. 54) ; next he gave natural representation to his subjects, as at Glastonbury (see Fig. 167, p. 189), and thirdly acquired first a convenient stone-treatment of drapery as at Worcester (see Fig. 266, p. 250), and then a simplicity of style as at York (see Figs. 193—196, pp. 214, 215). But it was not till well on in the thirteenth century that the whole revolution may be said to have been accomplished, and Gothic sculpture threw overboard the whole pictorial tradition. Then the result could be seen as a simplification of technique—the complicated symbolisms, the redundant expressions, the elaborations of detail that were suitable to a painted and petty art, were bit by bit excluded from the motives of the sculptor, and in their place came a feeling for form and for its simple exhibition, and with this the skill, too, to produce with the hand what is seen by the eye.

An essential calm and simplicity in the works of the thirteenth century contrast with the twelfth-century quality. But this effect has been got less by naturalistic rendering than by the sculptor's rejection of the traditionary handlings which, at the outset, the Byzantine and Carolingian crafts had set up before him as the essentials. Sculpture, by becoming architectural, grew monumental, and accordingly its early Gothic simplicity must be taken less as the invention of any artist or master mind than as necessarily in the groundwork of that great building practice which was the passion of the time.

It is for this reason that the origin of Gothic sculpture should not be discussed as if the invention of it could be appropriated by any single nation or place. The question is not one of priority for this or that piece of early sculpture in Germany, Lombardy or South France. The materials and conditions of working which the Romanesque birth of plastic art induced were very much the common property of all western Europe. Not one only but many districts had c. 1150 the Gothic sculptor in embryo—wherever, indeed, there was a great monastic church in building—wherever the monastic treasury was full of oriental curios, of stuffs and ivories, eikons and shrines that could be shown to the workman as models for his copying in stone. If in any one district the sculptor hatched out, as it were, first, he and his art were not necessarily the starting point of sculpture with the monumental ambition elsewhere. Here or there, no doubt, the conditions of stonecraft—such as the free nature of the stone at hand for the building of a great

church—may have fostered an ease in dealing with the realisations of the sacred subjects. But realisation was not the most essential quality of Gothic art, and in the twelfth century importations of ideas or workmen were not wanted. So broadcast had been the sowing of Byzantine and Carolingian art, that everywhere the subjects for sculpture and their handling were familiar; while on the other hand the widespread building of great Romanesque churches was everywhere making the building mason into a stone-cutter, so that his proficiency could not be exploited as a monopoly.

At any rate, if any one part of West Europe is to make out the claim that it was the mother of Gothic sculpture, it must not be on the ground of what was the common heritage of all parts. It must substantiate the proof of a special style that had a birth apart from the body of Romanesque art. And then the claim must proceed to show that it was the spread of this peculiar style that is to be entitled Gothic. Success in tracing the Gothic genius to a head, whether in architecture or sculpture, has not been great. In the first place, evidences of dispersion are lacking, and the theories based on them propose for certain personalities—the Cluniac monks, say, or the Comacines¹—acquirements and capabilities which are conjectural. Then, too, the special stylistic beginning of Gothic sculpture has not been formulated with any clearness. But indeed, what inspired the situation was not a style, but a spirit: and the strange part in the early history of West European sculpture is this, that its first exercises in the round seem to grow out of the Norse energies of decoration. We have already observed that wherever in Europe the Scandinavian motives—the knots and interlacements, the ferocious beasts and biting monsters, the fighting warriors and stark, graceless attitudes appear, replacing and transforming the traditional and rather languid conceptions of the oriental mosaics and ivories—there we are on the brink of a carving in the round that makes its appearance, one might almost say uniformly all over Europe, along with the first monuments that were the prelude of Gothic architecture.

While acknowledging that German, Lombard and Toulousian developments of figure-sculpture appeared early in the twelfth century, yet we cannot put these either in connection themselves or in sequence of style with one another. Our English making of sculpture in the round does not exhibit features which stamp it as the special offspring of either German, Lombard or Toulousian examples—at least as far as can be determined. Still less does our English work seem part of the somewhat later developments of northern France, or to have got characteristics from somewhere immediately over the

¹ The Cluniac question is discussed on page 151. No trace has been found by the authors of any guild association of sculptors in English

building nor of any organisation of artists such as the Comacines are conjectured to have been in Italy.

Channel. The sculpture on Abbé Suger's church at St Denis in 1148—if we form our notion of it from the drawings made before its destruction¹, and accept it as the starting-point of the French style—meant nothing to our English art. At York, for example, the statue-work is of another kind. And again, the full monumental sculpture-gallery at Chartres, whose record begins in 1150, does not fit in satisfactorily as any part of our English story.

As a matter of history, the connections which were natural for English art grew less close with northern France as the twelfth century advanced. After the French conquest of Normandy our sculpture lay outside the influences which crystallised into the Île de France Gothic, for in the England of the twelfth century Angevin Kings had succeeded the Norman. The English arts, both of building and sculpture, from 1125 to 1175, offer features that had, at any rate, much in common with those of Poitou and Saintonge. There comes a gradual disappearance of the zigzags, chevrons and billets that had been the commonest decoration of the Anglo-Norman arches up to 1150: the later English Romanesque exhibits an intricate and redundant carving of foliage and grotesques applied as we see them in western France. Single doorways instead of those of double entry (and often without the tympanum, but profusely decorated with a number of concentric rings—each voussoir a different subject) make a type common to both England and the French Atlantic provinces, but distinct from the usual Romanesque treatment elsewhere. The arcaded fronts of the churches in Saintes, Poitiers and Angoulême have counterparts in our style; and in the decoration of these arcades what may be termed the *zodiacal* motive of human and animal forms becomes specially prolific. Though at Iffley, near Oxford, or at Adel, Yorkshire (to take two well-known examples), this rich voussoir-ornament of the English doorway repeats the Anglo-Norman geometrical patterns, in other cases, as at Kilpeck, figure-grotesques have become the paramount decoration, and after 1150 at Malmesbury, Patricbourne and Barfreston the Anglo-Norman ornaments are quite discontinued. In the Rochester west doorway the style of this West French carving is particularly marked, as will be told in detail later (see pp. 198, 199).

In the first half of the twelfth century the figure-work of western France was undoubtedly inspired by the Toulousian practice of it, which was far advanced towards the accomplishment of sculpture in the round. Toulousian influences could have come by way of Poitiers to England, and we shall make the most of one case (that of Rochester west door) in which the likeness is sufficient to suggest first-hand importation. But as we have said, the sculpture-style of southern France could reach us by another channel. The Church

¹ De Lasteyrie has reproduced the sketches, and a likeness can be seen to the Chartres and Corbeil sculpture.

of Santiago de Compostella, begun c. 1100, in the extreme north-west of Spain, was decorated with free figure-sculpture which was as proficient and early as anywhere in Europe. There were statues set on either side of its south and west doorways, the former still to be seen, the latter replaced half a century later¹ by the famous sculpture of the master mason, Matteo. Compostella in the early twelfth century was more honoured as a place of pilgrimage than Rome itself, and among the pilgrims to it the English are recorded². From this source our builders may have adopted methods of figure-sculpture for the decoration of façades.

But save in the suggestion of doorway sculpture neither Compostella nor Toulouse were we think responsible for English work. The resemblances are not sufficient to justify the idea of importation of sculptors, nor had the actual technique of a figure-carving in stone any need with us to go abroad for its methods. Our preceding chapters gave enough examples to show that in the eleventh century there was a practice of native style in England as the groundwork of what we find in the twelfth. Moreover, in England, as elsewhere, the monastic arts of painting, metal-work and ivory were producing numbers of images, and we insist that the prompting to achieve stone-sculpture lay in the whole atmosphere of West Europe which England breathed as its right. Our pieces have their own manner, which grew out of our earlier work: any sculpture by an alien artist must have been exceptional.

Much the same story must be told as to the origins and distribution in England itself of our earliest statue-making. Its growth does not appear in the practice of one place; as if it developed, say, in one great church-building, from which experts went on to other enterprises and so spread abroad the faculty. The western midlands of England, as we have said, had in their tympanum-sculpture a tradition of figure-craft, while on the other hand the South of England was by its position open to the continental importation of sculptural style. Yet we shall find York and Lincoln seemingly ahead of both. In fact the chief groups of first English statues must be considered as offering their specimens independently of one another. We find twelfth-century sculpture, as it has descended to us, located roughly in three districts—one comprising the western midlands, another the south-eastern dioceses and East Anglia, and a third north-eastern England. Still, in this suggestion of separate schools we must admit the ground of uncertainty in our definitions; for so great has been the destruction of twelfth-century work, that we are theorising on what are only fragments of evidence.

¹ The earlier sculptures are mentioned as already in existence some time in a document dated 1140. See Michel, *Histoire de l'Art*, Vol. II. p. 251.

² Oliver de Merlesund, the builder of Shobdon Church, where are remains of a free and vigorous figure-sculpture, is recorded to have founded it on his return from a pilgrimage to Compostella.

SECTION II. WEST MIDLAND SCULPTURE. 1140—1190.

The progress of figure-carving on the western side of Mid-England was reviewed in the last chapter some way into the twelfth century, both as to the Danish elements of our sculpture, in discussing the tympanum and font-carvings, and also in showing how the carvers of capitals and voussoirs followed the painting and metal-work of the monastic goldsmiths. One of



FIG. 163. Malmesbury Abbey. South porch. c. 1160.

the first great sculptures in western England, which, while based on these anterior works seems a departure, is in the south porch at Malmesbury (Fig. 163). Documentary sources are unfortunately doubtful as to the history of this remarkable carving. The quire and crossing of the abbey-church were begun probably before 1150, and since the architectural style of the nave bays (which is the part of the church that remains) has no marked differences from that of the ruined eastern limb, we take this nave as probably built in the ten years from 1150 to 1160. Thus a date somewhat

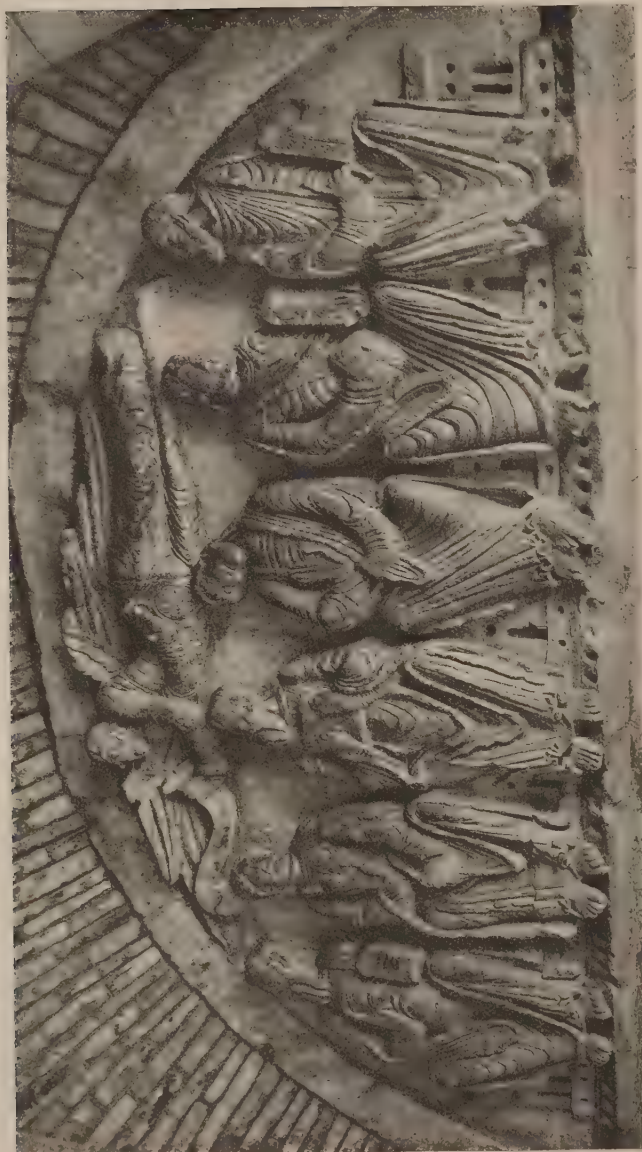


FIG. 164. Malmesbury Abbey (Wilts). Spandrel-carvings at side of south porch. The "Apostles" of east side. c. 1160.

after this seems probable for the carving of its south porch, apparently an immediate addition to the fabric. At any rate a more advanced carving but in much the same style (now nearly completely destroyed) appears on the arches of the single west doorway which seems of slightly later work. Then at Glastonbury Abbey, not far off, a still more advanced carving of similar voussoir-subjects occurs on the chapel doorways. The above works are evidently in close connection, and show a gradation of accomplishment. But while the first decoration at Malmesbury is distinctively Romanesque, the latest at Glastonbury has all the characteristics of early Gothic style. Time must be given for the sculptors to advance from the metal-copied stiffness of the former (see Fig. 165, p. 188) to the free rendering of attitudes in the Glastonbury medallions (see Fig. 167, p. 189). Since the records of the latter building place it c. 1185, the Malmesbury porch may well date to the third quarter of the twelfth century.

Now the medallion treatment itself was one of very wide distribution upon doorways. Chains of medallions, each enclosing a little animal or human representation, can be seen circled round archways at Phocis in Greece; at San Michele, Pavia; on Chalais Church near Angoulême, as well as in the English examples—at St John's Church, York, or in these Malmesbury and Glastonbury porches. But what is remarkable at Malmesbury is the exhibition of the complete scheme of that "Majesty" composition the nature of which was described in Book I. (see p. 78). The tympanum-figure of the "Christ in Glory" supported by angels upon the inner doorway is, it is true, not made very important, while the arch-voussoirs here have, as we have said, the interlaced arabesques (see Fig. 74, p. 78) that are familiar on the twelfth-century tympanum-carvings of the Danish school. But the outer archway of the porch shows a wonderful array of variously carved voussoirs, some with an interlacing arabesque and some with a series of figure-medallions (see Fig. 46, p. 54) such as we see used in the monastic crafts of metal-work and ivory. The point is that a system of iconography has been developed, the scenes from the Old and New Testaments being evidently brought into connection with the "Christ" of the inside tympanum, while on the sides of the porch are the "Apostle" figures (as seated with "Christ in Glory"), six on each side (Fig. 164) with a flying "Angel" above each group.

The "Apostles" are nearly life-size and are worked in full relief from the ground. While, as far as technique is concerned, this is no new art—it is in the line of the native developments (as at Kilpeck, see Fig. 149, p. 169) so that no foreign importation need be guessed—yet, on the other hand, the nature of this sculpture and its combination for a connected religious composition is a new thing and means that the sculptors have acquired ideas outside the antecedent English practice. As in western France or Compostella,

their grouping of figures was designed to illustrate dogmatic religion. In the place of disconnected symbolical or fetish representations which had been the groundwork of the Irish-Viking sculpture, they founded their scheme on the exegesis of Christian faith that was current in monastic theology. Christ appears as the "King of Glory"; on either hand are the "Apostles" seated; while the whole story of the Bible is shown as prefiguring the sacred event



Fig. 165. Malmesbury south porch. "The Risen Christ." c. 1160.



Fig. 166. Illuminated figure-work from MS. c. 1160.

and leading up to this consummation of the faith (see Book I, pp. 42, 43). So the English sculptors come into line with their brethren abroad.

The capacity of the stone-carver has also made advances beyond his earlier figure-work in England. We illustrate (Fig. 165) the "Resurrection of Christ," in a medallion upon the outer archway, and its action modelling and relief can be seen more matured than in the flat work of the Dinton tympanum (see Fig. 128, p. 155) or Fownhope "Madonna" (see Fig. 153, p. 171). The seated figures of the "Apostles" (see back, Fig. 164) have in the same way been

given a boldness of relief that is on the way to make them statues in the round. At the same time the treatment of drapery is still that of the painter and goldsmith: there are the strained flat representations of folds that were indicated in manuscript-painting, and the angular groovings that had been natural to the tools of the metal-worker rather than to the chisel of the mason.

The slim proportions and delicate attitudes of the medallion-figures at Malmesbury (see Fig. 46, p. 54) can be at once seen as founded on the work of the English illuminators. Indeed the close dependence of the Malmesbury craft on the painted figure-work may be illustrated from a specimen in a twelfth-century manuscript (Fig. 166): the incised draperies of the stone-sculpture correspond closely to the drawn lines, and the pearled borders of the Apostle-robcs (see Fig. 164, p. 186) are those of the painting.



FIG. 167. Glastonbury Abbey (Somerset). North doorway of Lady Chapel. c. 1185.

The west doorway sculpture at Malmesbury is in too decayed a state to do more than suggest that it was in advance of the south porch. But at Glastonbury in the year 1185 the *voussoir*-carvings of the Lady Chapel doorways show both metal-worker's technique and painter's tracings discarded, and the chisel of the stone-mason now quite master of its province (Fig. 167). Although in arrangement and method of the medallions we see direct continuation of the Malmesbury treatment, the experience of the sculptor realises the figure in stone-cutting, and attempts for it a natural plastic expression. Such a modelled drama as that of the "Murder of the Innocents" above would have been impossible with the technique of the earlier carvers.

We have illustrated above the beginning and the end of a transition that marks the shift from Romanesque to Gothic expression. Other examples of the various stages may be joined with those at Malmesbury and Glastonbury as of the same school, and are proofs how quickly the power of modelling

advanced. At Wenlock Abbey there remains a stone "lavatory" or cistern in the cloister, with carvings on the faces¹ of the trough (Fig. 168). The house was a Cluniac foundation and of great influence in western England, and the fact becomes interesting in view of the treatment of subjects upon this lavatory having analogies with the central French sculpture of the twelfth century, *e.g.* the capitals at Vézelay (Fig. 169), a church directly under the influence of the Cluniac monasticism. On the other hand, though the Wenlock figures are squat instead of elongated (see also Fig. 50, p. 57), the handlings



FIG. 168. Wenlock Abbey. "Apostles." c. 1150.

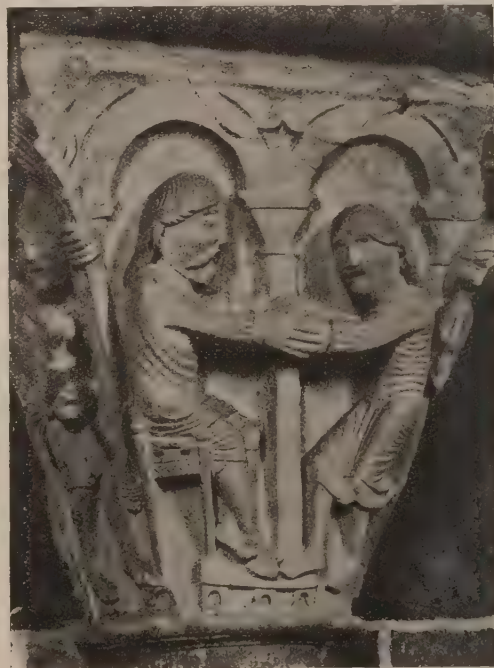


FIG. 169. Vézelay (Burgundy). Capital. c. 1150.

of drapery and heads are of the same kind as in the Malmesbury Apostles, which we may suppose an antecedent work.

Very similar to the medallion reliefs of Glastonbury is a stone (Fig. 170) at Oxford, in the transept of Christ Church Cathedral. The subject on one face is "Adam and Eve," very like that in the medallion on the unfinished south door at Glastonbury. On the other is the "Sacrifice of Isaac," but it is difficult to ascertain the purpose of the block, which has dragon-carvings at the sides; it has been suggested that it formed the base of an altar. The modelling of the figures here has become that of sculpture in the round.

¹ This work has been allowed to stand without protection from rain and frost, and therefore is

much decayed, but it has been one of our best pieces of early sculpture.



FIG. 170. Oxford Cathedral. "Adam and Eve." c. 1190.

At Southrop in Gloucestershire (Fig. 171) and at Stanton Fitzwarren in Wiltshire (see Fig. 31, p. 38) are two almost similar tub-fonts with relief-figures under trefoiled arcades—the general subject being the "Virtues trampling on



FIG. 171. Southrop (Glos). Font. c. 1160.

the Vices" (see Book I., p. 38). The existence of replicas would seem to point to a settled school or shop of stone-sculpture under monastic or Cluniac patronage.

Further advance in the handling of drapery may be seen at Worcester (see Fig. 266, p. 250), where on the end wall of the refectory, and once the dignified ornament of the monks' hall, was a "Majesty," some six feet in height, set in a quatrefoil niche and attended by the four evangelist symbols, the shafts indicating a date not later than 1200. The piece has been carved in large stones walled in with the body of the wall, but the surface has been chopped away so that the outline of the seated figure and the drapery surfaces of the body only remain. The attainment of the sculptor has here nearly reached the level of the thirteenth-century reliefs of Worcester quire.



FIG. 172. Coleshill (Warwick). Font. c. 1160.

It will have been noted how full has been the material and how continuous the record of the relief-sculpture of western England. The progress of technique goes onward from the first unmodelled flat-surfacing of the cross-carvers to the shaping of the figure in natural projections. The steps are all before us, and we can see that the power of modelling figure-work has not been any sudden inspiration or importation of sculpture style, however much there may have been introductions of composition, either under the stimulus of Cluniac learning or from the sculptors being referred to illumination designs such as we see reproduced in the Coleshill font (Fig. 172).

SECTION III. THE SOUTHERN AND EASTERN SCULPTURE. 1140—1190.

It has been already explained (p. 152) how in the south-east of England we have not the same continuous story for the course of figure-work that we have read in the western midlands. The early twelfth-century use of it is rarer in both the tympana and capitals of Anglo-Norman building in the south-



FIG. 173. Rochester Cathedral. West door. c. 1140—1180.

eastern dioceses than elsewhere. Not till we are before the west front of Rochester (Fig. 173) have we in eastern England any body of sculpture which is at all comparable with the many exhibitions of it in the western counties.

The records of Rochester Cathedral indicate the completion of the church in 1130, but what is now to be seen of the twelfth-century work (when this is separated from fifteenth-century and modern restorations) carries on the face of it evidences of reconstructions. There are mentioned three fires in the Cathedral, one of the above date immediately after the dedication and others in 1137 and 1177, but that any of these damaged the west front is not recorded. Still, the whole Romanesque gable appears as a facing which overlays an earlier work and does not exactly conform to it. It is to this re-facing that the figure-sculpture belongs, and it must, we think, be placed for the most part after both of the earlier fires.

There are three separate elements in the sculpture of the front: first, a carving upon capitals and face-blocks in the arcadings of the front—mostly interlacements and grotesques of that “zodiacal” kind which, as we have said, appeared about 1140 to supersede the geometrical ornaments of first Anglo-Norman building. A capital of this work can be seen in our illustration of the “Queen” statue (see Fig. 181, p. 200). Secondly, there are on the great archway of the front many orders of *voussoir*-carvings in a peculiar style scarcely to be found elsewhere in England, and with these a tympanum-sculpture that possesses considerable attainment, and also a distinct style unlike other English work (see Fig. 177, p. 198). Thirdly, there are two statues attached to the jambs of the doorway, just as the twelfth-century doorways of France and Spain commonly have them.

Though, as we have said, the facing of the front and the great archway seem accretions upon the original façade, yet both in material and workmanship all seems of the same kind as in the west bays of the nave—the mason-craft has not altered. There was, therefore, no great interval between what was finished according to record before 1130 and perhaps damaged that same year, and the adornments which we now see. But, on the other hand, to give such a work as the tympanum-carving a date before 1140 would be to argue for it a special precocity, not only among English examples but in western European art generally.

In elucidating this difficulty we may take the several classes of the work in order, and, since there are differences of style, suppose for them different origins. The carvings of capitals and corbels on the front, though rich and varied (see back, Fig. 173), are not substantially different from a good deal of architectural sculpture which appears about mid twelfth-century in the south-eastern district of England. At Rochester itself there had been an elaborate figure-carving of much the same sort in the walls of the chapter-house, and under the dormitory along the cloister wall. Very little of all this is now left and that in a much decayed state, but it can still be seen that in style and handling this cloister-carving is in close relation to what appears on the west

front capitals. Now the cloister buildings are definitely recorded as the work of Ernulf, who died in 1124, and the architecture has the usual Anglo-Norman ornaments of that date. Its reliefs may be matched by an example in Buckinghamshire at Water Stratford (Fig. 174) and on some of the fonts we have shown (see Fig. 135, p. 159). Again the same types of sculpture, but more advanced in modelling, may be recognised upon the capitals of Canterbury crypt, which have already been illustrated (see Figs. 142, 143, p. 164). These are in the crypt of the quire of Prior Conrad, which was dedicated 1130, but their carving may be of later date.

Another sculpture showing the same style is in the neighbourhood of Canterbury, at Patrixbourne, where the tympanum-carving has much likeness

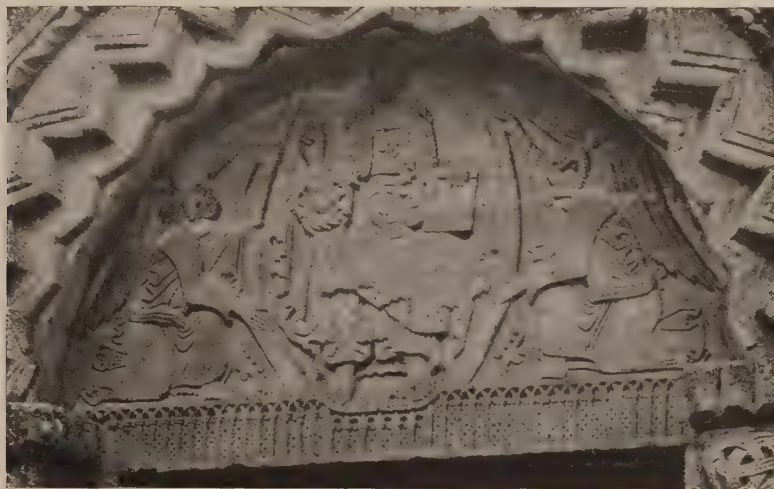


FIG. 174. Water Stratford (Bucks). Tympanum of south doorway. c. 1150.

to that on the Rochester capitals. We have already insisted on the close alliance that this sculpture with "zodiacal" animals (see Book I., p. 36) has with the ornamental renderings of manuscript-painting, of ivories and metal-works which were worked in monasteries. A fashion of interlacements and grotesque animals was indeed the widespread manner of decoration for all the monastic crafts of Europe (see p. 146). But as to the particular style of it in Kent, the nearest analogy is found in the Poitou and Charente¹ districts of West France—especially, for example, in the fronts of the churches at Angoulême and Saintes, in the cloister-capitals at Angers, and upon the front of Nôtre Dame la Grande, Poitiers, which we show for the sake of comparison on p. 199.

¹ See E. Sharpe, *Churches of Charente*, with many engravings of the sculpture.



FIG. 175. Barfreston (Kent). Head and arch of south doorway. c. 1170.

This Kentish carving, however, exhibits some usages that are to be recognised as English. The figure-medallions are interlaced with a twining foliage as we have seen them at Malmesbury. It is not the motive itself of leaf interlacement that we suggest as English, but its peculiar handling of sinuous twining. Thus at Barfreston (Fig. 175), a church close to Patixbourne, but certainly of later building, the tympanum-carving shows the "Christ" seated in a sort of bower of interlacing foliage, in accord with the characteristic fancies of English illumination¹. Other carvings of the same church, as, for example, the capitals (Fig. 176), are very like those at Rochester, so the Barfreston sculpture seems a special development of the

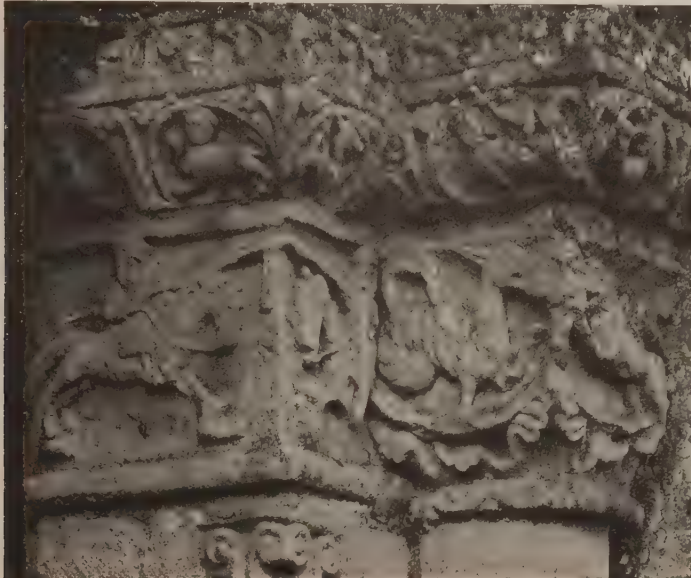


FIG. 176. Barfreston (Kent). Detail of right jamb opposite. c. 1170.

Kentish masons. The figure of the "Christ" has a drapery modelled as in seals² (see Fig. 157, p. 173), the whole tympanum suggesting a goldsmith's filigree designs. The use of animal figuring in playful grotesques has a local flavour (Figs. 175, 176, and Fig. 179, p. 200) distinct from both the western and northern motives of "zodiacal" carving.

Thus the Kentish pieces must be recognised as having peculiarities. One cannot accept them as derived from the west-country work, even if that could be shown to precede them in date. The handling of sculpture would

¹ The illustrations of Chapter IV. give the subsequent career of the English fashion, as in the decorations of thirteenth-century doorways at Lichfield (see Fig. 261, p. 245) and Lincoln (see Fig.

45, p. 53), and at Higham Ferrers (see Fig. 49, p. 56).

² See also the Dorchester (Oxon) font, Fig. 159, p. 174.

appear not conveyed by transference from Malmesbury or Durham, but to have been in each case founded locally on the architectural practice of the mason. In all districts the monastic models of decoration were before the carver and the fanciful creations of the painter and goldsmith were the groundwork of his sculpture: the same scrolls, medallions, and leafage were there for him to copy.

We leave, however, this groundwork in what is the most remarkable carving at Rochester (Fig. 177), the sculpture of the tympanum. The "Majesty" of Christ is exhibited in a vigorous representation very different from that of Barfreton. He sits in a vesica supported by angels, and flanked by the "Evangelist signs"—the lintel below showing a row



FIG. 177. Rochester Cathedral. Tympanum of west doorway. c. 1178.

of seated figures of the "Apostles." In this sculpture and in that of the ornamented voussours which circle the door-head we recognise a style that not only can be exactly matched abroad, but is unlike that of English work by its side. We can justly, if we choose, suppose it actually from the hand of some continental sculptor; for the same ornaments and foliage types that make the rings round the tympanum are seen carved on the archways of Nôtre Dame la Grande at Poitiers (Fig. 178), and, moreover, the attitude and the modelling of the Rochester "Christ" are more nearly those of the seated figures in the arcades above the doorways in the Poitiers façade than of any English sculpture we know. Therefore, since the date of the Nôtre Dame la Grande is probably not before 1180, we may accept our Rochester work as

contemporary, and suppose the insertion of the tympanum after the fire of 1177.

At the same time, while the likeness of the detail (see, for example, the peculiar form of bird enrichment upon the two fronts) does on this occasion warrant the suggestion that a carver from Poitiers had come to England, it is to be noted that in the arrangement of the door-sculpture, and then in its



FIG. 178. Poitiers. Front of Nôtre Dame la Grande c. 1180.

actual composition, the Rochester work is not exactly of the type to which the Poitiers façade belongs. For example, the doorways of western France do not generally show a solid tympanum with a carved subject, but, as the doorways of Iffley (see Fig. 146, p. 167) and Glastonbury, have the arch-orders made the vehicle of the subject-sculpture. In this respect a French doorway further north, that on the south side of Le Mans Cathedral, is in its arrangement very nearly duplicated by the Rochester work, having a

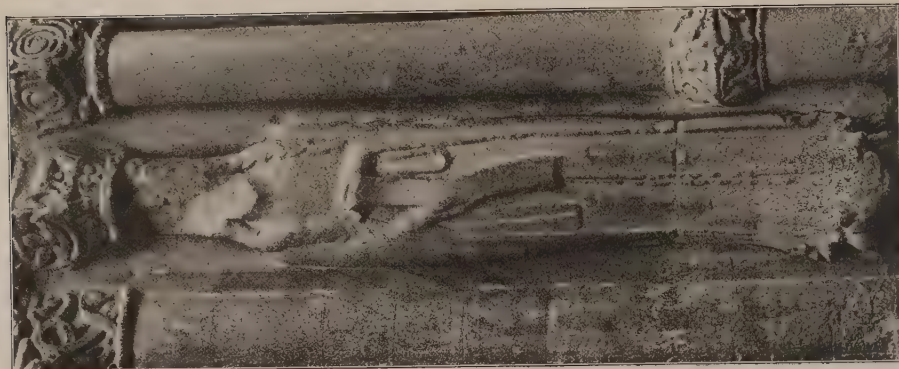


FIG. 181. Rochester west doorway.
"Queen of Sheba." c. 1180.

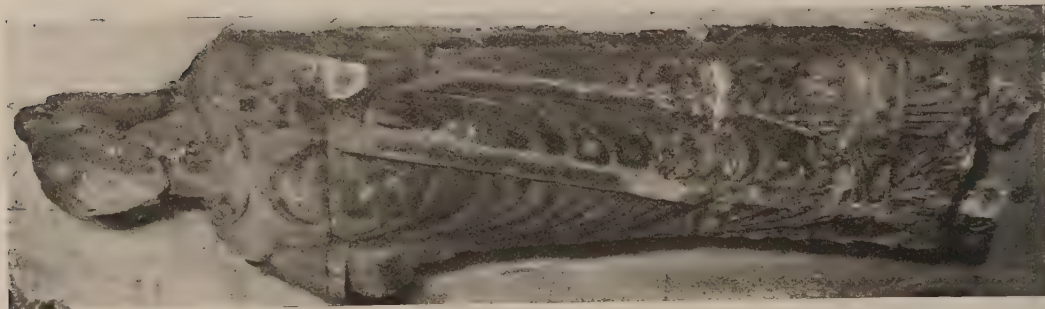


FIG. 180. Rochester, c. 1150.
Statue of "Gundulf" now inside
Cathedral.

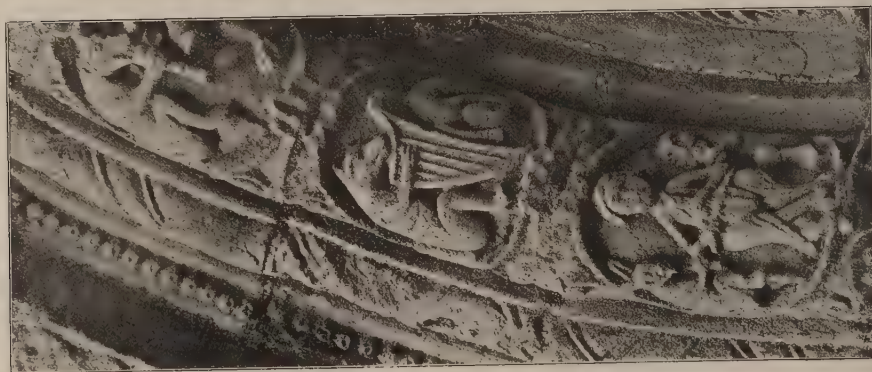


FIG. 179. Barfreston (Kent). Enlargement
of arch mould, c. 1170.

somewhat similar tympanum and also the figures in the jambs. The English and French doorways in this use of statues must be classed as all of the same family, and there were probably with us other twelfth-century examples of this method, though in England the Rochester figures are the only ones left *in situ*. Still, they have been recorded at Colchester, and it is pretty clear that the statues we shall presently show from the Museum at York (see Figs. 193—196, pp. 214—215) were once placed in the jambs of a twelfth-century entrance at St Mary's Abbey there. At Rochester we think they have been added to the original doorway, for they are cut into its shafts (Fig. 181). It has been the custom to call them statues of Henry I. and Queen Maud, but Professor Lethaby has shown their analogy to figures of "Solomon" and the "Queen of Sheba" on French doorways, and they must be accepted as representing this subject (see Book I., p. 44).

We recognise accordingly two derivations from a foreign art of sculpture, first in the handling of the Rochester tympanum and then in the arrangement with statues. Yet at Rochester the "Majesty" has with all this foreign look certain English peculiarities, such as had appeared in some of the midland tympana a generation earlier; for example, the aureole of the "Christ" is supported by two angel figures. In some of the early Herefordshire doorheads four flying angels had so appeared, and there are examples at Cahors and Autun in France, but the motive is rare abroad. The motive was no doubt borrowed directly from illuminations, but we find it in many English carvings, as at Water Stratford (see Fig. 174, p. 195) and Ely (see Fig. 185, p. 206). Of English tradition, too, in the Rochester "Majesty," would seem the placing of the Evangelistic "beasts," not with the bodies turned away from the Christ as in the French examples, but facing the aureole. They were arranged thus in early tympana at Pedmore, Worcestershire; at Quenington, Gloucestershire; and in the example (see Fig. 18, p. 29) at Elkstone, Gloucestershire, and this method is that adopted at Rochester.

Moreover the jamb-figures, so near in accord with those at Le Mans, are not the only statues that were carved for the Rochester front. A figure of a different handling, called that of Gundulf (Fig. 180), now inside the cathedral was originally upon the façade, and this can be matched by examples among the English recumbent effigies such as that in Abbotsbury porch.

The conclusion would seem to be that at Rochester the façade shows a mixture of twelfth-century works—a mixture both of date and style. First an original front, begun in 1130 but overlaid some ten years afterwards by a richer scheme in which the statue of Gundulf had its place. Then at some later date the additional sculpture of the door-head would seem to have been given and statues affixed to the jambs¹. The reason for this fresh

¹ The indications of insertions are (1) the arches not being exactly concentric, and being recessed somewhat below the capitals of the piers, (2) the rings of the jamb-pillars cut away for the statues.

decoration may have been the damage resulting from the recorded fire of 1137, but it is not likely that the tympanum-carvings and the statues were immediately inserted in the damaged front. Their placing may have been deferred till 1180, though one can hardly suppose them executed after this when building-ornament at Canterbury had developed new ideas.

We have gone somewhat fully into the question of the Rochester doorway in connection with Kentish sculpture, not only because of the importance of the tympanum-sculpture itself (which is perhaps the most distinguished piece of our twelfth century remaining *in situ*) but also since it affords so good an example of the mixed origins which must always be calculated upon in discussing the beginnings of English work. Here, as elsewhere, there would seem to have been a native architectural practice of sculpture used in the ornaments of building: this was instructed in the motives of the monastic crafts and so acquired the general conventions that were common throughout the twelfth-century decoration of Europe. In this way the English sculpture would share in the general continental ideas of the arts, but at the same time would develop its own handling. There would, also, come on occasion into England foreign sculptor-masons in the service of the alien monastic institutions (like the Cluniacs at Lewes for example) and thus we find pieces in the style of Burgundian or Poitevin art. But since the mother houses of our alien priories were in many parts of France, such introductions were not exclusively from any one single district of continental carving. In the execution of the whole work of a doorway the carver of one part might well be no fellow-native of the carver of another, and no complete introduction of style would result. Accordingly, though based on the general continental scheme and despite possibly the actual carving by a foreigner, the Rochester work cannot be claimed as exactly on the pattern of anything abroad. It would be an English, not a foreign ecclesiastic, who gave the order for it and dictated its composition, so that the whole keeps its English character and cannot be classed as a directly imported piece of foreign workmanship.

The mixed, haphazard proceeding of such a piece of design as the Rochester front must, we think, effectually negative the theory that medieval sculpture developed as a fine art in some specially capable school and was promulgated therefrom as a finished style with an established technique and composition. The sphere which we have conjecturally assigned to the foreign executant at Rochester seems strictly limited to the piece he handled. There had been no trace of him in the Patribourne or Malmesbury works—though in these cases we do have the same general ornaments of “zodiacal” expression which were developed abroad in western France, and were used broadcast all over England also.

It cannot be said that we can discover him afterwards or recognise any

model of his figure-work in the Early English style. The sculpture of Worcester and Wells proceeds from its twelfth-century origin without interpolation of foreign idea, and in south-eastern England it was the native art of the Purbeck marbler that was immediately to take the lead in figure-work.

We may observe, however, that the south-east of England was from its position specially open to importations not only of the foreign sculptor but of pieces of church furniture from across the Channel. The font at Brighton is a clear-cut sculpture in a white stone with representations in relief round the bowl—the “Last Supper” (Fig. 182) and scenes said to be from the legend of St Nicholas. A Saxon date has been claimed on the ground of its general



FIG. 182. Brighton font. c. 1170.

unlikeness in figure-style to what is found in the architectural carvings of Anglo-Norman masons. But we think the peculiarity of its sculpture must be traced to connections with the mid-French sculpture of the Cluniac buildings. The attitudes and features of the figures (*e.g.* the moustachioed faces) as well as the handling of the heads and hoods, and the broad draperies and linen folds are seen on the capitals in central France at Clermont and St Benoît-sur-Loire, and much of this is duplicated at Barfreton (see Fig. 175, p. 196)

and it is possible that we have in the font a detached work of the same sculptors as worked upon that building. As we have Cluniac influence behind the mid-French production of sculpture, the introduction from this source into Sussex may be traced to the great Cluniac house at Lewes which held a paramount position in southern England. We have already seen on fonts what seemed a similar instance of figure-sculpture fostered by the monks of the same Burgundian order at Wenlock (see pp. 190, 191). Direct continental connections would also be made for English art by the importation of fonts and slabs of black marble from Tournai in Flanders. The black font of Winchester (Fig. 183) is carved with the story of St Nicholas, and with medallions of birds pecking at grapes. At East Meon, Hants, is a similar font on which the "Creation" and the "Fall" are figured; at Southampton, Lincoln and Ipswich



FIG. 183. Winchester Cathedral. Black Marble font. c. 1150. "The Story of St Nicholas."

there are grotesque animals. There are, it is said, seven¹ of these Tournai fonts remaining in England and a large number somewhat similar appear in Flanders and northern France. The English specimens are dated c. 1150, but their figure-representation is wooden and elementary, compared with some of the native English execution—for example, the Malmesbury relief-work, or that at Durham.

We shall show in Book III. that as well as the fonts, memorial slabs of black or bluish marble occur in England such as the "Gundrada" monument now in Southover Church at Lewes; the "Bishop Roger" effigy at Salisbury (see Fig. 646, p. 573); "St Michael" at Ely (see Fig. 81, p. 84) and a slab with animals at Bridlington. There seems every reason for taking these slabs as

¹ The other two are at St Mary Bourne, Hants, and Thornton Curtis, Lincs.

carved in the Tournai marble-works, and imported into England like the black stone fonts. But the style of the Flemish marbler did not become a basis for the English sculpture: neither at Canterbury nor Rochester does sculpture show the flat wooden technique of the black fonts. Still, the fact of the Flemish trade in marble-works may have been the stimulus which started the crafts of the Purbeck marbler—a point which will be discussed in connection with the memorial effigies that were the great figure-works of our marblers. Yet it may be said here, that the earliest Purbeck recumbent effigies—such as the Abbotsbury “Abbot” and the “Bishop” at Salisbury, have not quite the flat engraving that distinguishes the technique of the Flemish fonts and slabs (Fig. 183) but are figures modelled up from the ground.

However, the already mentioned “Gundulf” at Rochester (see Fig. 180,



FIG. 184. Elstow (Beds). “Majesty” over south doorway. c. 1150.

p. 200), and another more coarsely executed figure on the north transept front of Norwich Cathedral, known as “Bishop Herbert,” are still works of the relief-carver rather than definite statues. Other images, roughly and flatly modelled, remain in some Romanesque arcades—as, for example, at Leigh, Worcestershire. Such, too, are the seated figures of the “Christ” in the gables of porches at Lullington, Somerset, and Newbald, Yorkshire. At Elstow, Bedfordshire, is a “Majesty” of the kind with “Saints” on either side, which we illustrate (Fig. 184) as an example of the coarse statue-work that the Romanesque building-masons first achieved in England.

The great abbey-building of the eastern counties seems to have developed little if any figure-sculpture beyond such efforts of the architectural sculptor, put to work on occasion upon figures. In place of anything more consequential the doorways from Ely cloister into the nave of the cathedral

church may represent for us Anglo-Norman figure-work in eastern England. The date is accepted as c. 1150, the Prior's door being apparently an insertion into the earlier-built wall of the south aisle (Fig. 185). In these works the foliage and interlacements on the arch-moulds and capitals are capable and well-designed enrichments of architecture. But when from the framing the sculptor passed to the figure-carving of the tympanum, his inexperience and effort are very evident. It would seem as if he were set to copy a painted



FIG. 185. Ely Cathedral. Tympanum of Prior's doorway. c. 1150.

representation which indicated perspective to a certain extent, and showed the angels leaning forward to hold the vesica of the "Christ." But the slavish following of the painted lines as cut in the slab has resulted in an extraordinary distortion of the arms of the angels. The ways in which the sculpture of the Middle Ages developed have here a good example. The skill of the architectural ornamentalist, as it grew ambitious, essayed figure-subjects, basing them on the models that were offered him by the monastic crafts of painting and metal-working. So the capacity for figure-work took its start in many efforts, continually growing out of the ambitions of the building craft. Here and there it reached the definite goal of sculpture in the round, but not as far as we can judge in the monastic building of the south-eastern dioceses.

SECTION IV. THE NORTH-EASTERN SCULPTURE. 1140—1190.

We have still to discuss the most advanced works that witness to English craftsmanship in stone, but they are found northwards. Lincoln, York and Durham present remarkable pieces of twelfth-century sculpture, though chance has not left them to us in position in the building scheme, as it is at Malmesbury, Rochester and Ely. The pieces of northern figure-work have mostly been dug up from the ground on the sites of the cathedrals or abbey-churches, and much of it has passed unnoticed until recent years. Yet the accomplishment shown places English figure-sculpture of the second half of the twelfth century in a new light and on a level which has hardly as yet been recognised. It is clear that our building-craft before 1200 produced an ambitious and capable figure-making as a prelude to the thirteenth-century development.

Lincoln and York were great secular establishments, and in both we have rich architectural works, begun c. 1150 under the auspices of magnificent prelates—Bishop Alexander at Lincoln, and Archbishop Roger at York. A certain connection between the character of the work and style of the sculpture executed under these two prelates is apparent, and since the west front at Lincoln probably preceded the works at York, it is possible that the masons from one may have passed on to the other. Durham, on the other hand, had been continuously developing a robust Romanesque art of its own, the last phases of which produced under Bishop Pudsey an extraordinary minuteness of carved decoration. The Durham figure-work of the late twelfth century appears in very delicate and refined forms, leaning rather on the current seal-work of the goldsmith than on the advancing architectural ambitions that we may see in the stronger handlings at Lincoln and York. In all these places it is perhaps possible to trace the influence of the Toulousian sculpture, although the basework of style is still English craft—that mason's training which was practised in the knots and twinings of foliage with animal, bird and figure, and had behind it as we have seen a long line of descent from the cross-work of the north. A new lease of life was given to "Irish-Viking" arabesque when the chisel of the Anglo-Norman builder grew accomplished, and made it the groundwork of decorative style which was identical at Durham, Lincoln and York, and not materially different from what we have seen at Ely and St Peter's, Northampton. On the other hand the metal interlacements of Malmesbury and the intertwining stems of Barfreston were motives which the northern carver did not practise.

THE LINCOLN WORKS

The early sculpture at Lincoln is first a series of small relief-panels, about three feet high, which are inset in the wall considered to be that of Bishop Remigius, who built it c. 1090: secondly, an elaborate doorway with shafts and voussoirs carved with beak-heads, animals and figure-interlacements—clearly an insertion in the earlier building and accepted as Bishop Alexander's work after the fire of 1141: thirdly, in the cloister, pieces of two separate tympanum-carvings—works of distinction, the original positions of which are not known. We may say at the outset that we count all these pieces or sets of carving as belonging, if not exactly to one composition, at any rate to one school and generation of workmen.

The subjects of the panel-sculpture have already been detailed in Book I. (p. 48 and pp. 80, 81), and the illustrations there given with those opposite and on pp. 210, 211 will give the reader the character of some of the chief pieces. Although a pre-Conquest date has been claimed by some archæologists, this seems impossible in view of the character of the carving, which is closely related to what is dated to the second half of the twelfth century elsewhere—compare, for example, the trefoiled canopy of the Dives scene (see Fig. 77, p. 81) with those on the Wenlock "Lavatory," and the Southrop font (see Figs. 168, 171, pp. 190, 191). Both the Wenlock and the Barfreton (see Fig. 175, p. 196) sculptures can be referred to for the costume of Daniel (see Fig. 38, p. 48), while that of Noah opposite (Fig. 186) is matched on the Brighton font (see Fig. 182, p. 203). On the other hand, any likenesses to what we have elsewhere conjectured to be pre-Conquest work are slight, and in fact no features indicate a specially early date.

The carving of the great doorway too must certainly be assigned to the middle of the twelfth century. Large portions of the decoration have been replaced in modern times, but there are some original voussoirs left. The shafts we show (Fig. 187) may represent the ancient work¹, in which the characteristic treatments that we have called "zodiacal" are well illustrated. Of the tympanum-fragments in the cloister one has already been mentioned (see Fig. 125, p. 141) in connection with Saxon style, but it was placed by us as more probably belonging to the middle of the twelfth century. Toulousian influences are in this case marked, both attitudes and draperies suggesting it, for example the crossing of the legs (see also Fig. 172, p. 192) is in the unmistakable manner of the south-western French style. The other piece is the headless torso of "Christ," of an English style found in the

¹ There are some fragments of the original in good condition in the cloister. That such excellent work should be cut out in order to substitute inferior modern imitations is a sample of the method of "restorers." A real "restoration" should now remove the modern pieces and replace the old.

contemporary seal-work, as for example the seal of Winchester, and in handling is not unlike what we shall see at York. It is not certain that these fragmentary bits were parts of tympana carved for the west front, but alterations and restorations have been considerable at the west end, and present appearances do not exclude the idea. We may take it as likely that a school of sculpture was created in the rich work of Bishop Alexander—which is indeed described by Henry of Huntingdon as having been "*miro artificio*." If we are right, that all this carving was combined on a single front, then the scheme of decoration presented may have been in its original



FIG. 186. Lincoln Cathedral. Reliefs on west front. "Noah Cultivating the Vine."



FIG. 187. Lincoln Cathedral. Jamb of west doorway. c. 1150.

state much as is seen in some twelfth-century churches abroad, as at Ripoll in the north of Spain, or at San Michele, Pavia, where a series of panel-sculptures are ranged across the front.

There has been, no doubt, some interference with the consecutiveness of the various scenes at Lincoln, for the tablet of "Daniel in the Lions' Den" seems interpolated among the Ark subjects. Such interpolations and misplacements may have resulted from the removal of the sculpture panels from over the doorways either in the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries, since at

both of these dates alterations were made. It seems likely that the panels were originally continuous across the intervening bays as well as on the projecting piers where they now remain. There are, however, considerable differences of treatment in the various pieces: some (Figs. 188, 189) point to influence from mid-French sculpture, just as in the Wenlock "Lavatory" or in the Brighton font; while others, as the Apostle-figures, are of the technique of the seal engraver, or as the nude figures of the Hell-scene (Fig. 190) seem by the same hand as the interlaced shafts of the great door (see



FIG. 188. "Expulsion of Adam and Eve."

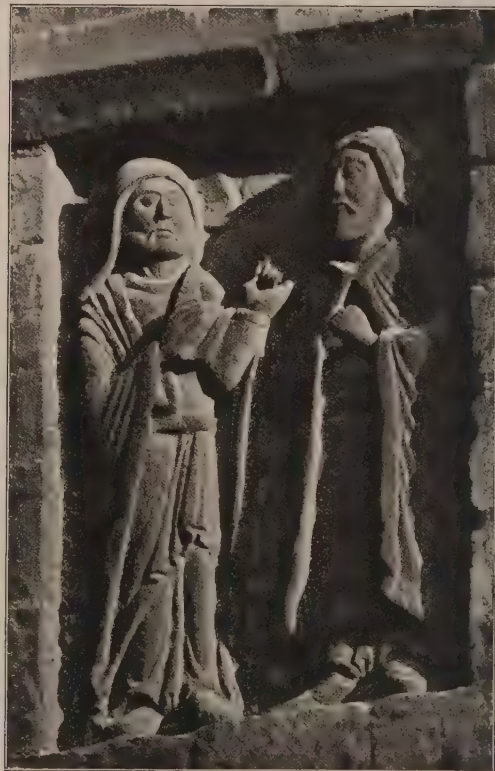


FIG. 189. "The Promise to Noah."

back, p. 209). Taken as a whole, a division of the subjects into two groups appears in accordance with the schemes which we have discussed in Book I. One set recounts the story of Genesis, the "Fall of Man," and the "Flood" (see illustrations above), the other that of the Doom (see the "Limbo" scene opposite, Fig. 190). As we have pointed out in Book I, p. 80, to the latter belong the "Lazarus" and "Dives" scenes, symbolizing respectively the "saved" and the "lost." So at Moissac, near Toulouse in southern France, we have the death of the "Avaricious Man" or Dives, with an elaborate

sculpture of devils, on one side of a "Last Judgment" composition. We shall see the "Fall" and the "Doom" combined as motives in the early thirteenth-century sculpture of the south-east transept at Worcester, the "Old Testament" scenes being correspondingly treated in the opposite transept (see pp. 252, 253). If in the same way at Lincoln two sets of scenes were brought together on the west-front doorways, we may think the "Old Testament" subjects were in connection with a tympanum-carving of the "Madonna and Child" (as portrayed in the seal of Lincoln, Fig. 156, p. 173). Then the fragments of the "Majesty" tympanum in the cloister would be from the centre subject of the "Doom" set¹. Still, we can only conjecture that such may have been the arrangement in the original sculpture at Lincoln.



FIG. 190. Lincoln. West front relief. "Christ in Limbo."

The dogmatic schemes of religious subjects were, we think, new ideas for the sculpture of an Anglo-Norman building, and it is likely that the methods of their use in the south of France or in Spain prompted the English adoption. But while we may speak of foreign influences as in this way inspiring English work, we are not implying that the art of sculpture itself was an importation to our shores. Monastic culture was that of a great family in constant communication one part with another and with ideas that were common property. Since the great Romanesque building of England had been on as large a scale as anywhere in western Europe, it would be natural that its masons should have their share in advancing sculpture on the lines of the current theology.

¹ At Chartres the tympanum-carvings of the three doorways were respectively: the centre the "Majesty," the north the "Ascension," the south the "Madonna." This is supposed to be c. 1160.

YORK

In this case, again, we have what are seemingly fragments of two great compositions in sculpture belonging to the late twelfth century: also, as we have thought at Lincoln, so here, while one seems centred round the "Virgin and Child," the other is the "Doom" subject attended by the scenic representations that medieval ecclesiology devised. Nearly all the pieces showing this sculpture are now in the York Museum in the precincts of the ruined abbey-church of St Mary, but a remarkable "Doom" slab was lately (1906) dug up in the garden of the Deanery and is to be seen in the cathedral Library. What would seem another part of the same sculpture, apparently a tympanum-carving, had long been in the Museum; it represents (Fig. 191) devils taking the soul from a corpse. The Library sculpture (Fig. 192) is an oblong relief of similar handling, vividly representing¹ the torments of the damned who are roasted in a cauldron or devoured by the "Mouth (or rather mouths) of Hell." One may suppose the two pieces as forming a panel (or parts of two similar panels) and as sculptured in connection with a door-

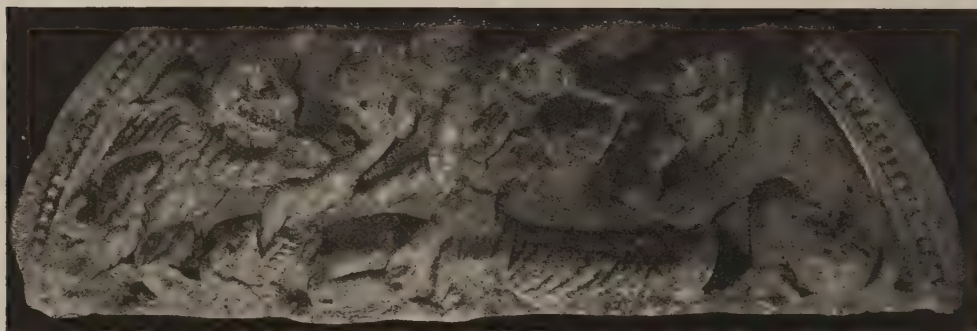


FIG. 191. St Mary's Museum, York. The "Doom of the Avaricious Man." c. 1170.

way—viz. placed either over it or at its side. This latter arrangement of a "Doom" subject in a great doorway flanked by other reliefs is that just mentioned at Moissac in the south of France, where the same ideas as those of the York sculpture are represented, with Virgin scenes on the south side, while opposite are portrayed the "Death and torment of the avaricious man." At York these carvings may have been part of the fabric of Archbishop Roger's cathedral building, c. 1175; for a rich doorway, the base of which is still to be seen on the outside of the crypt, made an entrance into Roger's quire. The relief of the sculpture is delicate and varied, and its handling exhibits considerable attainment; but while the force and efficient modelling are

¹ The whole subject has been elucidated by J. Bilson (see *Archaeologia*, Vol. XIV.) who shows that the "Vices" as swallowed up in Hell seem severally represented by their attributes.

almost those of the thirteenth century, the bead ornament of the tympanum points to a date in the twelfth.



FIG. 192. York Cathedral Library. "Doom" slab. c. 1180.

And apart from these "Devil" sculptures, the remains of figure-work in the Museum of St Mary's give colour to the conclusion that York possessed in the latter part of the twelfth century a school of sculptors whose technique

had advanced far beyond the initiatory efforts of decorative stone-carving. The early accomplishment of full round sculpture is seen in the remarkable statues over life size (Figs. 193, 194, 195, 196) which, together with many other fragments showing sculptural attainment, were dug up in the

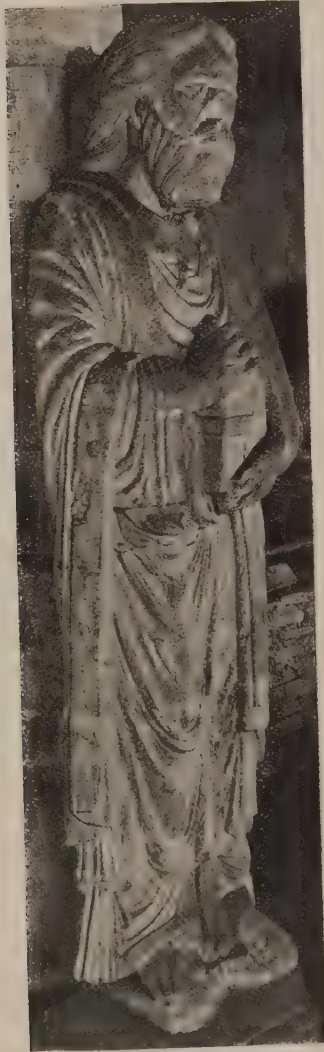


FIG. 193. York Museum. "Apostle." c. 1200.



FIG. 194. York Museum. "Moses." c. 1200.

south aisle of the abbey-church nave. The whole would seem to have been in connection with the elaborate chapter-house on this side, of which there are still remains showing an architecture of c. 1200. It is not clear whether the sculpture belonged to the doorway of this chapter-house, or to a door

into the church from the cloister in connection—but since the church was rebuilt entirely some hundred years later, and these statues would appear to have been then buried, it would seem possible to suppose the sculpture

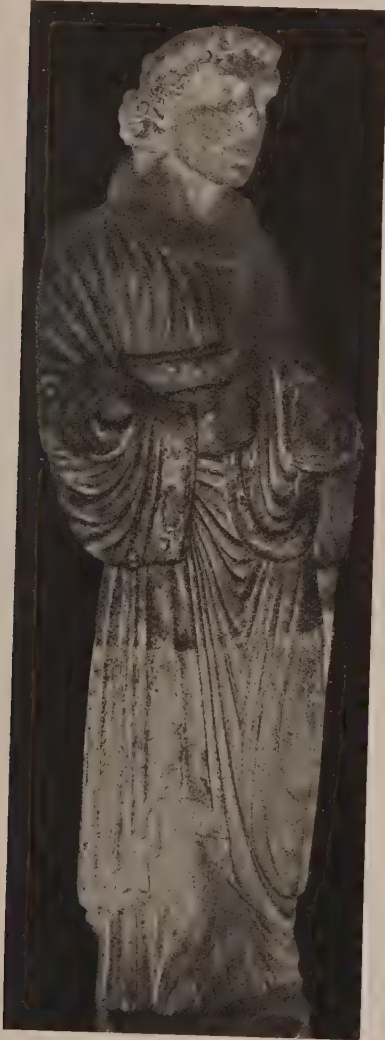


FIG. 195. York Museum. "St John." c. 1200.



FIG. 196. York Museum. "Prophet." c. 1200.

in either position¹. Besides the statues of "apostles" and "prophets" there is the fragment of similar style that has been part of a seated Madonna (Fig. 197), and also five arch-voussoirs carved with figure-subjects in niches.

¹ On the twelfth-century west front at Nun Monkton, a church built close upon 1200, there remains set in the west gable a figure, probably St Mary Magdalene, of similar workmanship.

These figure-sculptures at York have, we think, belonged to one composition¹. The statues are ten in number, fully life size, and modelled in the round, but with roughly shaped backs, and six of them have been certainly column figures, their heads being shaped for capitals, while another two—more damaged, and having lost their heads—appear as if carved to be set flat against a wall. Another two may have been detached figures such as might be set in niches, since the blocking at the back of the head is absent. It is possible the statues were set in two doorways, for the differences of size and handling point to two distinct sets. The figures of “Moses” and of “St John,” with the four apostles, which are distinctly columns (see back, Figs. 194, 195), have characteristic bold draperies that can be recognised also in the

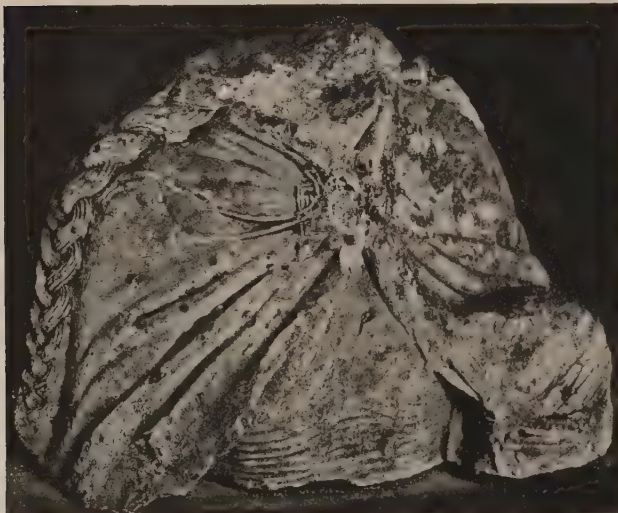


FIG. 197. York Museum. Fragment of “Virgin and Child.” c. 1200.



FIG. 198. Bridlington Abbey-Church. Carved head in cloister. From a cast in the Architectural Museum at Tufnell Street. c. 1180.

two angle or “niche” statues. On the other hand the flat-backed figures (see Fig. 196) are slab-worked with neater and finer handling. It is with the former that the “Madonna” (Fig. 197) must be classed, and this has the appearance of having been the seated figure of a big relief in the tympanum of a doorway, while upon the jambs on either side would be placed “apostles” and “prophets,” as we see them at Le Mans and Chartres.

Finally, the voussoir-carvings suggest that this doorway may have been still further enriched with figure-sculpture, as in many continental examples,

¹ There are bits, too, of carved capitals and string courses which cannot so readily be identified as belonging to any one doorway, though they correspond in style and indicate a rich architectural

use for the building of St Mary's Abbey in the late twelfth century. A remarkable piece was shown, Fig. 30, p. 37 of Book I., and similar style occurs in East Yorkshire at Bridlington (Fig. 198 above).

round the arches. The Museum pieces are much broken¹—we give (Fig. 199) the best preserved—its style corresponds so closely with that of the statues that one can hardly doubt of their being carved together. The whole makes evidence of a big sculpture, which in its entirety might bear matching with what in mid-twelfth century the carvers of Chartres and Bourges achieved. But the handling of the York sculpture is materially different from that of the French—the heads are distinctly of another sort—big and stately with none of the Chartres sculptor's sentiment, nor his finely textured drapery. On the other hand the great west doorway of Santiago de Compostella,

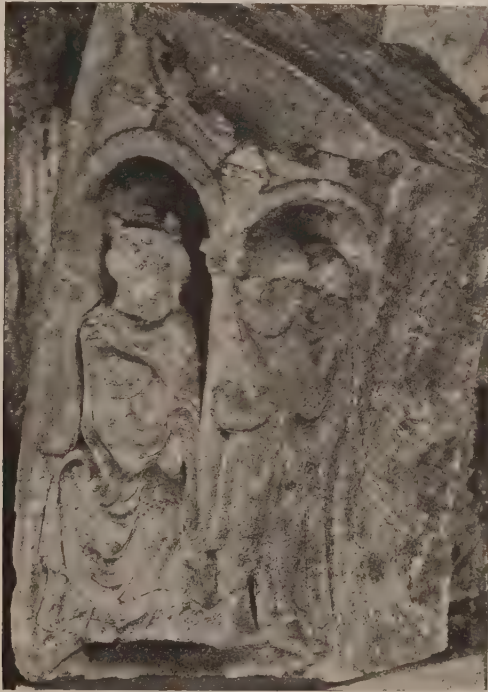


FIG. 199. York Museum. Voussoir carving. c. 1200.

which the Master Matteo carved in 1183 (see the cast set up in the Victoria and Albert Museum), has the same types of figure and much of the same handling of draperies, allowing for the difference of material—which at Compostella was marble and at York stone. Our suggestion is not however that the said Matteo (whose style derives nothing from Chartres) came from York, but that, in the latter part of the twelfth century, the connection of the English sculpture with the Spanish was more intimate than with that of the Île de France schools.

¹ One subject seems the "Creation" another "Innocents," while the "raising of Lazarus," and a may be "Herod" ordering the "Massacre of the "Baptism" are probably indicated in two others.

DURHAM

Analogies, again, with the Toulousian school of sculpture rather than with that of North France, appear in the few pieces left of the figure-sculpture which once adorned the mighty Romanesque fabric of Durham Cathedral. The "atlantes" that formed the vault-corbels of the chapter-house apse, built c. 1150, have been much damaged, and now on the floor of the Library, instead of being looked up at as when *in situ*, they have their character and style



FIG. 200. Durham. Cathedral Library. c. 1150. FIG. 201. In croft under Library. c. 1150.

obscured; but their attitudes and anatomies (Fig. 200) remind us of what we have seen in the Toulouse Museum. In the under-croft of the Library at Durham is a block with two much-decayed figures (Fig. 201), five feet high, set at right angles to one another in such a way as to suggest having been carved for the corner post of a cloister, just as similar figures are used at St Bertrand de Comminges near Toulouse and in some of the Spanish cloisters.

The most delicate and accomplished work of the Durham school is to be seen in the relief carvings below. Figs. 202, 203 are from panels in the Library, and Fig. 204 from a cross in Kelloe churchyard, a few miles from



FIG. 202. Durham Cathedral Library. c. 1170.
"Christ's Appearance after Resurrection."



FIG. 203. Durham Cathedral Library. c. 1170.
"Christ's Appearance after Resurrection."

The above are about fourteen inches high.

FIG. 204. Kelloe (Durham).
Cross in churchyard.
(About six feet high.) c. 1170.



the city. The reliefs are two out of four slabs, which were found built up in the walls of the canons' houses. They are about fourteen inches high, and of the sandstone of the neighbourhood, their subjects being the appearances of Christ after the Resurrection. The composition and modelling of the figures are accomplished, and the proportions and gestures correct: and though the drapery is conceived with all the twelfth-century conventions, viz. with the strained foldings and beaded edgings that have belonged to manuscript painting (see p. 188), the method of sculptural representation has been fully mastered. This figure-carving may be classified as directly in connection with the elaborate style of ornament which appears in some of the architectural work of Bishop Pudsey, as in the doorway of the cloister at Durham Castle, a sort of goldsmith's rendering such as the twelfth-century doorways at York show, but which in Pudsey's building has more delicacy of modelling.

In taking the earlier cross-work we have mentioned (p. 117) the slab-cross at Kelloe, which is a work of the same refined technique, and with a detail of carving that directly mimicks the works of the goldsmith. The figures in the scenes depicting the "Annunciation," "Salutation" and a symbolical "Crucifixion" have the good proportion and delicate gesture that appeared in the Durham reliefs, and make one of our most remarkable examples of the late twelfth-century sculpture-style founded on the minute modellings of the goldsmith (see back, p. 219, Fig. 204). The details of the carving can be almost exactly matched by the monastic seal found at Gateshead near by, and its method is a survival, a latest specimen of that technique of the stone-carver which for six hundred years had sought its motives and ideas of figure-work in the *bijoux* of Byzantium.

For, skilful and elegant as no doubt were these latest exhibitions of Romanesque sculpture in the north, they cannot really be accepted as coming directly in the line of the Gothic sculpture. We cannot derive what followed at Peterborough or Wells from these Romanesque achievements of Durham and York, because no thirteenth-century school of free sculpture proceeds in North England. There is a break in the record, and when the free figure is next seen in the northern churches it comes in the style of southern England, if not frankly from the London workshops. It must be observed, indeed, that side by side with these Durham and York carvings, and the rich ornamented architecture that they decked, there was already beginning in the north of England the building of the new religious orders of the Augustinians and Cistercians, in whose churches was elaborated the style of the Gothic fabric that at the outset eschewed the ornaments of the chisel, and especially figure-sculpture. Moreover, new continental connections begin—English sculpture draws no longer from Spain or Poitiers, but from the centre of the Gothic movement, the Île de France.

CHAPTER IV

THE ARCHITECTURAL CARVING OF THE FIRST GOTHIC PERIOD, 1200—1280

SECTION I. THE GOTHIC PHASES OF FIGURE-SCULPTURE

OUR observations on the genius of Gothic figure-sculpture were made in Book I., where we laid stress on its dependence on Gothic building, and pointed out how it found at once its capacities and its limitations in the *material* of stone building. There are, however, some other aspects of this question, with which our review of the first Gothic sculpture may be prefaced.

It is clear that the phases of Gothic building, as style succeeded style, came about in the course of masonic evolution, which as far as we can see owed little to the accidents of individual invention or designing imagination. In exactly the same way medieval figure-sculpture went its way under no conscious leadership, but moving forward in the capacity of a whole people, and without acknowledgment of individual talent in sculptors. As we have said, we cannot label the periods of medieval art by the names of great masters who, like Pheidias in Greek or Donatello in Renaissance sculpture, dominate the situation. The craft of sculpture in the Middle Ages would seem to have gained its merit outside any personal distinction of the artist.

Still, in statue-making, where delicate conceptions of character or feeling are necessarily expressed, the personal talent of the sculptor had individual importance in the Gothic centuries as in others. However much we allow the impersonal nature of medieval church-building, and however much its sculpture may appear as the combined work of a great body of craftsmen—the witness of contemporary representations being clear on this point¹—yet, all the same, personal capacity had its value. Certain individuals were bound to be noticed as excelling in the making of statues, and as time went on such artists would become more and more specialized, till from being mere proficient in a certain branch of stone-carving, they would separate themselves from those who were only stone-shapers, becoming definitely “imagers,” that is sculptors of the human figure. We shall be pointing to the fact that

¹ In the thirteenth-century glass pictures at Chartres, which depict building, the ribs of the vault and the statues of the front are being shaped in the same workshop.

before 1300 *mason*-imagers were obtaining distinction, for the accounts of the Eleanor Crosses indisputably have this to show. Yet all the same the way in which these Eleanor sculptors are mentioned makes clear that their art even then must not be regarded like that of modern artists. The makers of the medieval statues, which excite our admiration, were no specially acknowledged body like the Royal Academicians of to-day, any more than they were the gentlemen-artists of the Italian Cinquecento, welcomed at the courts of princes and prelates. The sculptor of the Middle Ages ranked just as a stone-mason: his skill was classed with that of the building artisan: and if mason-craft was honoured—more honoured than it is to-day, the statuary artist of the thirteenth century remained all the time nothing beyond a “*caementarius*,” a builder at work in his trade.

We have again dwelt on this point, which has already received attention in Book I., because the classifications and divisions in which we shall be putting Gothic sculpture may want explanation. Seeing that figure-work was just part of the bigger job of building, it might be thought that the vocabulary of book Gothic could label sculpture respectively as “Transitional” “Early English,” “Geometrical,” “Decorated,” and “Perpendicular.” But this would in our eyes be misleading, for it would imply that some impetus or origin of style lay in the architectural phases, to which the above descriptive names have been given. It has lately been the habit, it is true, to discard these titles of English style and to speak of centuries only in the description of examples. But as regards English work the centuries make bad divisions and their use as such is commonly more unscientific than that of the accepted periods of Rickman. A simpler classification is open to us, and taking Gothic sculpture as a whole we shall call its first phase “Early or First Gothic,” its second “Mid or Second Gothic,” and its final era “Late or Third Gothic”—yet with the qualification that the boundaries are arbitrary, and the differences not of kind but of growth.

In Book I. however we made some general remarks on the correspondence of phase that knits the sculptural position with the architectural. We may say that first Gothic sculpture, coming like the building habit directly out of the experiment of the mason, exhibits the nobility and grace of Early English construction. So Mid-Gothic sculpture appears more distinctly as that of the decorator, whose romantic and prodigal device overlaid the necessities of structure. Finally the Last Gothic sculpture has the defects of its qualities as a shop-craft, and like the Perpendicular building was made imposing or homely at the order of customers. Accordingly the varying expressions and connections of figure-sculpture in respect of building will necessarily qualify our treatment of examples. For convenient descriptions of First Gothic sculpture separate chapters seem necessary, so as to put in review

the separate uses which the architecture made of figure-sculpture: one will show free sculpture developing in the shaping of structural items, such as corbels and bosses: a second will take up the relief-carvings on the spandrels and panels of the building scheme, in which Gothic style creates a sculpture in the round out of the pictorial conventions of antecedent style: and a third chapter will illustrate the statue itself—the detailed embodiment of this creation, which was the significant achievement of First Gothic art.

The separation into chapters does not, however, mean that there were separate schools of sculpture, or different stages of attainment in figure-style, in those three divisions of its exercise. Our illustrations in this and the following sections will sufficiently prove the point that the head-carvings of the label have quality and style on just the same footing as the reliefs; and that statue, effigy, and spandrel-figure have all a similar artistic handling. The manifestation of this simultaneous art in every department is no doubt symptomatic of First Gothic, when the stone-carver, after matching himself against the traditional handicraft of the Romanesque goldsmith, went away ahead of him in the experiments of masonry, and established the style of Gothic sculpture. So much seems clear: and it might be further noticed that a point was reached when this craft of building-sculpture was reflected back into the goldsmith's shop. The imager began to take lessons from the stone-carver, though as regards our English work the point is indistinct owing to the almost complete destruction of English images, whether in metal, ivory, or wood. Still, the bronze effigy of Queen Eleanor was, we know, the work of a goldsmith, yet it is no longer traditional. True it is idealized portraiture, but that ideal has left the Byzantine expression of the earlier art—it introduces a new inspiration founded on the stone technique of the effigy-carver. In France there remain from the Middle Ages both the architectural statues and the wood and ivory images, in greater abundance than with us, and there can be traced three stages in the art of the latter. First the ivories for some time are seen to lag behind in Gothic expression and to keep to Romanesque conventions; then somewhere about the middle of the thirteenth century the ivory-workers appear as picking up the motives of the architectural sculptors. Lastly in the fourteenth century these imagers develop what may be called a shop-technique with effects outside the range of stone-sculpture. It is probable that the same course of events took place also in England, and that it was not till the fourteenth century that the shop-crafts of image-making definitely made patterns and motives of style such as had no place in the architectural carving of the building.

SECTION II. ARCHITECTURAL HEAD-SCULPTURE

It has already been hinted that as Romanesque architecture grew into Gothic, figure-sculpture began to be used in a new way, and that this re-arrangement of function was not one of mere caprice, but lay in the very nature of the new Gothic style. In the Romanesque building throughout Europe the sinews of construction—the pillar, the capital, and the arch-mould—were all on occasion thickly charged with figure-motives, but in the Early English art these cease to be the special vehicles for subject-representations. Only in a subordinate way—as a quip or by-play in the leaf-sculpture—does some head or little figure (usually more or less of a grotesque) appear in the design of the Gothic capital¹. So, too, figure-compounded shafts such as we illustrated from Kilpeck (Figs. 145, 149, pp. 166, 169) are unknown in Gothic style in England. Thirdly, though less decisively, there is a similar rejection of the figure-subject from the Early English arch-mould. The reader may turn to illustrations of the later Romanesque sculpture to see how each voussoir was made a beak-head or human mask or given some figure-subject set in a medallion (see Figs. 146, 175, pp. 167, 196). The continuity of the arch-stones was little regarded: but in Early English building the structural emphasis of the arch-line becomes accented with manifold lines of mouldings, and we seldom find this effect interrupted. In the richer doorways, where the traditions of Romanesque decoration have continued, and figure-subjects appeared ranged all round the arches, they are in English work intertwined in a leafage which maintains the masonic cohesion of the arch.

Now this change was not a designer's fancy, any more than it showed an impotence or lack of feeling as to figure-use in decoration. It was rather that Gothic art, having found its theme in the vertebrate expression of stone-building, refused to admit discordant phrases. A figure-subject makes a distinct demand upon the attention, and so becomes a stop or focus of interest. But Gothic building implied connective structure in pier, capital, and arch—a linked chainwork of thrusts and counter-thrusts: no subject-sculpture could be allowed to break the supple rhythm of its building lines, because in the anatomy of stone-building itself lay the vehicle for sculpturesque expression.

Accordingly there appears in the Transitional style of our Gothic a deliberate rejection of the figure-motives that had been conspicuous in the Romanesque doorways. The luxuriance of the later Norman sculpture is

¹ The font in this matter followed the capital; though often largely decorated with figure-subjects in Anglo-Norman style (see in Chaps. II. and III.) it is plain in Early English, and only after 1350 becomes charged again with figures (see in Chap. X.).

missed; and by the side of the continental usage English figure-work may seem scanty. And this continues till almost the middle of Henry III.'s reign. Our first Gothic cathedrals, *e.g.* the early quires and chapels of Canterbury, Chichester, Winchester, and Lincoln, as well as the whole range of First Gothic buildings in northern England, *e.g.* at Fountains, Ripon, Beverley, Whitby, or Rievaulx—if their beauty of architecture has a quality that can be best described as sculptural, yet get this out of the nobility of the architectural masses, not by the additions of sculpture. Figure-sculpture itself finds hardly a place in the scheme of their building: the capitals are largely of plain contour; the shafts unornamented; the arches enriched with moulding only; base, buttress, and pinnacle have effect by their shapely lines and unadorned constructional fibre. So, too, the storied arcadings of the stately fronts in Early English style are most frequently contrived to admit no statues; and the door-heads, whose Romanesque filling had been a medley of figure-subjects, reject them and make use of geometrical or constructional piercings. In buildings in which our First Gothic exhibited a stone-carving abundant and rich, such as the nave of Lincoln (1230—1250) or the quire of Ely (1240), the art of the English sculptor has busied itself mostly with foliage: with few exceptions figure-treatment is not attempted.

It is accepted that the Cistercians were sumptuary reformers, who railed at the luxurious chisel-craft we have illustrated at Canterbury, Malmesbury, St Mary's York, and Durham. In northern England, where the early architecture of the reformed monastic societies was specially in the field, the churches of Cistercians and Augustinians were practical protests against Benedictine luxury of style. The new science of their building used sculpture in emphasis only of constructional lines and the points of stability; the effect of ornament being obtained in modellings of arch, column, and window. Thus, in Yorkshire the hiatus in the story of figure-sculpture from 1200 to 1250 is a marked one: not till after the middle of the thirteenth century does figure-work reappear with any importance on stone-building.

In the West, however, and in the midlands of England there was a difference in this matter: figure-sculpture was never under a ban in the early thirteenth-century style of this district, however much that style owed its advance to the Augustinian and Cistercian building that was vigorous enough in Wales and along the Welsh marches. We have suggested that the arts of the Cluniacs settled at Wenlock may have been responsible for the greater favour to figure-sculpture in the West. Also the traditions of sculpture which in this district, as we have seen, had lived unbroken through the Norman Conquest had power to soften the Cistercian austerities of building. Not a little figure-sculpture of capitals and arch-moulds appears in the late twelfth-century building of Glastonbury and Wells. The medallion-motives,

which Romanesque sculpture adopted at Iffley and Malmesbury, expanded in Early English style into great masoned quatrefoils charged with sculpture upon Wells front. And if in the First Gothic of Wells there is seen less exuberance of figure-work than in the rich Romanesque work—one may compare for example the north porch of Wells¹ with the south porch of Malmesbury—on the other hand new occasions are found for the sculptor's rendering of human form; corbel, label-head and boss are now given figure-subjects in accord with the principles of Gothic expression.

Corbels for example are by the nature of their function emphatic starting points of construction. The pier, the capital, and the arch-voussour run on as connected paragraphs, but the corbel breaks out like the headline of a new chapter. In the same way, the label-stop as being the finish of the drip-mould; the boss as the centre of the vault; the pinnacles, and stops of the gable copings, and finally the gargoyles or projecting spouts of the parapets, all have the expression of their constructive functions helped by the interest that crystallises round figure-representation. In the apprehension of these imaginative opportunities for his skill with the chisel the Gothic artist separates himself from the antecedent Romanesque carver. The latter with increasing dexterity had been multiplying the pictorial representations of Byzantine, but as yet without appreciation of the scope of sculpture and its function in architecture. But when masonry ceased to be of the Roman conglomerate tradition, and evolved the Gothic anatomy—leaning no longer on the wisdom of the ancients, but erect in its own right of science—then at once the Gothic sculptor showed himself an artist with power over human feeling and a skill for its delineation in the round—a faculty that had lain dormant in the human race since the art of Rome.

Accordingly the expression of the human face became his special interest. Heads are carved everywhere as corbels and string-stops in a mid-thirteenth century church. Destructions, determined and continuous, have been effacing them for six hundred years, but they still remain by the thousand, and their fine quality, vivacity and variety are astonishing. In nearly all instances² they are wrought in the same stone as the architectural mouldings in connection with them. Usually they must have been fixed in position along with the ashlar of the wall, and it is likely that they were worked at the *banker* along with the wall-stones, for thirteenth-century miniatures in manuscripts³ show sculpture worked before fixing, and side by side with the building masonry. Possibly in some cases the carving was done from the

¹ At Wells the north porch reliefs and the martyrdom of St Edmund (Fig. 64, p. 70) on the capitals are more foliage than figure. Inside there are label-heads and dragon-stops, but no great figure-subjects, as at Malmesbury, nor is there any tympanum sculpture.

² The Purbeck heads to be presently mentioned, and one or two of fine stone (either Bath or Caen) let into Douling labels on the inside of the west front of Wells are the exceptions known to us.

³ e.g. British Museum MS. Cott. Nero. D. i.

scaffold, the block being walled in the rough, as is usually the case for modern carving. But that blocks were left intentionally roughed, and then carved as money came to pay the figure-sculptor (our modern habit) is a theory of medieval building for which no evidence has as yet been produced. Indeed, head-work and foliage clearly came indiscriminately from the hands of the carver, as part of the walling technique, for there would appear no reason why he should give foliage to some blocks and leave others to a statue-man. Sometimes, however, head-stops (as in the Salisbury chapter-house) have not been walled into the masonry, but are face-blocks inserted and fastened in by a dowel behind: in such cases a separate or after-carving may have been possible. But there can be little doubt, we think, that in Gothic building the head-carvings of corbels and label-stops were works contemporary with the architecture in which they occur.



FIG. 205. Ely cloister. c. 1170.

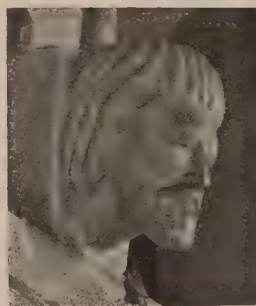


FIG. 206. Oakham Hall.
c. 1170.

It may be seen how in this practice of heads the sculptor was in advance of his power of rendering the figure. The Anglo-Norman masks, such as those of the corbel-table (see Figs. 151, 152, p. 170), cease to be merely horrible after 1140, and in some instances, especially in doorways (see Fig. 198, p. 216), aim at shapeliness. Thus, in the Ely cloister, side by side with the grotesque masks of c. 1150 on the Monks' and Prior's doorways (see Fig. 185, p. 206) can be seen a head (Fig. 205 above) which the ornament shows as but little later in date, but it is modelled to life. Heads of a somewhat similar kind may be seen carved upon the nave arcades of Wimborne Minster and elsewhere.

After 1175 the buildings of Transitional Gothic style provide examples of a growing skill in head-sculpture. The hard, vigorous execution of a new school of craft can be seen in the label-stops at Oakham Hall, Rutland (Fig. 206); in the vault-corbels in the south transept of Hedon Church, Yorkshire; in the north transept of St Cross, Winchester; and in the north transept of Lichfield Cathedral. Less adept in modelling were attempts in

the south quire-aisle of St Frideswide's (the Cathedral), Oxford, and in the north porch of Wells Cathedral.

The work at Wells developed Gothic figure-sculpture in various directions. The subject-carving of the capitals generally will be dealt with presently: here we illustrate certain heads which seem experiments with ideas that the sculptor's chisel was as yet hardly able to express. The earliest work is in the transepts and east bays of the nave; the heads are stiffly set upon stunted shoulders, and may be taken as carved before 1200. The handling is much that of the



FIG. 207. Wells Cathedral. North transept. c. 1200.



FIG. 208. Llandaff Cathedral. Nave. c. 1200.



FIG. 209. Wells Cathedral.
East bays of nave.

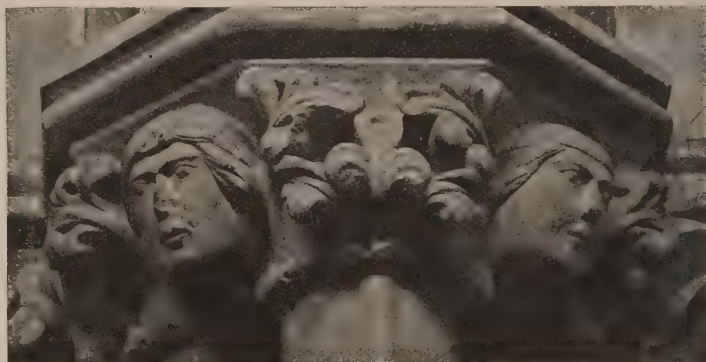


FIG. 210. St Mary's Church, Shrewsbury. Capital. c. 1220.

"Daniel" relief at Lincoln (see Fig. 38, p. 48) or the Bridlington example (see Fig. 198, p. 216). But the types are various: we have in one the blunt scowl of ascetic severity; in another the archaic grin, which is singularly like that of early Greek art (Fig. 209); in a third a maenadic expression of ecstasy (Fig. 207), which occurs also in connection with the peculiar snaky foliages on the capitals at Llandaff. In the nave-bays of this Welsh cathedral (Fig. 208), at Haverfordwest, Pembrokeshire (Fig. 212, opposite), and in the church of St Mary's, Shrewsbury (Fig. 210) are other examples of these characteristic heads with their curious expressions. Along with many details

of architectural treatment their singularity shows how a distinct western school of mason-craft art was at work in its own stone, making an independent style.



FIG. 211. Lincoln. East transept. c. 1230.



FIG. 212. Haverfordwest (Pembs).
Capital of Abbey-church. c. 1220.



FIG. 213. Lincoln Cathedral. In S.E. transept. Possibly c. 1200.

We may put in comparison, as the product of a somewhat different stone-craft, the demi-figure corbel in the south-east transept of Lincoln (Fig. 213) and the boss figures of the wall-arcade (Fig. 211), to which we shall again refer on p. 240.

At Wells the upper parts of the transept and then the west bays of the nave show us heads that belong probably to the first decade of the thirteenth century (Figs. 214, 215). The label-stops in the west end of the nave have developed a larger type of head-carving, with a somewhat smoother style (Figs. 216, 218), preparatory to the great sculpture on the west front which was begun in 1220.



FIG. 214. Wells. S. transept. c. 1200.



FIG. 215. Wells. N. transept. c. 1200.



FIG. 216. Wells. West nave.
c. 1220.



FIG. 217. Salisbury. Quire.
c. 1225.

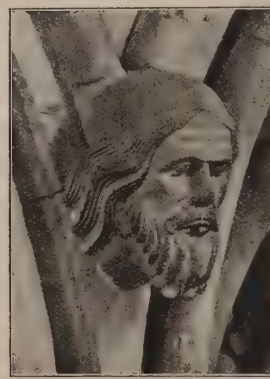


FIG. 218. Wells. West nave.
c. 1220.

Contemporary with Wells was the beginning of the new cathedral at Salisbury, whose foundation stone was laid in 1220. Here are a succession of head-sculptures, worked in the white Chilmark stone: beginning about 1225, and carried on through the whole building of the cathedral, their style advances to the sculptures of the quire-screen and chapter-house arcades, c. 1270. The earliest in this series are seen in the triforium arcades of the quire and its transept; next in the main transept and eastern bays of

the nave (Figs. 217, 220, 228). We have in these first works the same experimental handlings we saw at Wells: the features are mannered and dry, but acute and strong in their mastery of expression. Almost contemporary (viz. c. 1230) must have been the striking Caen-stone corbels of Boxgrove (Figs. 219, 221, 222, 223) near Chichester, with the features simply worked out in planes and with the hair stiffly rendered in tight curls, though the breadth of the rendering makes here a nobility that is the prelude of the best



FIG. 219. Boxgrove quire. c. 1230.



FIG. 220. Salisbury east nave. c. 1225.



FIG. 221. Boxgrove quire. c. 1230.



FIG. 222. Boxgrove quire. c. 1230.



FIG. 223. Boxgrove quire. c. 1230.

Gothic head-sculpture. The harsh modelling combined with intensity of expression is characteristic of the thirteenth-century early development of the freestone sculptor. The same type is to be seen on a label-head at Beaulieu Abbey in Hampshire, but with a softer handling.

The head-sculpture at Wells, Salisbury and Boxgrove is in each case in the stone of the fabrics, and this is evidence that the head-carvers and building-masons were one and the same people. It may be taken as an

axiom that stone was never sent away from the church-works of the Middle Ages to be worked elsewhere and then returned to the building; so the carvers of these heads have acquired their style on the spot. But its peculiar character, which at Wells, Salisbury, and Lincoln has much in common, can be explained by the existence of the marbler's craft. To all the buildings we have been mentioning there had come, c. 1200 and in the following years, importations of Purbeck marble—of shafts, bases, capitals and other carved



FIG. 224. Salisbury transept. c. 1225.



FIG. 225. Salisbury transept. c. 1225.



FIG. 226. Rochester quire. Purbeck marble. c. 1225.



FIG. 227. Rochester transept.¹ Freestone. c. 1225.

work. The architectural pieces had with them head-carvings of marble, and at Salisbury there remain one or two of the Purbeck corbel-heads (Figs. 224, 225) in what would seem the earliest part of the building, antedating the greater part of freestone head-work and affording, we cannot doubt, models for it. A similar comparison is possible in the quire of Rochester, where we also have Purbeck marble "heads" (Fig. 226) preceding or accompanying those of the Reigate freestone (Fig. 227) in which the building was executed.

The Augustinian chapter-house at Oxford, now that of the Cathedral, was another building that has marble shafting, and with it a head-carving in freestone (see Fig. 243, p. 237) in which the accent of the marble-worker has been imitated. The building at Lincoln Cathedral again was a school of similar architecture, and here "heads" and figure-corbels are found both in the local oolite (see Fig. 213, p. 229) and also in Purbeck marble (Fig. 229). That Purbeck style made the model is, we think, clear when we compare the two in the handling of the hair.

In the "heads" of the Purbeck marblers the technique of the figure-sculpture is of an advanced and characteristic kind. We have the features boldly conceived and deeply cut so that their expressions may tell from below in spite of the dark material. The vigour of the execution and the knowledge of sculptural effect are remarkable on the supposition that the *atelier* of the



FIG. 228. Salisbury. S. E. transept. Freestone "head." c. 1225.



FIG. 229. Lincoln quire. Purbeck marble "head." c. 1200.

marble sculptors was far away in the Purbeck quarries of Dorset. The discussion of this question is reserved to our chapter on the Purbeck effigies in Book III. (see pp. 570 seq.), but we may anticipate the conclusion which will be evident when we come to the London effigies, that in the capital city there was early established an accomplished marble-craft whose practice in sculpture accounts for the early proficiency exhibited everywhere by the Purbeck marblers. Since the freestone carvers who were building at Salisbury and Lincoln had these works of the marblers before them, they would convey wholesale into their art the deep cutting and angular modellings which the marble practice had acquired. So the first head-carvings of Gothic style have the staring visages and rugged expressions of Salisbury and Boxgrove, the furrowed cheeks and contorted brows as well as many tricks of hair and eye which subsequent practice in the softer material of freestone gradually rendered less austere and summary (Fig. 228).

The latest buildings of Salisbury nave have "heads" in white stone on a scale of importance and of an execution which bring them within touch of Mid-Gothic proficiency (Fig. 232). After 1240 we may gather from all parts of England proofs of a varied ability developing in the medieval stone-

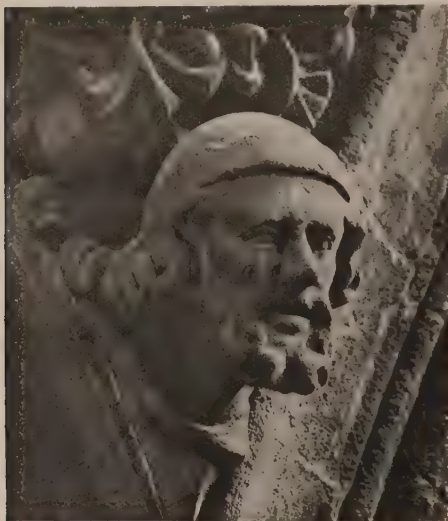


FIG. 230. Westminster Abbey. Transept.
c. 1250.



FIG. 231. York. Archbishop Gray's
Monument. c. 1255.

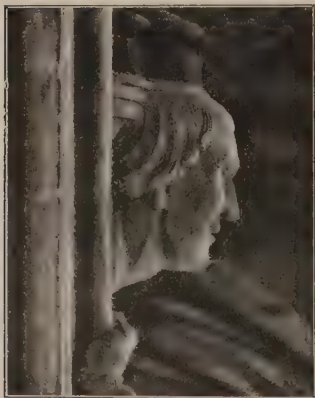


FIG. 232. Salisbury. West nave.
c. 1240.



FIG. 233. Salisbury. Quire-
screen. c. 1260.

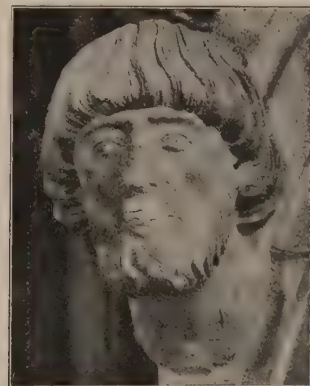


FIG. 234. Salisbury. Quire-
screen. c. 1260.

sculpture. Examples above are from Westminster triforium, c. 1250 (Fig. 230), from what we think a London work at York, c. 1255 (Fig. 231); from the quire-screen at Salisbury, c. 1260 (Figs. 233, 234). Opposite we give two from the Salisbury chapter-house, c. 1270 (Figs. 236, 237), and another from the

Angel Choir at Lincoln, c. 1270 (Fig. 235). Except the York example they are from the hands of the masons employed on the construction. We may thus appreciate the wide extent of the artistic talent that was available for medieval architecture. In some instances the above buildings have suffered from restoration, and there has been a foolish dressing up of the ancient heads, but we think that our illustrations are those of genuine medieval work.

There is in these mid-century carvings great advance beyond what was being done twenty years earlier. The feature-types possess, as well as dexterity of technique, a delicacy of sentiment which strikes us as specially English beside the more robust characterisation of French sculpture. This is apart from the fact that head-stops and head-corbels are rarely used in Gothic building abroad¹,



FIG. 235. Lincoln. Angel Choir. c. 1270. FIG. 236. Salisbury. Chapter-house. c. 1270. FIG. 237. Salisbury. Chapter-house. c. 1270.

as indeed the interior label-strings, to which our examples are mostly attached are not of French style. It would be out of place to enter here into any comparison of English work with the sculpture abroad but we may recognise that our label-heads are local in style, as in stone, and while we can see great variety, yet in all a level of attainment is wonderfully kept. At the same time we note that this art of the head-stop belongs specially to southern England, and is in its mid-century phase to be associated with the architectural development of Salisbury and Westminster. It was not originally native to the Cistercian Gothic of the Yorkshire abbeys: but only when, as happened in the middle of the century, the southern developments of architecture spread northwards—as in the Lichfield nave and the Nine Altars of

¹ Head-corbels are found in the early Gothic of Maine and Anjou. The triforium of the church of

Semur, near Auxerre, with heads in its arcade much as in England, is an exception in French Gothic.

Durham—the head-carving followed. In the sandstone mason-craft of these cathedrals head-sculpture shows less sentiment and more summary execution (as below, Fig. 238). At York, as we have said, Archbishop Gray's monument was not of local style. Its head-pieces (see Fig. 231, p. 234) have the swollen crowns of Salisbury, and in them as in the Purbeck marble-work of the tomb we must record a work imported from the south. Another case of importation may be seen in the work called the Reliquary in the north transept at Gloucester, where are finely carved heads like those on Wells front, both head-carving (Fig. 239) and mason-style seeming a graft from Wells.

These latter instances point to a beginning of those centralizations of craft which, as we shall show later, made the chief cities of England the shops of figure-sculpture. But thirteenth-century sculpture in nearly all its examples kept its distinction as a widespread building faculty, and was in



FIG. 238. Durham quire. c. 1260.



FIG. 239. Gloucester Reliquary. 1258.

evidence wherever the mason was at work. Though the best preservations of its facile art are found in the larger abbey-churches and cathedrals, the same style and often the same delicacy occur in the carving of many parish churches of early English building, in which the accomplishment has been only that of a local mason-craft. For example, at Hayling, an island off the Hampshire coast, we have specimens of a fine and peculiar Caen-stone carving of c. 1260, with much head-work and grotesques. We give opposite a "head" used as a base-spur (Fig. 240) which with other sculpture in the church may show that this island had among its masons its thirteenth-century sculptor, with a peculiar style (see also Figs. 253, 255, pp. 242, 243).

Apart from the head expression, thirteenth-century building-sculpture is inexpert in the rendering of the limbs and gestures of humanity. In some corbels, where attempt is made to introduce a good deal of the figure,

there appear contortions of attitude due to inexperience rather than intentionally grotesque. We may illustrate this from the Oxford chapter-house of c. 1225 (Fig. 243), from the Durham quire c. 1260 (Fig. 241), and it is clear, too, in the beautiful figure we show (Fig. 242) from the staircase to the Wells



FIG. 240. Hayling. Spur of pier-base. c. 1260.



FIG. 241. Durham. Corbel in quire. c. 1260.



FIG. 242. Wells Chapter-passageway.
c. 1260.



FIG. 243. Oxford Chapter-house.
c. 1225.

chapter-house c. 1260. The figure-motive as a bracket for architectural support was not satisfactorily achieved in medieval design much before the angel-corbels of the early fourteenth century: from these a regular pattern of angel-bracket was derived and continued to the close of Gothic style.

SECTION III. FIGURE-SCULPTURE IN CAPITALS, GARGOYLES, AND ARCH MOULDS

We illustrated head-sculpture in some cases from the capitals of piers, and this use was continuous till the end of English style. But figure-motives generally in this position were characteristic only of early Gothic style—for Romanesque art had made a great deal of its picture-capitals which it carved to illustrate all the scenes of sacred story, with as much profusion of motive as was displayed in doorway-sculpture. We gave (Fig. 64, p. 70) an example in the earliest Gothic of Wells Cathedral, c. 1180. But when the capital in the development of Gothic construction came to be of



FIG. 244. Wells Cathedral. Capitals in north transept. c. 1200.

smaller dimensions, the space allowed even for the slighter scenes of symbolic figure-work was contracted. Thirteenth-century art brought to perfection the foliage-sculpture of capitals but admitted figures only as an episode. Accordingly, while the statues and reliefs upon doorways and fronts expressed the important subjects of medieval faith, the capital when it ventured on a scene issued it rather as a brochure or novelette. Its carving aimed at little "moralities" from everyday life, or from the queer fables of the Bestiaries, which represented natural history to the Middle Ages. At Wells, the nave and transept have subject-capitals (c. 1200) presenting quite a library of such novelettes; the most amusing being those in the south transept (Fig. 246). In some instances in the north transept more serious subjects have been attempted; for example, we have "Moses" with the tables of stone (Fig. 244),



FIG. 245. Wells. Transept. c. 1200.



FIG. 246. Wells. South transept. c. 1200.

and "Elias," deep in thought, his head resting on his hand, while a scroll falls from his other hand on which his name is inscribed. Most often, however, the subjects are of that fanciful character which was mentioned as the *genre* of medieval sculpture, the habits of wayfarers (Fig. 245), the punishment of thieves, the tortures of the toothache (see Fig. 23, p. 32). Still, slight and sketchy as is the execution of these little figures at Wells, they are masterpieces in their way. Their motive and method may be conventional, but their sincerity and their summary effectiveness show the ease of the Gothic artist. Carved for the most part at a date between 1200 and 1220 they give indication that the Wells school of sculpture, whose fine reliefs and statues were to come a few years later, was not a sudden exhibition of thirteenth-century art: the way had been prepared for it by smaller works of figure-invention in the ordinary practice of the building-mason.

Subject-capitals of a later date (c. 1260) occur in the Cathedral quire at Durham (Fig. 247). Their mixture of human and animal sculpture belongs to a class that can be also illustrated by examples at Lincoln (Fig. 248), Lichfield, York and elsewhere. Such ideas witness to bold decorative fancy but rather confused conceptions in the architectural carver as style changed



FIG. 247. Durham. Capital in quire. c. 1260.



FIG. 248. Lincoln. Capital in quire. c. 1270.

towards the end of the thirteenth century. To much of this capricious sculpture it is difficult to attach any definite religious meaning, for example as to the "fox" capital from Lichfield (Fig. 250). Sometimes as on elaborate capitals at Carlisle the labours of the seasons are particularised; in others, as in the Lincoln example (Fig. 249), the censuring "Angels" indicate that a sacred subject is intended.

Other carvings shared with the capitals in the representation of this nondescript figure-work. There are vault-bosses at Chichester and Boxgrove with three faces joined in one. A somewhat similar device is on a corbel at Llandaff (Fig. 251 *a*). A face with a stalk growing out of its mouth was



FIG. 249. Lincoln. Corbel in transept. c. 1230.



FIG. 250. Lichfield. Nave. c. 1270. At Carlisle there has been a modern recarving, so that the capitals cannot be illustrated as medieval sculpture.

a frequent design for architectural bosses. The example at Lincoln (Fig. 251 *b*) gives another form of the "man and leaf" grotesque that had its origin in first Gothic sculpture, and was in common use afterwards. Occasionally we find religious expressions on vaulting bosses, such as the "Madonna and Child" in the Oxford chapter-house and in that of Chester (see Fig. 54, p. 61), where also is a "Trinity": but such scenes that later were the commonplaces of the carver in all positions are rare in the smaller sculpture of first Gothic style.

But the use of the "Angel" as a general formula for the purposes of religious decoration occurs early in thirteenth-century sculpture. A good instance is at Lincoln in the bosses that break the meeting of the labels in the wall-arcades of the quire, where there are a series of angel-figures—some holding scrolls (see Fig. 211, p. 229), one a chalice, and another the little naked figure of a "soul." They are in the outer order of arcadings, which appear

to be an overlay upon the earlier wall of St Hugh, so their date may be c. 1230. We shall refer to them also in the next chapter, where is another illustration (see Fig. 282, p. 261).

The function of these lesser architectural carvings was to be slight and summary, and like their subjects their style should not be taken too seriously. Still, before leaving the small building-sculpture of the thirteenth century we should note how markedly it was impressed by a kind of back-current of art, which, running counter to the ordinary motives of human beauty, introduces expressions of terror and contortion, aspects often indecorous and vulgar, dragons and monstrosities, or the strange lessons which magic and mysticism drew from animal life, a development whose significance has been discussed



FIG. 251 *a*. Llandaff. Head-corbel. c. 1260.

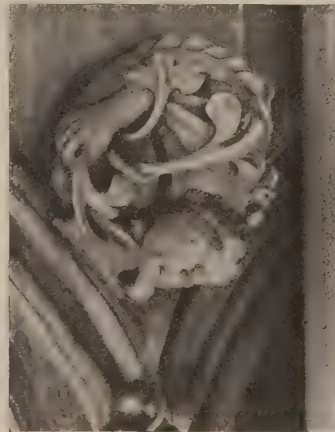


FIG. 251 *b*. Lincoln. East transept. c. 1230.

in Ruskin's *Stones of Venice*. Their appearance in churches was part of that by-play of mockery, which in the Feasts of Fools, of Asses and such like, made buffoonery and grotesque a diversion of religion. Their various expressions undoubtedly make a considerable feature in the whole sum of Gothic church-sculpture in England and instances will be often illustrated: but except for the carving of caprices and characteristic symbols the rôle of the story-teller was now passing out of mason-craft at the latter end of the thirteenth century: it was given over to the wood-carvers particularly in their *misericord* carvings of stalls, which we shall illustrate in their place. Especially in fifteenth-century style they will be discussed at some length.

In First Gothic sculpture stone-work grotesque had often a fine style.

At Wells we may see in such things the refinement of the motives, bred long ago in the Norse imaginations of fighting beasts and strange dragons, which were the early symbolisms of religious mysticism. Similarly devils and contorted figures like those on the door-shaft at Peterborough, which appears to portray the "rebuke of Simon Magus by the Apostles," come as a legacy from the truculent fancies of Norse heathendom. A more intellectual devilry



FIG. 252. Wells Cathedral. Capitals of piers in west nave. c. 1200.



FIG. 253. Hayling. Font corbel.
c. 1270.



FIG. 254. Chichester. Gargoyle.
c. 1270.

was carved into the heads of the Oxford chapter-house (see Fig. 243, p. 237). The Lincoln face (Fig. 258) and the Hayling head too (Fig. 253) have a wonderful suggestion of the unclean and disgusting. But not a few of such thirteenth-century fancies (as for example the gargoyles at Chichester (Fig. 254) and those two or three (c. 1240) which remain on the south side of Ely quire), though monstrous, are modelled with a statuesque breadth of

treatment which rank them with the serious works of sculpture. The small works of dragons and salamanders, which at Wells (Fig. 256), Chichester (Fig. 257), and Hayling (Fig. 255) writhe and twine among the foliage, should be specially noted as characteristic of thirteenth-century style. They



FIG. 255. Hayling. Base-spur. c. 1270.



FIG. 256. Wells. Corbel in north quire-aisle. c. 1200.



FIG. 257. Chichester. North quire-aisle. c. 1230.

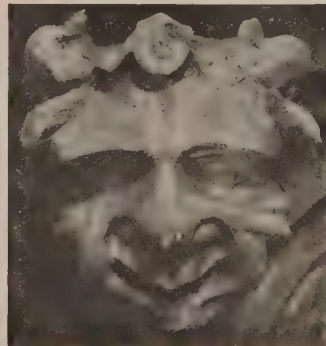


FIG. 258. Lincoln. Devil-face in nave. c. 1240.

have a penetrating sense of animal movement, and the lithe beauty of it such as we look for in the naturalistic art of to-day.

The combination of grotesque and fanciful architectural sculpture in the scheme of construction was in the genius of the Gothic style, and often obtains

a bold rhythm. We may instance in thirteenth-century building (Fig. 259) the great pillar-corbels of Durham quire and (Fig. 260) the "Angel" pedestal at Crowland Abbey, Lincolnshire.

On the other hand, the figure-motive in the arch-mould bequeathed from the pictorial art of Romanesque was a source of difficulty to the constructional instincts of the Gothic sculptor. In the French and German building the *voussoirs* are carved with brackets so as to make canopied niches for the statues, the use being in direct descent from the Romanesque beginnings.



FIG. 259. Durham quire. c. 1260.



FIG. 260. Crowland Abbey. Pedestal for statue on the west front. c. 1270.

The simplicity and boldness with which this is done in the great doorways of Paris, Amiens, and Reims, and the fine scale of the whole, disguise, if they do not atone for, the awkwardness of the positions which are so given to the figures. In England, as fragments in the York Museum have told us, twelfth-century arch-moulds had also been set with figure-subjects, but our thirteenth-century use of this method was timid in comparison with the French. On a small scale niched figures occur on arches at Gloucester, Salisbury, and Lincoln, but English tradition retained its method of figure-medallions in arch-moulds, such as were carved at Malmesbury and

Barfreston (see Figs. 163, 175, pp. 185, 196), where, instead of niches, wreathings of foliage entwine and carry the figures. The mid-century masons in some of their rich doorways have worked to this tradition as in the north transept of Lichfield and then in the south door of St David's. In these cases small figure-reliefs entwined with foliage (Fig. 261) are set in the outer and inner orders of the arches—the midway order between being carved with foliage only.

The chapter-house doorways of Westminster and Salisbury make more important examples. At Westminster (Fig. 262) the figures are in flat relief, with foliage and draperies as in the spandrel-carvings we show in the next chapter. At Salisbury (see Fig. 32, p. 39) the niches, each with its statuette,



FIG. 261. Lichfield Cathedral. North transept doorway. c. 1250.



FIG. 262. Westminster. c. 1250.

are distinctly formed, though the projection is kept well within the curve of the arch-mould. A similar arrangement of little figures was exhibited on the west door of Wells c. 1230, and also on that of the Gloucester Reliquary c. 1260. In attitude and action these door-head statuettes of the thirteenth century have the highest qualities, which restoration in some cases has not entirely effaced. Their subjects, the "Virtues and Vices" and other moralities, are rendered with great inventiveness and delicacy as the particulars given on pp. 38 and 40 of Book I. will witness.

The voussour-sculpture at Lincoln is, however, the most distinguished.

On the doorway-arches of the "Judgment Porch" the inner order has niches with elegant seated figures under canopies that are subordinated to the arch-mould and do not break its contour. The outer orders (Figs. 263, 264) have in similar fashion standing figures of about eight inches high inset in

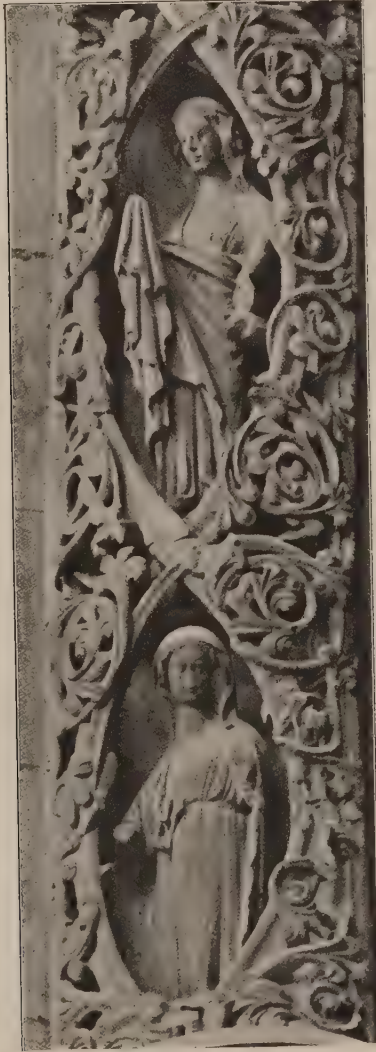


FIG. 263. Lincoln. "Judgment Porch."

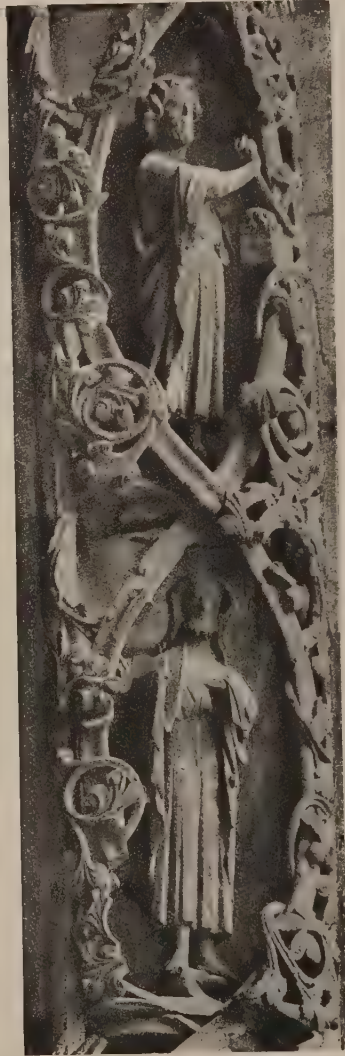


FIG. 264. Lincoln. "Judgment Porch."

the hollows of the leaf enrichment. Tiny as are these works of stone sculpture, they have a peculiar naïveté and gracefulness which recall Greek terra-cottas. The delicacy and character of the whole make them match the Lincoln reliefs and statues, which we shall illustrate in the following chapters.

CHAPTER V

THE RELIEF-SCULPTURE OF THE FIRST GOTHIC PERIOD, 1200—1280

SECTION I. THE POSITIONS OF FIGURE-SCULPTURE

THE preceding chapter described the smaller applications of figure-motive to architectural carving in the first period of Gothic sculpture, and the present takes up the important larger relief-carvings—equally architectural but in expression and execution demanding the highest faculties of the figure-sculptor. As already explained, the separation of chapters does not imply a distinction either of date or in the executants—the same hands were at work on the smallest and the largest works, and upon both as part of the masoned fabric.

In these relief-carvings the stride taken by the Gothic sculptors becomes more evident, because we can compare their work directly with the relief-work of the earlier artists. The figure-work of the stone-mason had been almost solely slab-work, whether in the Anglian crosses, Saxon roods and panels, or the Norman tympana: the detailed modelling of images had been left to the goldsmith. Now in this and the following chapters the Gothic sculptor will be seen becoming a worker in the round; and his acquisition of a new sense in statue-making made a revolution in his relief-carvings too. A new style appears in them: the picture-representations come to an end: the motives have become sculpture motives. Yet these are still carved in the stone of the building and in the body of the fabric. His conception of figure-work was the architectural one; it was not a piece of detached furniture. In the century of First Gothic art the furniture for the altar was provided by the carpenter and goldsmith, as it had been for generations, the images and the tabernacle-work were of wood enriched with gilding and precious stones, and the retables and shrines were often entirely in precious materials, gold, silver, and ivory. This, at any rate, is the conclusion to which we are led by the records and inventories, which, while they refer to images and shrines as goldsmiths' work (see records quoted pp. 5, 6), are deficient in hints that important pieces of stone figure-work were used as church ornaments in English churches in the first years of the thirteenth century.

It is true that there have come down to us one or two figure-carved slabs whose oblong finished shapes indicate detached uses possibly as retables at the back of altars. A "Majesty" at Sompting, Sussex (see Fig. 75, p. 79), may have been of this use, carved (c. 1200) on stones that have Saxon ornament at the back. Another of similar composition in a single slab is in a church at Durham (Fig. 265) and is work of a generation later. Yet figure-pieces by the mason must, we think, be taken as occasional only, and their purpose is not very clear; it is possible they were set in door-heads as



FIG. 265. Church at Durham. "Majesty" slab. c. 1250.

tympanum sculpture. No doubt instances of stone-mason's furniture exist in chairs supplied by the Purbeck marbler, as at Canterbury. He distributed fonts too, early in the thirteenth century, and some, like that in the quire-aisle at Christchurch, had panels carved with figure-reliefs. "Saints" appear on his tomb-chests, such as that of Bishop Marshall of Exeter; and a small "crucifixion" in marble can be seen at Wimborne, taken, we think, from a tomb-gable. It may be said, too, that by the second quarter of the thirteenth century the tomb-slab figures which the Purbeck marbler executed were fast developing from relief-carving into statue-work.

These marblers, as we read, supplied work for shrines; but this was in paving, or in providing a solid base—the reliquary itself was still in the thirteenth century a goldsmith's job. Becket's shrine at Canterbury (c. 1230) was in the hands of William of Colchester and Elias de Dereham, "artifices¹," but certainly, we think, not masons. A strong indication that the constructions necessary for such things were at this date not made by stone-masons lies in the fact that Henry III., when he designed his marble shrine for the Confessor at Westminster, went outside English mason-craft: he carried out a form of decoration unknown to it, viz. mosaic incrustations, upon which we are not surprised to see the signature "Petrus civis Romanus" engraved. This seems evidence that up to the middle of the century the native marbler in England had not attempted great pieces of church furniture. There is no doubt that after 1250, the stone-mason was found efficient for large elaborate monuments, as for example those of Archbishop Gray at York (d. 1255), of Bishop Bridport at Salisbury (d. 1262), and of Bishop Aquablanca at Hereford (d. 1268). In their making began the medieval crafts of the English cities which were to supply numberless great marble and stone erections for churches. In the two later periods of our figure-sculpture, as succeeding chapters will illustrate, tombs and shrines were constantly of freestone, marble and alabaster, carved with figure-reliefs.

Although before the end of the thirteenth century the goldsmith-imager had a rival by his side, whose marble and stone figures were shopwork-statues, ordered for churches as commonly as the metal and wood, still there would appear to have been a period between the Romanesque and the mid-Gothic when the talent of the stone-sculptor was solely exhibited in his large architectural employment. Thus for first Gothic art, mason and sculptor are to be regarded as one person and as working simultaneously in the scheme of the great building art, and to architecture we must look as conditioning his style. The thirteenth-century builders developed the wall surface by exhibiting on it ranges of arcades. Between the extrados of the arcade-arches of one tier and the level springing of the next were interspaces (spandrels) which made convenient fields for sculpture in the way that suited the genius of the Gothic artist. Similarly, when the arch compassed two subsidiary arches, as was frequent in the scheme of door and window building, there occurred a spandrel ready for decoration, which, in many cases, took the form of figure-sculpture. But it is to be noted that these interspaces, in the experiments of construction, developed also structural decorations—*i.e.* geometrical piercings outlined with moulded voussoirs—the trefoils and quatrefoils which were the beginnings of tracery. When such openings were blind, they afforded

¹ So they are entitled by Matthew Paris, the contemporary historian, who describes the making of the shrine. William of Colchester was a famous goldsmith. See p. 93 and note 2 *ibid.* as to Elias de Dereham.

an excellent lodgment for figure-sculpture—for example such architectural treatment of a large wall-relief may be found at Worcester (Fig. 266). We may therefore make three sections in accord with three positions of the First Gothic figure-relief: (1) the spandrels above wall-arcades, with a running frieze of figure-work in a connected theme, as in Worcester quire; or, on a larger scale, the similar stations in the triforium arcade, as at Lincoln in the "Angel Choir," or in the transept ends at Westminster: (2) the quatrefoils, trefoils, etc., in the heads of arcade-arches, in which a series of subjects were set, as on the Wells front: and (3) the single fields of the great door-heads or gables,



FIG. 266. Worcester. Relief on Refectory wall. c. 1200.

the centres of sculptural interest in which the figure-relief advances to the dignity of the statue, as in the "Majesty" of the "Judgment Porch" at Lincoln, and on the two chapter-doorways at Westminster, where the "Annunciation" and "Virgin" figures are definitely statues. Thus Gothic relief-work made its gradual evolution into the detached figure. The sacred representations, which had in the first Anglo-Norman churches been flat painted subjects, grew in the hands of the carving-mason into pictorial reliefs, and these were treated more and more in the round, till at last what had been a crowded scene is simplified to a couple or more of statues standing side by side.

SECTION II. THE CONTINUOUS SUBJECT-SCULPTURE OF
ARCADE-SPANDRELS

The facing of the wall with arcades, both externally and internally, had been largely practised in the Romanesque building, and after Stephen's reign the ornament of them had been very profuse and varied. This ornament lost its barbarian profusion in Gothic style, but did not immediately part with its Romanesque tradition—at any rate in southern and western England. In the north, as already said, the Gothic evolution declared itself as the rejection of the rich sculpture of the later Romanesque, so that the figure-ornament, which had been used lavishly at Durham, York, and Bridlington, is entirely absent from the graceful arcadings of the First Gothic abbeys of Yorkshire and the north. But in southern England we find retention of Romanesque



FIG. 267. Wells. North porch. c. 1180.



FIG. 268. Bristol. Lady Chapel. c. 1200.

ornamentation giving the symbolic representations, "zodiacal beasts," "warriors" and "dragons," to the early Gothic capitals at Wells; to the panel we show above (Fig. 267) upon the north porch, and in the same way to spandrels in the triforium arcade (see Fig. 216, p. 230). Similar figures occur in the wall-arcades of the "Elder Lady Chapel," Bristol, whose building was c. 1200 (Fig. 268), and the sculptor's style resembles that on the arch-moulds of St Mary's Chapel, Glastonbury (see Fig. 167, p. 189). Such spandrel-carving has a finer finish than in Romanesque art, but is still essentially of the "zodiacal" tradition that we illustrated at Rochester and Barfreton (see Fig. 175, p. 196).

Again, in the Worcester quire—in that part of the new "front" which we think was built before 1220—the wall-arcades show a series of spandrels carved with fabulous beasts. This is a late instance on a big scale of motives

which we have traced upwards from the rude beginnings of Scandinavian wood-carving. But in this work at Worcester other spandrel-carvings of the wall-arcades exhibit different types and indicate an advance of sculpture in various directions. Though these carvings have been, unfortunately, touched up (many indeed entirely re-worked in the restorations which afflicted Worcester Cathedral in 1857), some genuine pieces remain and are of distinct type. In the south-eastern transept a series of the spandrel-reliefs illustrate the "Fall of Man" and the "Judgment." The treatment is that of a lively dramatic representation—the angel pushes out our weeping first parents from the door of Paradise, which is represented as having a church in its enclosure (see Fig. 39, p. 49). The "Doom" is exhibited with all the stock characters and incidents of manuscript illumination; the great trumpeting angel (Fig. 269);

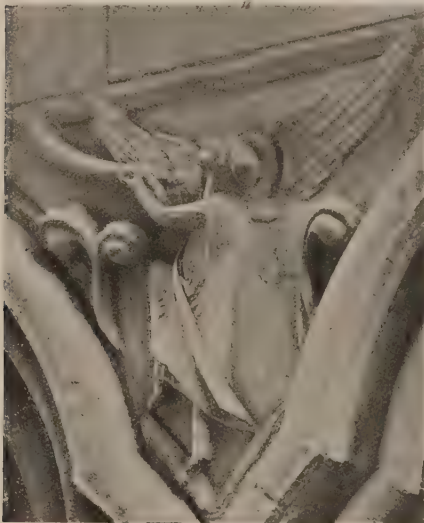


FIG. 269. Worcester. S.E. transept. c. 1210.



FIG. 270 Worcester. S.E. transept. c. 1210.

the bursting tombs; Christ on the throne; the weighing of the souls; the Mouth of Hell, with the Devil as executioner (Fig. 270); the roasting of the damned; and the angel leading the redeemed to heaven (Fig. 271). In the excitement of the gestures, the angular movements and draperies, the figure-handling is somewhat like that in the tympanum carvings of Autun and Vézelay. But this may have come from the copying of manuscript, for draperies and head features are handled as in the label-heads of c. 1200 at Wells and Llandaff.

To the east of the transept along the south aisle is another set of spandrels illustrating the course of the building (Fig. 273). A lady instructs the master mason; the working mason is overlooked by the monk-clerk; on the opposite side the bishop presents the model upon the altar—so we have

the whole medieval organization of architecture. These works have less vigour than the "Doom" pictures, but are remarkable as illustrations of contemporary life. In the north aisle are "New Testament" subjects continued



FIG. 271. Worcester. S.E. transept. c. 1210.



FIG. 272. Worcester. N.E. transept. c. 1220.



FIG. 273. Worcester. East chapel. South aisle. c. 1220.

into the north-eastern transept, where the ancient work is in better condition, and retains in some cases its original colouring. Here a different hand is seen with a restrained treatment (Fig. 272), in contrast to the fantastic energy of

the "Doom" spandrels. The graceful, quiet attitudes are like what we shall presently see at Wells, and one may entertain the idea that some of the sculptors of Worcester¹ went on to the other cathedral in order to carve the "Old and New Testament" reliefs (see Figs. 305, 306, p. 279).

Such was the Gothic sculpture of relief in the first quarter of the thirteenth century: at Westminster may be seen work of the same kind carved some thirty years later. The sculptor has applied himself to fill positions just parallel to those at Worcester, in the spandrels of the wall-arcades in the eastern chapels and in the north and south transepts. The misfortune at Westminster has not been restoration but the destruction of much of the thirteenth-century work to make room for later monuments. Also a surface-decay of the stone has obliterated the edges and tool-marks, so



FIG. 274. Westminster Abbey. Transept. c. 1250.

that we can illustrate (Figs. 274, 275) but a little remnant of what has been a full range of very beautiful sculpture. The attitudes and expressions of these little figures, and the skill and knowledge of their relief, are remarkable, and the only archaism perceptible lies in the experimental placings of the figures in order to fit them into the spandrel shapes. Foliage is called in to make up the space round the demi-angel with the crowns (Fig. 275), but the maladroitness, visible indeed in our illustration above, where it is attempted to fill the field with figure-work only, comes to the eye more or less in many of the compositions of the north transept.

A succeeding generation of masons were at work at Salisbury upon the tomb-canopy of Bishop Bridport (d. 1262) on which above the marble arcades

¹ The date we give to the Worcester sculpture is not that generally adopted. But we base it, not only on the style of the figure-work, but also on the

tell-tale dressings of the facings, which have the axe toolings of 1200, not the claw-chisel marks of 1225.

are reliefs in white stone, and it looks as if the same sculptors were afterwards employed on the chapter-house (see Fig. 73, p. 77). Though the freestone carver is here mixing his work with that of the marbler, his touch is without any imitation of marble handling, but renders the details with the sharpness congenial to the material. We note, however, the same difficulty as to getting the figures into the spandrel shape as at Westminster.

In the chapter-house the wall-arcades retain their full series of subject-reliefs in what may be thought good preservation. Restoration has been hard at work on them, but it has been of a different kind from the unintelligent, coarse substitutions of Worcester. Moreover, the renewals carried out under the sympathetic and learned skill of W. Burges, have been at the hand of

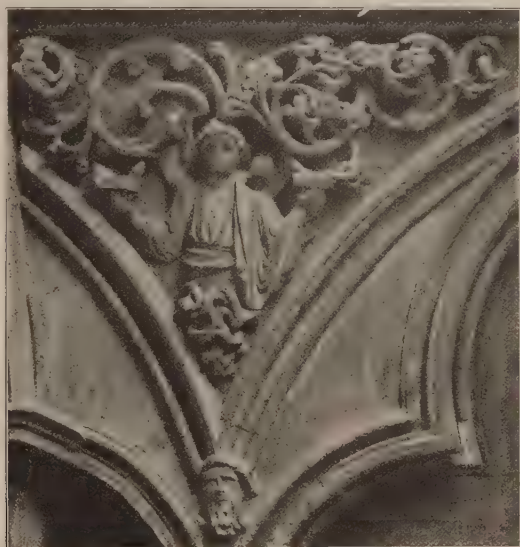


FIG. 275. Westminster Abbey. Transept. c. 1250.

a competent sculptor. When made good, however, old and new were both painted, and when this painting began to peel off the carvings were again stripped to the stone. Under this drastic removal all the stone edges have been blunted, and the distinctions between the genuine work and what was so cleverly imitated to match it have become obscure. Fortunately, we have from Burges a detailed description of the sculptures as he saw them first and admired them, and with hints from this we can pick our way to what are the most authentic examples of original work.

The charm of First Gothic work is manifest at Westminster because there only decay has worked on the sculpture—not “restoration.” At Salisbury, the re-working, however clever, has, as always, destroyed most that it proposed

to preserve. However it is possible to see in the Salisbury reliefs a grouping and composition which make distinct advances on the spandrel-carvings at the "Abbey." The plastic expression and balance in the sculpture of "Lot" and

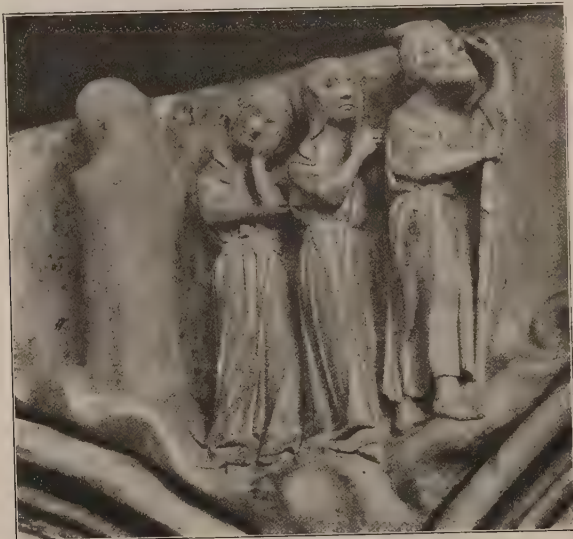


FIG. 276. Salisbury. Chapter-house. "Lot." c. 1270.

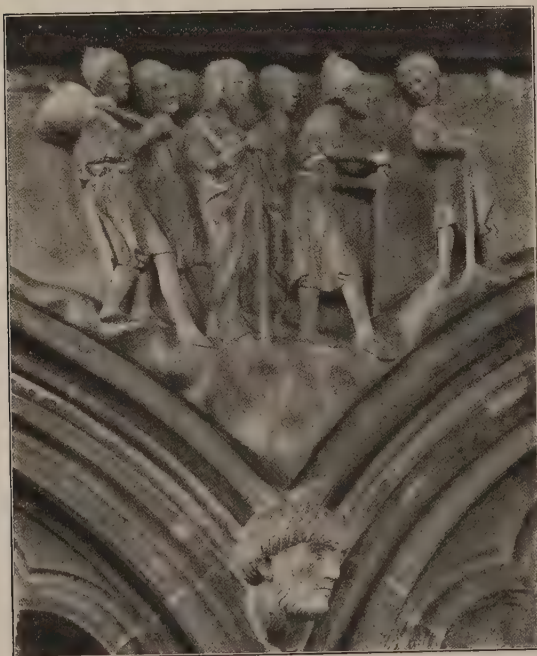


FIG. 277. Salisbury. Chapter-house. "Jacob's Brethren." c. 1270.

his daughters turning their backs on the pillar of salt (Fig. 276), or in "Jacob's Brethren" setting forth to Egypt (Fig. 277) will establish the point. In most of the compositions this merit may be taken as unaltered in the re-carving, though heads and hands are with rare exceptions new throughout. Our illustrations show some of the few ancient heads remaining: the cleverness



FIG. 278. Salisbury. Chapter-house. "Noah's Ark." c. 1270.

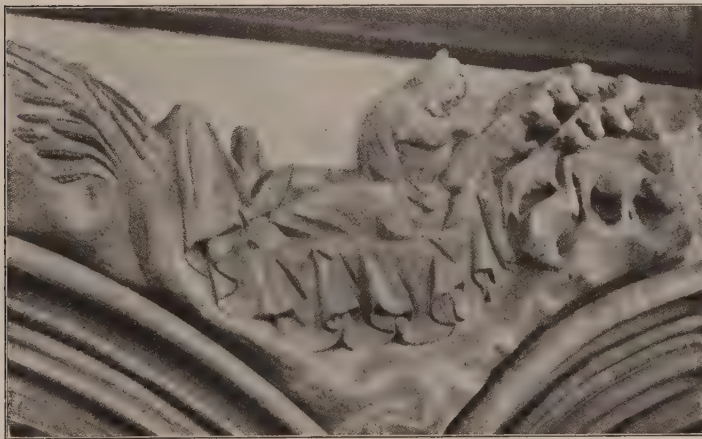


FIG. 279. Salisbury. Chapter-house. "Pharaoh's Dream." c. 1270.

of Burges' sculpture may be seen by comparing the head of Noah (Fig. 278) and that of Pharaoh (Fig. 279), which are genuine, with that of Lot (Fig. 276), which is added in this piece; or the heads re-carved for all except one of "Jacob's Brethren" (Fig. 277). The draperies throughout can be accepted as original, and their treatment is different from both what we saw at Westminster and what we shall presently illustrate at Wells. Indeed, its

later style is a distinct step outside the manner of the early Gothic drapery and we shall take up this point later (see p. 345).

A short note may here be appropriate as to the painting of medieval sculpture. A good deal of colour remained on these Salisbury reliefs when their renovation was undertaken, and W. Burges, a born colourist, made a striking success of its renewal, as great a success as is likely to be got by modern methods, though his pigments began immediately to peel off and have now been removed. Still, all the same, the effect of the medieval colouring on architecture and sculpture cannot logically be judged on the basis of renewals and restorations, however clever, at the hands of Revival architects, such as Burges, Street, or Butterfield. They may be as good as modern colour-skill can do, but to take them as examples of what they imitate is an unfairness to ancient art, for, like any other art effect, that of colour can be effective only by its sincerity. A learned imitative restoration represents only the knowledge of the restorer. As such it may charm the scholar who can recognise the culture and imagination it implies; but it creates no expression of value which can be used for the criticism of the genuine art of the thirteenth century. It is very shallow connoisseurship which, looking at medieval architecture painted up to some nineteenth-century standard of scholarship, exclaims, "How barbaric and crude this medieval colouring must have been!"; which argues that cathedrals were meant to appear solemn and shadowy in the drab of plain stone surfaces; or which calls the painting of his sculpture a *faux pas* on the part of the medieval artist. Like Greek sculpture medieval figure-work was undoubtedly always coloured, sometimes heavily, sometimes delicately¹. As evidence for the proposition that in the thirteenth century the tinting would be simple and direct, we can properly advance the whole record of the thirteenth-century painting. On backgrounds of blue or red the figures stood out in pale tints enforced with brown and gilding; the flesh colours were lightly rendered; the lips and the eyeballs picked out darker; the draperies white, green, and black, powdered with gold and coloured patterns. How these colours were harmonized, what was the art of their combination, though we may lack genuine examples of the painted stonework itself, still we have a fair means of estimating. If we turn to the contemporary manuscripts, to the Apocalypse at Trinity College, Cambridge, for example; or to what are exhibited in the show-cases of the British Museum Library; or, indeed, to any English thirteenth-century manuscripts, we find in their illuminations and miniatures not only the delicate drawing and plastic liveliness which we might expect from the contemporaries of the Westminster and Salisbury relief-carvers, but a quality of colour, whose analogue we get in the

¹ The Liberate Rolls of Henry III. (quoted in Hudson Turner's *Domestic Architecture in England*)

abound in orders for the painting of images, but often this must mean wall painting on the flat.

ancient eastern carpets that have descended to us, or, closer to our own day, in the masterpieces of the Japanese artists. Modern attempts at the restoration of this colouring would naturally be failures, for do not our painters, for all their effort, fail to compass the lively colour-sense of the great Venetian masters, just as surely our imitators of the Eastern arts achieve only what is vulgar and unpleasing? But this being so, our artistry, consciously weak as it is on the decorative side, has some hardihood in saying "sour grapes" to the brightness and splendour of medieval architectural colour.

Only here and there upon the ancient pieces are there now vestiges of colouring, and what survives is mostly the ground colour whose body in the original painting was materially softened by glazings and diapers. Nothing



FIG. 280. Salisbury Cathedral. Old quire-screen. c 1260.

genuinely representative of thirteenth-century architectural painting is likely to be in evidence, for even in medieval times the tempera colours faded, and have been often retouched. An example that may recall something is the old quire-screen of Salisbury (Fig. 280), now set in the north-east transept. It still has suggestions of a brilliant relief-carving—for the backgrounds of full colour may be discerned, and with a little imagination the gilded angel-wings, the warm flesh-colours, and the cool grey draperies can be blended into delicious harmonies such as are to be enjoyed in the best preserved manuscript-paintings. It must have had a delightfully bright and fresh appearance, each spandrel with its minstrel angel, and all gay with colour and gilding.

SECTION III. THE ANGEL-SCULPTURE OF SPANDRELS

The Salisbury quire-screen was carved probably after 1250, and its sculpture as well as its painting illustrates a species of spandrel-carving in which figure-subjects are put in a decorative scheme, instead of being directly employed for the illustration of sacred story or for the elucidation of religious faith. "Angels" carved as a choir of musicians, or as attendants swinging censers or holding emblems made a stock religious decoration, and in its ideal treatment appeared the finest qualities of the thirteenth-century artists. At Westminster the wall-spandrels of c. 1250 have angel-figures with crowns and emblems (see Fig. 275, p. 255). Earlier in date at Lincoln was a whole series of similar subjects, now more or less damaged, to be seen carved



FIG. 281. Salisbury. Old quire-screen. The "Choir of Angels." c. 1260.

between the labels upon the wall-arcades of the quire-aisle and eastern transept (Fig. 282). They were mentioned on p. 240, but though they occur in what is called St Hugh's building (c. 1200), the arcades on which they are carved have the appearance of an after building to the original wall¹. Each angel holds a scroll, a book or a chalice, and in one case a "soul"; and these points are interesting since the same ideas are repeated in the great angels of the Angel Choir c. 1270. The heads² have in some cases been cut away, but it can be seen how the lively attitudes and the puckered draperies are those of the corbel-carvers (see Fig. 213, p. 229).

Another example of probably much the same date occurs in the triforium arcade at the east end of Chichester Cathedral, where there have been

¹ There appear two original dressings of the stone in these arcades—one presumably of c. 1200, the other the claw-tool dressing of c. 1230 or later. This Angel-sculpture is in connection with the

latter, as can be seen in Fig. 282.

² In more than one case a modern sculptor has added new heads and wings, or at any rate has chiselled up the old surfaces.

"Angel" sculptures, but owing to plaster additions of the early nineteenth century, the thirteenth-century work is, except in the draperies, obliterated.

A series of "Angels," but of a more advanced style, were carved in the quire at Worcester in the spandrels of the inner order of the triforium arcade. The dressing of the stone with the claw chisel proves this sculpture of a later mason-craft than that of the wall-arcades in Lady-chapel and east transepts. It may be dated therefore c. 1240. Restoration has now added heads and other accessories freely, and the original artistic value is obliterated. But such original draperies as remain show a handling much like that at Westminster.

The greatest angel-carvings of the thirteenth-century are to be seen at Westminster and Lincoln, and it is fortunate that in these cases, where both



FIG. 282. Lincoln. Quire-aisle. c. 1230.

the scale and the ideal are at the highest, their expression has been neither mutilated nor restored away. We can point to these reliefs as monuments of remarkable attainment in our English sculpture. At Westminster, where they are the earlier in date, the great reliefs occur in the transept ends, north and south: they are carved inside upon the spandrels of the window arches which range with the triforium, and their sculpture can be accurately fixed by the Westminster accounts as lying between 1250 and 1255—those on the north side being probably the first carved. Since there are three arches in the transept wall in both cases, there have been at each end two middle figures, on the whole spandrels, as well as the angel-reliefs on the flanking half spandrels. But on the north end the middle figures have now disappeared: on the south transept wall they remain and represent probably "St Edward the Confessor" giving his ring to the beggar, who was, the legend goes, St John the Evangelist. We shall illustrate the "King" figure on page 264.

The four flanking "angels" are remarkable among architectural sculptures,

and not merely in thirteenth-century English art (Figs. 283, 284, see also Fig. 1 (Frontispiece) and Fig. 82, p. 85). The lines of the reliefs are masterly in their adaptation to the architectural rhythm; but in itself also this sculpture



FIG. 283. Westminster Abbey. "Angel." East side of south end of transept. c. 1255.

has qualities which command attention. Its appeal is what only the masterpieces of expression obtain, a power outside technicalities of workmanship and

arrangement. Like so much of thirteenth-century sculpture it conveys the idea of a new birth in art: as if a fresh incarnation has come of the noble type—the ideal which, as opposed to the sensuous, the trivial or the merely pretty, we call for want of a better term “monumental.” Such had it appeared in the Greek art of the fifth century B.C., and no Athenian relief could be of calmer dignity or more

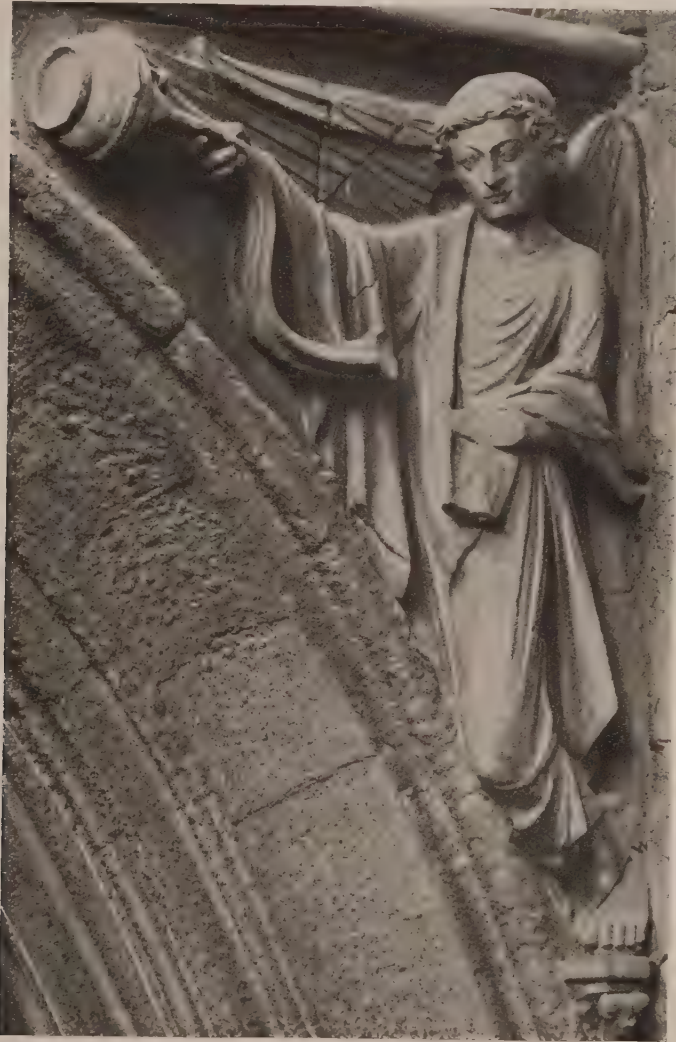


FIG. 284. Westminster Abbey. “Angel.” East side of north end of transept. c. 1250.

serenely composed than are these Westminster angels of the thirteenth century. Strangely, too, the hair and drapery of some eighteen hundred years previous, the head-fillets and fine linen folds, have been, in a way, reproduced.

The Greek suggestions in thirteenth-century sculpture, peculiarly vivid in some of the figures at Notre Dame, Paris, and at Reims, have led to much speculation. It has been asserted on their account that at Reims two of the west-door statues belong to the seventeenth century, when classic sculpture had been rediscovered and studied¹. Others suppose an importation of Greek statues into western Europe in the thirteenth century, consequent upon the sack of Constantinople by the Crusaders². However this may be, at Westminster

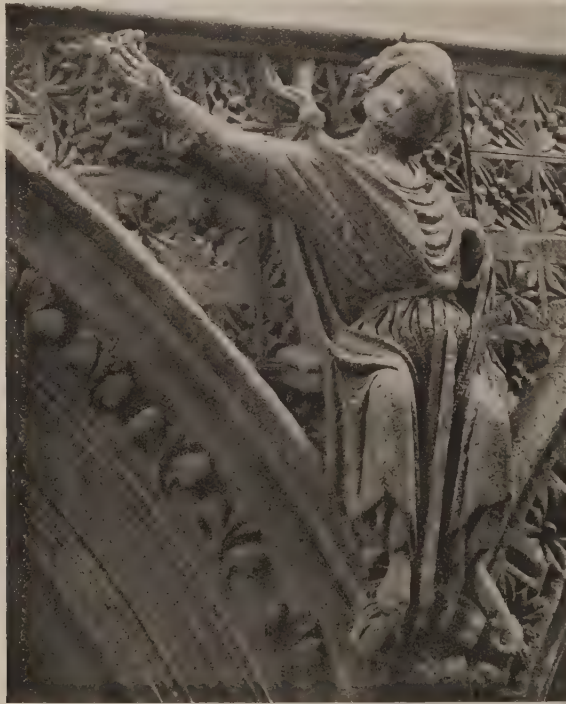


FIG. 285. Westminster Abbey. Middle south transept.

these angel-figures are undoubtedly part of Henry III.'s building, and we believe that their likenesses to Greek work have as elsewhere come) not by any direct influence or by any conscious imitation, but because the conditions of the medieval sculpture were, in these angel-figures, approximated to those under which the early sculpture of Greece acquired its quality.

Still, medieval sculpture had not the knowledge of the Greek. Turning to the middle figures of the south transept (Fig. 285) we note a clumsiness of

¹ Hasak, *Gesch. d. deutschen Bildhauerkunst im 13. Jhd.* 1899.

² Right up to 1540 the lime kilns in Rome were turning ancient, and therefore probably Greek,

statues into building lime. It is a possibility that Greek technique may have come into medieval sculpture from chance importations of Greek statues from Rome, but where and when is not clear.

action such as no work of the Greek period admits: contortion indeed occurs frequently when thirteenth-century sculpture deals with movement. It was very visible in the attitudes presented in not a few thirteenth-century corbels (see illustrations, p. 237), and the same exaggerations will be commented on in the sitting statues at Wells (see Fig. 326, p. 303).

In our other great thirteenth-century example of monumental "angel"-sculpture, that at Lincoln, distorted action is less apparent, because the motive was throughout one of dignity and repose. The spandrel-sculpture has here the same expression as in the Salisbury quire-screen, but it is carried out on a big scale at a height of some 40 feet from the floor. In the easternmost bays there would seem little intention beyond the carving of a choir of jocund angel minstrelsy to look down from the triforium spandrels—in fact, a bigger rendering of what we have seen already at Lincoln in the wall-arcades of the quire-aisles (see Fig. 211, p. 229). Nothing more than this seems the idea with which the building of the chapels started. It is just a parallel case to what we saw at Worcester—an earlier style of sculpture in the first beginnings of the new work, and then in the final completions, a different manner. As usual, the quire-enlargement at Lincoln had been begun with the east front of the new building, and with the first two or three bays which could be built outside the existing apse of the church. The date of this beginning is said to have been 1256, and since the carvings have been worked before fixing, as proved by the misfits at the joints of the stones, they may belong to that year. But when the work had advanced so that by the taking down of St Hugh's apse the new front could be joined up to the early transept, a more serious artist, and one whose art was pregnant with medieval mysticism, must have come on the scene. Under his influence a deeper note is put into what in the first composition had been merely decorative conceptions.

The marked difference in handling as shown by the later "Angels" as compared with those of the first building may be judged by the reader by looking on to the examples on pages 268 and 273 respectively. A complete key to them is given over page, and it will be seen that the division of the two groups occurs at the middle bay. In this bay the central "angel" on both north and south sides belongs to another type and would seem the first work of a new building. That here was the junction between the two works is confirmed by the observation that westward of this the bays show a continued settlement—the new work as usual dropping below the old. The date of this junction is uncertain, but we know that the ceremony of translating St Hugh into his new shrine took place in 1280, so it is probable that this sculpture was in execution c. 1270.

		<i>North Side</i>		<i>East Window</i>		<i>South Side</i>			
BAY I.	{	1.	Angel, full front, right arm raised, reading in scroll.	A*	A	8.	Angel, full front, leaning to left, holding scroll, right arm raised.	I.	{
		2.	Angel, full front, holding sun and moon.	B CENTRAL B		9.	Angel, full front, crowned and holding harp. Fig. 289, p. 269.		
		3.	Angel, facing to left, playing harp. Fig. 288, p. 268.	A*	A	10.	Angel, full front, right arm raised, as if listening to music.		
BAY II.	{	4.	Angel, full front, holding palm and scroll.	A*	A	11.	Angel, turning to left, one leg over the other, blowing trumpet.	II.	{
		5.	Angel, facing to left, playing on viol. Fig. 287, p. 268.	A* CENTRAL A		12.	Angel, full front, extending a long scroll.		
		6.	Angel, full front, playing on lute.	A	A	13.	Angel, turning slightly to right, holding scroll up with both arms raised.		
BAY III.	{	7.	Angel, full front, but reclining, holding scroll up with both arms.	B	A	14.	Angel, turned sideways to left, with legs crossed, blowing two trumpets. Fig. 286, p. 267.	III.	{
		15.	Angel, full front, holding up two crowns. Fig. 291, p. 271.	C CENTRAL E		23.	Angel, full front, with pipe and tabor. Fig. 295, p. 273.		
		16.	Angel, full front, with face to left, holding palm and scroll.	C	E	24.	Angel, full front, right arm raised, left holding book.		
BAY IV.	{	17.	Angel, turned to right, swinging censer. Fig. 293, p. 272.	C	E	25.	Angel, turned to left, holding scroll with both hands. Fig. 83, p. 86.	IV.	{
		18.	Angel, full front, with scales, weighing souls. Fig. 292, p. 271.	C CENTRAL E		26.	Angel, full front, with lure and hawk. Fig. 298, p. 275.		
		19.	Christ, full front, showing wounded side, angel kneeling, presenting soul to him. Fig. 299, p. 275.	F	E	27.	Angel, full front, with scroll in lap, wings crossed. Fig. 297, p. 274.		
BAY V.	{	20.	Angel, full front, right arm raised, left holding spear. Fig. 290, p. 270.	C	F	28.	Angel, full front, leaning back, holding book and pointing to text. Fig. 296, p. 274.	V.	{
		21.	Angel, full front, with sword in right hand, and with left expelling Adam and Eve. Fig. 4, p. 4.	D CENTRAL D		29.	Angel, looking to left, holding up soul with both hands. Fig. 294, p. 273.		
		22.	Angel, full front, with crown held up in both hands.	C	F	30.	Madonna and Child, full front, angel kneeling with censer. Fig. 300, p. 275.		

ST HUGH'S TRANSEPT

Accordingly, in the diagram opposite we class the "Angels" under capital letters, grouping those which in our opinion have the same peculiarities of handling. In each bay on either side there is a *central* angel carved on the middle spandrel of the triforium arcade and two *flanking* angels, one in each spandrel at either end. Thus there are in the five bays, north and south, thirty "angels" in all, to each of which C. R. Cockerell (see Bibliography, p. 107) gave a definite title, so that they are sometimes called by his names. We have, however, no faith in his interpretations, and prefer to indicate the several figures by the paraphernalia and attitudes given by the sculptor.



FIG. 286. Lincoln "Angel." No. 14. Type A. c. 1260.

In that half of the Choir which we have indicated as the earlier work are four *central* full-fronted angels with spread wings, and ten *flanking* angels. Most of these belong to one type, so they are marked A in plan, and we illustrate as a specimen the "angel" with two pipes from the south side (Fig. 286). Of this class are six flanking angels and the central angel that exhibits a scroll (No. 12), all but one being on the south side. The figures of this sort are short and stout, with baggy folds of drapery broadly rendered, tucked up to show particularly well-developed feet, while the heads are large featured and with pleasant expressions. Not very different is the

central angel on the north side that plays the viol, and the three flanking angels on the same side to the east of it, but in this group (marked A* in



FIG. 287. Lincoln "Angel." No. 5. Type A*. c. 1260.

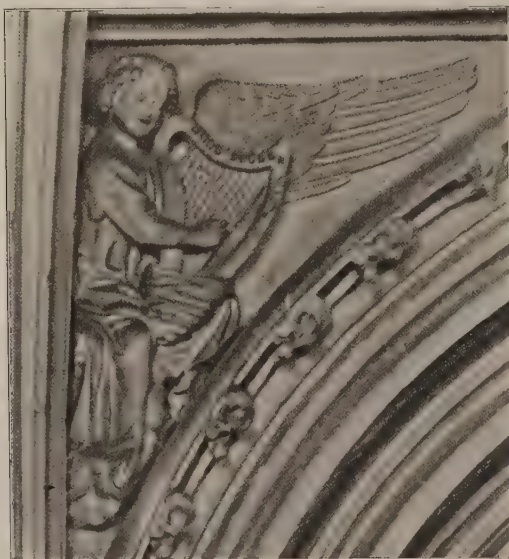


FIG. 288. Lincoln "Angel." No. 3. Type A*. c. 1260.

diagram) they are quieter in pose (Fig. 287) and do not expose the feet to the same extent: they may show the A sculptor or sculptors, acquiring skill by

practice. But the quality of all this western work is not of much distinction: the angels are just pleasant examples of decorative sculpture (Fig. 288).

The remaining three angels, labelled B, viz. the two opposite *centrals* in the east bay, and one flanking angel that borders on the dividing line, would seem, however, from a different hand¹. The figures are somewhat leaner, and have a peculiar anatomy (note the narrow shoulders and wide hips as in the "angel of the harp," Fig. 289); the heads are modelled, too, with pinched noses and small mouths; the draperies are fuller and rather confused, while the wing-tips are turned more upwards than was the case with the figures marked A. Despite their somewhat grotesque aspects



FIG. 289. Lincoln "Angel." No. 9. Type B. c. 1260.

when viewed from the triforium directly opposite (which is, of course, the photographic view) these B figures when seen from the quire floor below have an emotional suggestion of less conventional quality than the A's, though the execution is similar. All these eastern angels are pedestalled on baggy clouds, and their hair, which is coarsely rendered in blobby curls, is bound with fillets. That the sculpture was originally painted, and that its handling has been conditioned for this effect, must be always remembered².

¹ The connection of this type with the Durham angel statues will be referred to in Chapter VII.

² The assertion has been made that they were clearly uncoloured, and that no traces of paint have been found on them. Our illustration (Fig. 287 opposite and Fig. 291 over-page) disprove this.

The camera discloses, what to the eye are faint traces, diapered patterns on the wall-faces, and we can scarcely doubt that the usual thirteenth-century colour-treatment was given here as elsewhere, and that dark backgrounds powdered and starred were painted for all the figures.

When we have come west of the dividing line we notice immediately an advance in the quality of the execution most clearly in the *central* angels of the mid-bays of the Choir (Fig. 291, opposite, and Fig. 295, p. 273). Since, as we have said, the work of building was interrupted, the new shrine of St Hugh not being ready for the translation of his remains till 1280, there may have come an interval of some years after the carving of the eastern angels before those of the western bays were undertaken. At any rate, a different set of motives distinguishes all that we have called the later works. This may not perhaps appear in No. 22, the flanking angel on the north side close on St Hugh's transept, which possibly has been a piece over from the



FIG. 290. Lincoln "Angel." No. 20. Type C. c. 1270.

earlier work. But the other *flanking* angels on the same side, labelled C (Fig. 290, above and Fig. 293, p. 272), as well as the two *centrals*—the "Angel of the Crowns" (Fig. 291) and the "Angel of the Scales" (Fig. 292)—are more dignified works than anything further east. The large heads and full features are what we saw in the A's, and there are mostly the same cloud bases: but the expressions of the faces are more acutely rendered; the mouths are firmly modelled; and the draperies, too, are more functional to the attitudes. There stand out some of special quality; the "Angel of the Scales" opposite is a fine figure seen from below, the distortion of the left arm being corrected by perspective.

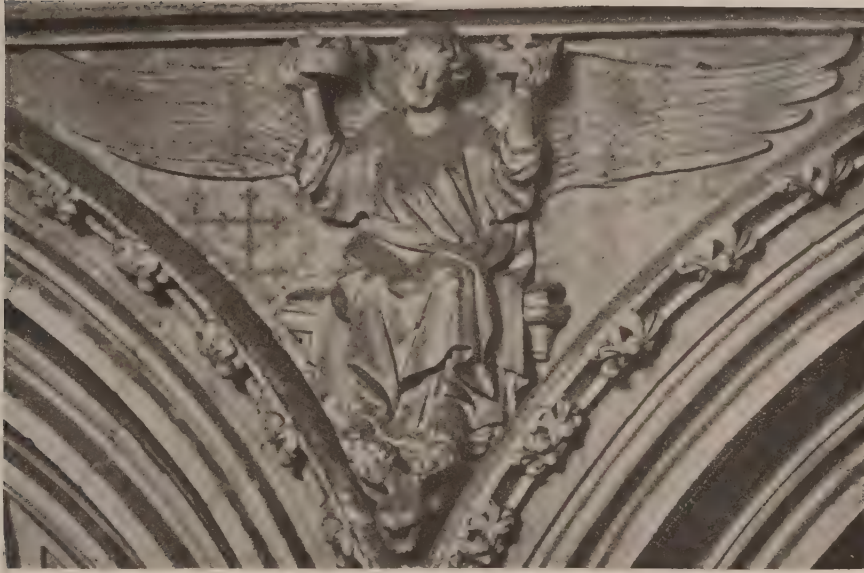


FIG. 291. Lincoln "Angel of the Crowns." No. 15. Type C. c. 1270.



FIG. 292. Lincoln "Angel of the Scales." No. 18. Type C. c. 1270.

Still, fine as are some of these C sculptures (Fig. 293 for example), between them and the "Angels" marked D there is a great gap. The mystic and intense expression that has been carved into these two figures, the one representing the "Expulsion" (see Fig. 4, p. 4) and the other typical of the "Resurrection" (Fig. 294), has established the reputation of the Lincoln reliefs as among the most remarkable of medieval works in sculpture. The concentration and dignity of the intellectual expressions and the sure touch of their technique give them a distinction difficult to match elsewhere. But this special refinement of treatment must be looked for at close quarters, as it is to a great extent lost when seen from below.

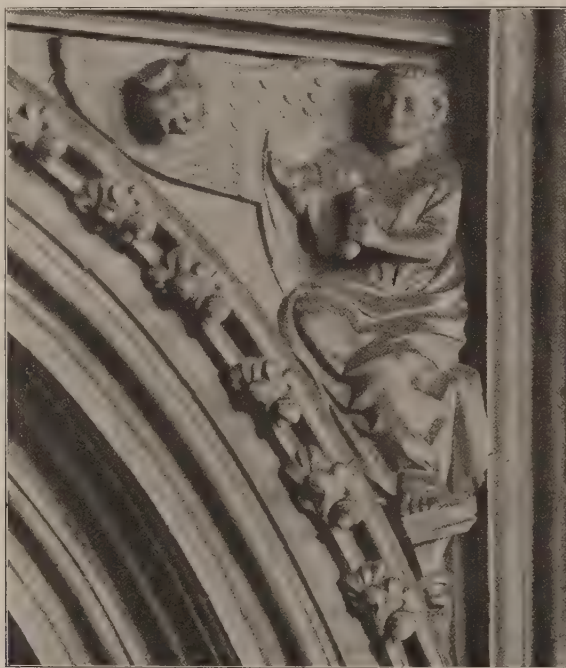


FIG. 293. Lincoln "Angel." No. 17. Type C. c. 1270.

Also the D figures can be recognised as coming from a different hand by peculiar treatments of detail. The heads are smaller than in the other figures, with short necks and delicate features, while their draperies are clearly and simply cut, with upright functional lines. One peculiarity is seen in their footstool brackets, formed by fine female faces shaped triangularly by the wimple.

The two remaining *central* angels on the south side, the "Angel with the pipe and tabor" (Fig. 295) and the "Angel with the hawk" (see Fig. 298, p. 275), have for their footstools dragons with heads, and such monsters, too,

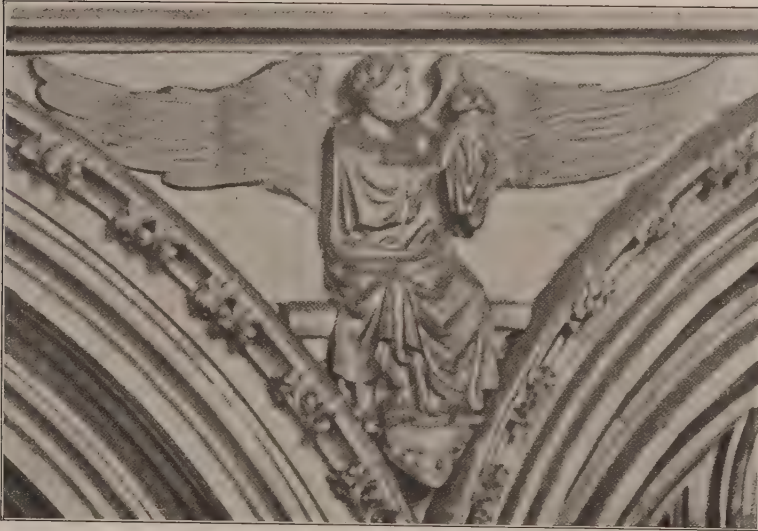


FIG. 294. Lincoln "Angel of the Resurrection." No. 29. Type D. c. 1270.



FIG. 295. Lincoln "Angel with pipe and tabor." No. 23. Type E. c. 1270.

take the place of supporting clouds in a set of figures which we have marked E and F. Some of this set, the "Angel with pipe and tabor" for example, and the "Madonna" (Fig. 300), have merits which might rank them with the great D angels. But the sentiment of their sculpture is different: the heads are without the mystic expression and the attitudes are less statuesque. We may be justified, therefore, in supposing that by the side of the executant of the mystic "Angels" there were other sculptors whose performance lay in the same scheme as that of the creator of the D figures, but was without his individuality. One type is shown in the *flanking* angel with a scroll, No. 25 (see Fig. 83, p. 86) on the south side, where for base is carved a crouching devil. Another charming figure, lively and graceful, is the *central* "Angel

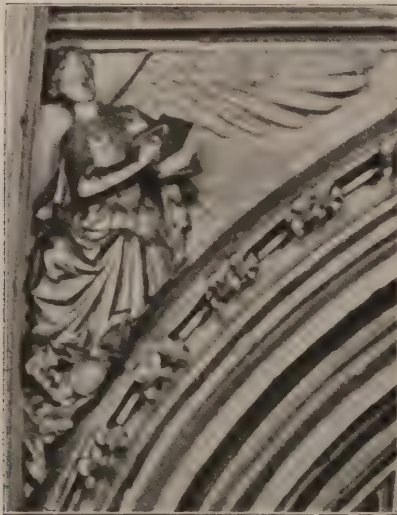


FIG. 296. Lincoln "Angel." No. 28.
Type F. c. 1270.

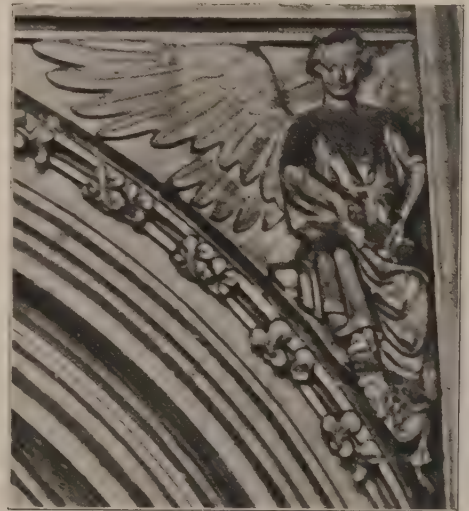


FIG. 297. Lincoln "Angel." No. 27.
Type E. c. 1270.

with the hawk" (Fig. 298), and these two, with the cross-winged *flanking* angel to the west of it (Fig. 297), seem to be from one hand and are labelled E. Still more sprightly is the "Madonna" (Fig. 300), which can be associated with the other *flanking* "Angel with the book" of the fifth bay (Fig. 296) and with the figure on the spandrel on the opposite side (Fig. 299), which is the "Christ" showing His wounded side. These three have been initialled F, and can be distinguished from the E figures by the long necks, arch expressions, and the airy poising of their heads, as well as by the arrangement of the fluttering wings—picturesque embodiments, whose levity is on another plane of feeling than that carved into the stern-faced, concentrated sculpture of the "Angel of the Expulsion" (see Fig. 4, p. 4).



FIG. 298. Lincoln "Angel with hawk." No. 26. Type E. c. 1270.

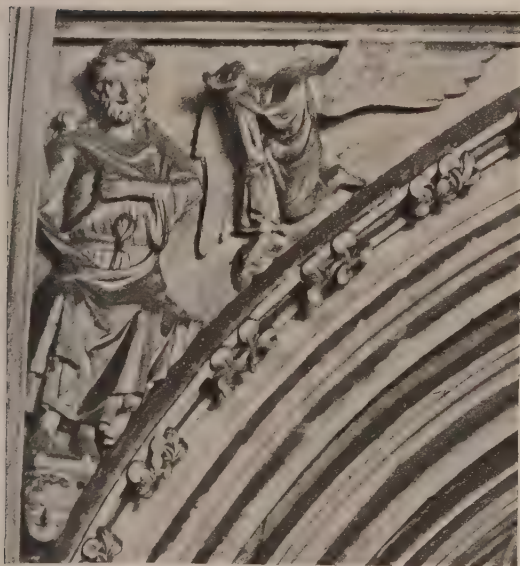


FIG. 299. Lincoln "Angel and Christ." No. 19. Type F. c. 1270.



FIG. 300. Lincoln "Angel and Madonna." No. 30. Type F. c. 1270.

Our analysis, therefore, sees in the executants of the sixteen spandrels of the western bays three or four sculptors working side by side. The first of these, whose work we initial C on the plan, may have been the sculptor of the A figures on the eastern bays, who, after the interval, continued his work with greater skill, and certainly, as regards the expression of his sculpture, under a new inspiration. That inspiration would come, we can scarcely doubt, from the sculptor of the mystic "Angels," initialled D. But side by side with both was another fine artist, whose renderings were not stern and intellectual, but graceful and plastic; or possibly there were two such, whose several masterpieces were the "Angel with the hawk" and the "Madonna" (see Figs. 298 and 300, p. 275 back).

It would be natural to suggest a connection between the great angel-sculptures of Westminster and Lincoln, and to suppose that the sculptors of the transept-reliefs of the one were engaged to carry out similar motives at the other. There are general resemblances—as, for example, in the face-features, the filleted heads, and the modelling of the wings—but they are counterbalanced by the differences in handling of the respective draperies, which at Westminster are rendered in narrow angular folds, while at Lincoln they have broad sweeping surfaces (for example, Fig. 283, p. 262, may be compared with Fig. 290, p. 270). On the other hand at Lincoln itself we have this same difference of drapery occurring in works nearly contemporary. There is marked distinction between the smooth broad handling of the "Angel" reliefs and the much divided angular cutting on the statues on either side of the "Judgment Porch" (see Fig. 361, p. 325).

The varying treatments of drapery-texture in first Gothic sculpture are interesting indications of local style, and we may anticipate here certain conclusions which we shall reach in the study of the thirteenth-century statues. There are to be separated three main representations of costume, one that of Wells, which multiplied the rounded folds which stone-sculpture copied from the representations of the goldsmith; a second that of Peterborough, which developed the broad surfaces of wood-technique taken from the imagers; and a third seemingly derived from the marblers' craft that was practised in effigies, and which, as at Westminster, made flat angular pleatings. It is the second or wood-imagers' technique of drapery that appears in the "Angel" reliefs of Lincoln: on the other hand the statues of the "Judgment Porch" follow the lead of Westminster.

SECTION IV. FIGURE-RELIEFS IN RECESSED NICHES

It might have seemed but a step from such works as we have reviewed at Westminster and Lincoln to the execution of a great art of frieze-sculpture which, if developed on the scale that Gothic building allowed, would have vied with the performances of the Greeks or those of Roman "Narrative" sculptors. Gothic architecture, however, was not to be regulated in the direction of giving sculpture this opportunity. The method of large figure-reliefs carved on the body of the wall, and dependent for effect on the broad surface of the architectural ground, appeared in England only as a First Gothic practice. The fourteenth century saw the domain of figure-relief in this respect rather restricted than enlarged—that is to say, it had to be content most often with the smaller spaces given by screen-works and tomb-canopies, and, even in the decoration of such furniture, had in competition the constructional ornaments of architectural use. Upon the big surfaces of the building-scheme a decoration of traceries and panels spreads itself, ousting the figure



FIG. 301. Peterborough Front. c. 1200.



FIG. 302. Peterborough Apse. c. 1220.

from its paramount place as spandrel-ornament, or admitting it only as the detached figure set in the conventional architectural niche.

At first the trefoil and quatrefoil piercings, though as the beginning of tracery they foreshadowed the doom of figure-relief, were designedly, themselves, stations for figure-work. Thus, in the Winchester Chapels of c. 1200, one of the earliest of our full Gothic works, there can be seen in the quatrefoils of the wall-arcades the fixings by which were attached figures probably of wood or metal, though possibly of Purbeck marble. At Boxgrove, near Chichester, the wall of the quire-arcade (built c. 1225) has in its spandrels deep-cut quatrefoils, in each of which is the fixing for a figure, much as the angel-reliefs are set in the triforium of Chichester quire. And the practice was not confined to the south of England. Heads in foiled panels are set upon the west front of Peterborough (Fig. 301), and similarly there are half-length figures of apostles (Fig. 302) on the parapets of the quire-apse—additions made at the same date as the second building of the front.

The motive of these figures in quatrefoils came, we think, from the tomb-chest of the Purbeck marblers—as in that at Exeter (Fig. 303)—who had borrowed it from the goldsmith's coffers. The most remarkable example of this method of placing sculpture is on the west front of Wells (see Fig. 86, p. 88), where at different heights are three ranges of geometrical recesses, each range displaying a series of connected figure-subjects—the sculpture of which was probably wrought together with the masonry though not actually walled with it. But, as pieces of stone fixed independently of the backing, such works, though their idea is relief-sculpture, are no longer reliefs proper. They have become a detached figure-work of the same art as the statues, which stand at Wells beneath them and above them in the upright niches of the arcades.

The lowest tier of thirty-two quatrefoils retains many of its half-length



FIG. 303. Exeter Cathedral. Tomb-chest of Bp. Marshall. c. 1200.



FIG. 304. Wells Front. The "Angel" quatrefoils. c. 1220.

angel-figures, of the same expression as at Lincoln and Westminster, but executed completely in the round (Fig. 304), their faces like the corbel-heads in the west bays of the interior (see Fig. 216, p. 230).

A second range of fifty quatrefoils somewhat larger appears above the first, and this held not single figures but subjects in full relief, some of which are still in fair preservation. To the south of the central doorway they are scenes from the "Old Testament"; and to the north they are from the "New." "Christ among the Doctors" (Fig. 305) is characteristic, with its statuesque poses and the repetition of lines functional to the architecture. Other subjects, particularly the "Transfiguration" (see Fig. 48, p. 55) and the "Last Supper," are presented with equal dignity of composition. Among the

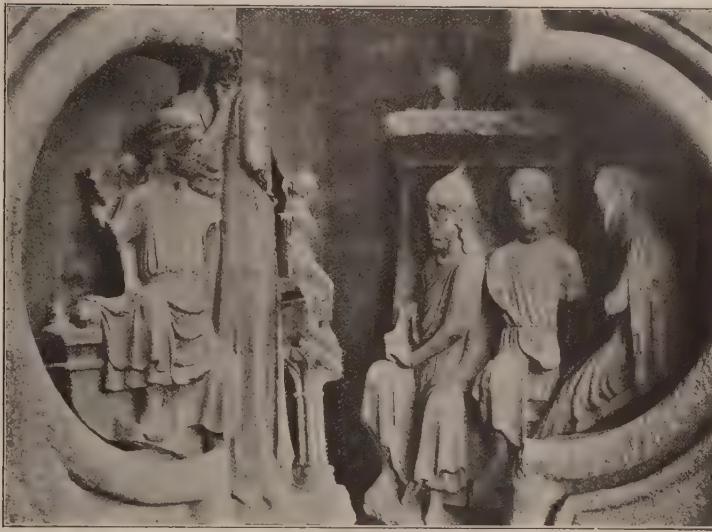


FIG. 305. Wells Front. North side. "Christ among the Doctors." c. 1225.

"Old Testament" reliefs the "Creation" and the "Eden" scene are specially dramatic, with a dignified presentment of the "Almighty" (Fig. 306).



FIG. 306. Wells Front. South side. c. 1225.

Similar monumental dignity adorns the story of "Cain" (Figs. 307, 308). In the figures of this sculpture, though they are scarcely two feet in height, the solemn action is remarkable, and distinguishes them as some of the most serious of thirteenth-century style. We wish we could have multiplied our illustrations, but good photography of the scenes is difficult. It is a pity that distance from the ground prevents the detail of these works from being well seen, for in spite of their decay their quality is sufficient to put our English early thirteenth-century art at a high level, even by the side of the



FIG. 307. "Lamech."

Wells Front. Second tier of quatrefoils. South side. c. 1225.



FIG. 308. "Death of Cain."

contemporary French, and still more if it be compared with the first works of the Italian sculptors who are sometimes regarded as initiating figure-sculpture.

The drapery is at short remove from what we saw in the Worcester reliefs, as may be seen on page 55, where scenes from the two cathedrals are put side by side: the finely divided rippled folds are a refinement of what had appeared as a version of goldsmiths' drapery in the Malmesbury and Glastonbury doorways. The Worcester spandrel-sculpture showed the steps of the progress—one that was a local English evolution of technique,

proceeding in the practice of the west-country masons in the carving of the local stones. The method is well distinguished from the other chief development of style in drapery, which was a surfacing of narrow, angular planes, and got its character in the technique of the Purbeck marbler; this in the London workshops was copied by the freestone masons, and improved by them into those mature renderings that appear in the Westminster statues as will be presently described (see p. 321). The discussion of effigy-sculpture (see pp. 598 seq., Book III.) will again raise these points. But here the reader should compare the draperies below (Fig. 309) with those of the Lincoln "Angels" (see Fig. 287, p. 268): in the one case the sections are those of rounded ripples, in the other of flat broad contours.



FIG. 309. Wells Front. The "Coronation of the Virgin." c. 1250.

Among the pieces of this range at Wells the "Coronation of the Virgin" (Fig. 309) might be nearest in date to the Angel Choir at Lincoln, for its arcaded niche looks like a later insertion in the original scheme of the front. In the greater freedom of action and drapery we observe the progress in technique which the detached statues of the front get in their latest accomplished manner. The Evangelist-angels on either side are in connection, and that of "St John" (see Fig. 62, p. 69), like the central figure of the "Coronation of the Virgin" above, has an emphasis of expression which departs somewhat from the canon of the earlier reliefs. It was from such stone sculpture as this that in the thirteenth century the ivory-workers took the fresh inspirations which replaced the Byzantine traditions of the sacred scenes.

The third tier of figure-reliefs at Wells is set as a cornice to the great range of statues about a hundred feet from the ground (see Fig. 86, p. 88) and represents the Resurrection. The naked dead are bursting from their tombs at the trump of doom, and here we see the inexpertness of the medieval sculptor when he attempts the nude that to him was no accustomed sight. While the effects of human anatomy under draperies could be delicately observed and rendered by him, his representations of the undraped were wooden. Still, not a little dramatic action and dignified composition are here combined with faulty presentation of anatomy, and, as seen from the ground, these broader qualities are visible. Our illustrations (Figs. 311, 312) are from photographs which were made close at hand from the scaffold at the time of the last repair (1904) of the front.

If we compare these Resurrection figures with the nude Adam and Eve in the Old Testament scenes below, we can feel no doubt that they are by



FIG. 310. Wells Front. Resurrection frieze. Centre panel of north-west tower.

the same hands. But Arabic numerals can be seen cut upon the bases on the north side¹ (Fig. 310) and, since such numerals, if not quite unknown in English manuscripts before 1250, were certainly in commoner use in Italy and the East, it is contended that their appearance constitutes a significant indication of foreign workmanship in the Wells statues. However, the tier of the "Resurrection" is the highest of the sculptures of the main front, and by the necessities of the case its sculpture would be fixed later than many of the statues in the arcades below. It was very possibly not put into place till after 1240, at which time Arabic numerals were coming into use in England². Then, also, it is to be observed that the towers of the Wells front were raised from 1390—1420; that the scaffolding for this new building would have been at the level of this Resurrection sculpture; so that its pieces might not improbably be removed to preserve them from injury, and possibly were then numbered so as to be afterwards correctly replaced.

¹ Roman numerals are used on the south side.

² Dr James has pointed out their occurrence in the

MS. O. 2. 45, Trinity College, Cambridge, an English work of the first part of the thirteenth century.



FIG. 311. Wells Front. The "Resurrection of the Dead." c. 1250.



FIG. 312. Wells Front. The "Resurrection of the Dead." c. 1250.

SECTION V. THE RELIEF SCULPTURE OF THE TYMPANUM

Some of the subject-sculpture of the Wells front which we can consider earliest in date introduces a final class of relief-work—that which centres the interest upon a single field, and is found conspicuously in the tympana of the great doorways. Here thirteenth-century practice in England was at first in continuation of earlier habit. But, compared with the heroic development of the great Gothic door-sculptures abroad, such a tympanum-piece as that of the central doorway at Wells (Fig. 314 opposite) must seem curiously puny and insignificant. On the supposition that the work of the west front was begun by Bishop Jocelyn after his return to England in 1218, we may



FIG. 313. Llandaff Cathedral.

regard this tympanum-carving as being c. 1220. At that date at Paris, Reims and Amiens there were building west doorways of immense dimensions, thronged with statues, and with door-heads filled with the magnificent examples of relief-sculpture which are the chief works of French Gothic artists. So the rejection of the French ideal is very evident at Wells, where the doors, indeed, seem purposely made small so as to break as little as possible the great screen of sculpture which covers the whole front. It is an English scheme with no thought of dependence on the manners of the foreign sculptors, whose works Bishop Jocelyn may have seen abroad.

However, in native English examples as at York and Lincoln there had been exhibited twelfth-century doorway sculpture of an importance which the Wells effort has not copied. We may, therefore, turn to local influences as accounting for the scheme of the Wells front, recollecting that the early Gothic of western England had grown up under the foster mother of the Cistercian and Augustinian primness. At Llanthony and Llandaff are fronts of the early Gothic of the west, and at the latter over the west door is a small tympanum-carving of a Bishop standing in a *vesica piscis* (Fig. 313). The Wells arrangement was of like modesty, with a diminutive representation of the "Madonna and Child" set in a quatrefoil, while in the flanking spandrels were censing angels. The type of these latter, with their fluttering garments, is not, we think, to be referred back to the Saxon sculptures at Bradford which we illustrated on p. 135, but takes its ideas from manuscript-paintings. The "Madonna" herself (like the Bishop in Fig. 313) is that of



FIG. 314. Wells Cathedral. Tympanum of central doorway. 1220.

the twelfth-century seal-modellers (see Fig. 156, p. 173), and the whole is a repetition of Romanesque motives as we have seen them at Fownhope (see Fig. 153, p. 171) and Water Stratford (see Fig. 174, p. 195). The difference is that the Gothic quatrefoil has taken the place of the *vesica piscis* of Byzantine art, and the power of modelling drapery has advanced beyond incised representations.

The sculptured insignificance of the door-head appears on other English thirteenth-century fronts, as, for example, at Crowland Abbey, Lincolnshire (see Fig. 63, p. 69), where the central quatrefoil is occupied by quite small reliefs with subjects from the St Guthlac legend taken directly from manuscript illuminations, the field being made out with foliage. There, as at Wells, this sculpture of the doorhead was only accessory to tiers of statues, the niches for which cover the façade.

The only conspicuous display of door-head sculpture in England is at Lincoln in the often mentioned "Judgment Porch" (Fig. 315). It is a representation of the "Doom," and though the composition is still that of manuscript painting, the treatments and expressions are sculpturesque. The figure of the central quatrefoil is the "Christ in Judgment," largely modelled and in bold relief, seated on the throne with small angels in attendance. Below the quatrefoil is the "Mouth of Hell," the spandrel on one side being sculptured with the "damnation of the lost souls," and on the other with the "blessedness of the elect," while flying angels support the quatrefoil filling up the field of the tympanum. The smaller figures have the same light touch

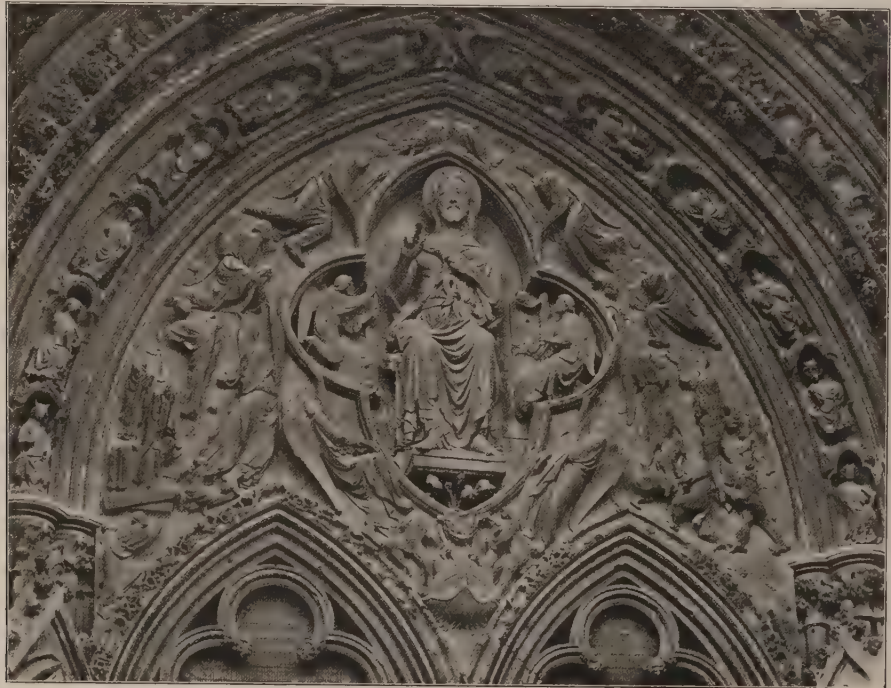


FIG. 315. Lincoln Cathedral. South doorway of Angel Choir. c. 1270.

in their modelling of high relief that we noted in the arch-mould figures (see Figs. 263, 264, p. 246). The central "Christ" has been degraded by a poor head of modern style, and the angels in attendance have also been tampered with¹. But the dignified pose and the draperies are original, and should be compared with the angel-sculpture inside the Choir. The "Madonna" and "Christ" of the inside reliefs have points of resemblance sufficient to suggest that the sculptor of the pieces initialled F (see Figs. 299, 300, p. 275) may have worked upon the doorway.

¹ As Professor Lethaby points out, they held not censers but the "instruments of the Passion."

But the Lincoln work is an exception¹ in the English door-head which Crowland (p. 69) may illustrate or the church at Higham Ferrers, Northamptonshire—where the west entrance (see Fig. 49, p. 56) shows in its tympanum, on either side of a statue-niche, flat carvings of medallions with figure-subjects, carried out just as in the contemporary wall-paintings and painted glass. The English tendency to forego the sculpture of the tympanum, and to rely on statue-work can be seen too in the two chapter-house examples at Westminster. Facing the interior the door-head is ornamented with small reliefs in foiled recesses, but on either side are large statues in niches—the whole making a single composition. The central piece has disappeared, but we illustrate (Fig. 316) one of the ancient side carvings. They are much worn,



FIG. 316. Westminster Chapter-house interior. c. 1255.

but show the same style as the wall-arcade spandrels inside the church (see Fig. 274, p. 254), with similar awkwardness of arrangement. The statues on the other hand are important figures to be dealt with in the next chapter. The outer door-head to the cloister makes a similar use of statues: we see therefore how the stone image, a detached piece of sculptured stone, still set in connection with the architectural framework and belonging to its scheme, was growing independent of it. After the thirteenth century the architectural expression of door-head sculpture, that had had a long life in English design, comes to an end: we have only tracery in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries—figure-work has retired to its niche.

¹ We have no doubt lost examples of tympanum-sculpture by the destruction of English abbey-churches.

CHAPTER VI

THE FIRST GOTHIC STATUES, 1200—1280.

SECTION I. THE ENGLISH QUALITY OF FIGURE-WORK

SAVE for the figures excavated at York, there is scanty evidence for any extensive art of statue-carving in stone during the fifty years of the architectural transition from Romanesque to Gothic. But this is not because we may have lost the examples which should people our earliest Gothic doorways as they do the French. It would seem that the English doorways and façades, c. 1200, were not designed to give stations for detached figure-work. The Ely Galilee may be an exception, since on either side of its entrance there are broad shallow platforms, but these seem scarcely adapted for stone¹ figures: elsewhere the arcades that were developed freely on the porches and fronts² of first Early English buildings, provide no standing room for figures, but have been executed for no purpose beyond their architectural value. About 1220, however, the statue niche makes its appearance commonly on the English fronts: though the Early English doorway may be statueless, arcades with ledges are ranged all along the façades of the cathedrals at Peterborough, Lincoln and Wells. The use of statue-sculpture, if delayed in English Gothic style till the second quarter of the thirteenth century, appears then as if it came rather suddenly.

This and the circumstances of its coming have given rise to theories. The conjecture has been made that foreign artists loosely specified as French or Italian, came into England with the returning bishops when, on the removal of the papal interdict, after the death of John in 1216, ecclesiastical building proceeded to fresh activity. No direct evidence for this importation is, however, forthcoming. The records, such as they are, do not speak of it, nor offer us the names of any foreign sculptors: the idea rests on the suggestion that Elias de Dereham, who was a clerk in attendance on the Bishops during their exile, and who, as we know from records, had some connection with the building of Wells and Salisbury, was interested in the art of sculpture, and brought into England its first professors.

¹ They would take wooden or metal imagery placed in them on occasions of festival.

² *E.g.* the porches at Selby, at Wells, and in the Temple Church, London, and the fronts of Llanthony, Llandaff, Dunstable and Ripon churches, as

well as those of the transitional "Cistercian" architecture of Yorkshire. The early Gothic building of Canterbury, Chichester, Lincoln and Winchester did not as far as we know develop any statue-making of consequence.

Another theory goes farther afield: we have mentioned the Arabic numerals on the "Resurrection" reliefs at Wells (see p. 282) as supposed indications of foreign workmanship; and in the same way an Eastern origin has been guessed for the art of the Wells statues because of their quality and style apart from other considerations. The connoisseurship of Crusaders on their return from the East must account, it is said, for the classic or antique simplicity that characterises some of the Early Gothic work. For it was the taking of Constantinople in the fourth crusade that introduced into England the knowledge of the Eastern arts of sculpture, and in imitation of models brought from the East the English statuary learnt his art: in this way came a flavour of ancient Greece into our thirteenth-century examples, for our statue-work was an imitative revival founded on the ancient pieces existent in Constantinople when it was sacked by Baldwin and the Venetians in 1203.

The difficulties as to this final theory are however very evident. It is scarcely possible that the Crusaders in 1215 could have set eyes on examples of early Greek work. What may have been at Constantinople at the time of the sack were the accomplished later works, the masterpieces perhaps of the fourth and third centuries B.C. which some think had survived in Byzantium up to the thirteenth century. But then medieval statues have little resemblance to these later Greek productions. Equally difficult is the supposition that in the Constantinople of c. 1200 a recent art of figure-sculpture had obtained the quality and sentiment of the Attic fifth century B.C. so as to make the models that the Crusaders' taste selected. At any rate no works of such a Byzantine school of sculpture are either known or conjectured. Some six hundred years earlier, as our first chapter has argued, the Greek artisan was still in existence as a modeller in relief, and could have been brought into England to initiate an art of arabesque. But by the year 1200 what life was there in the ancient plastic arts, after centuries of iconoclastic repression and centuries of decadent formalism, to enable it to throw out living branches into western Europe? In the East, at the time of the Crusades, the Saracenic culture was the dominating influence; but to the Mahometan free figure-sculpture was an idolatrous practice. While the medieval arts of mathematics, of surgery, of metal-work, of fabric-design and floral pattern certainly owed much in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries to contact with Arabic civilization, the representation of the human form could not obtain any inspiration from Saracenic craftsmanship¹.

If, therefore, Crusaders returning to England brought back ideas as to figure-work, it would be from quarters much nearer home than the Levant.

¹ There was an efficient art of stone-sculpture further east in the Buddhist centres of India, Ceylon and Java, but no connections of this with European medieval sculpture seem probable.

The great churches of western Europe at the end of the twelfth century had been building façades on which arrays of standing statues had been executed. We have mentioned more than once (see pp. 183, 184, 216, 217) Santiago de Compostella in Spain, and Chartres in the north of France, while shortly after 1200 the sculpture of Notre Dame, Paris, was begun. Now there is, in the English pieces, a general resemblance to the French works as to treatment of subject and method of representation. There could not help being a knowledge that the carving of stone statues was proceeding in these foreign churches. The ambition of doing the same thing in England would be insistent. But it seems unwise to exaggerate such general connections into a theory of the direct importation of sculpture or sculptors into England, when the work for which such importation is to account is seen to be altogether unlike the earliest art of the French schools. None of the contemporary examples in western Europe have the same handling and expression of style that we see at Wells and Peterborough. It is not as if we had only a small knowledge of the ways in which the Italian, French, and Rhenish sculptors of the early thirteenth century executed figure-work. Their several styles are known, and one is entitled to say this: that if in the Canterbury quire of 1175 the French master whose employment is recorded has left distinct signs of his presence; if the mosaic of Henry III.'s shrine at Westminster allows no mistake as to its Roman origin; so ought it to be at Wells if some Frenchman or Italian had carved the images of the front. We should have been able to point to statues that are their fellows in technique upon this or that Italian or French church; we could rely on identical draperies, expressions, and qualities of style as proving the point. As it is, no foreign figure-sculpture of which we are cognisant has the technique of Wells. The inequalities of its art, its peculiar excellences in combination with awkwardnesses, such as those of the sitting kings (see Fig. 326, p. 303), betray a native school absorbed in its own ideal. We must propose, therefore, to dismiss the likelihood of a foreign importation of either sculpture or sculptors being the starting point of the English school, and to account for its qualities in another way.

First, then, as to the suddenness of the appearance of the free-standing stone statue in our English art: the significance of this as implying a sudden development of figure conception in the round by the English artist can be readily overrated. The statue itself had been a commonplace in the English art for over two hundred years, only it had been in the hands of another craft than that of the mason. The goldsmiths were the artisans who had been furnishing the masons' buildings with images of wood, metal, and ivory. Such materials however were unsuited for statues placed in the open air on the outside of buildings: if of metal, they would attract thieves; if of wood, they would decay. Moreover, when the stone-sculptor in England had arrived

at the capacity for carving the intricate details of Gothic architecture, was it likely that his craft was to be denied development in the free figure? As soon as his skill by practice in label-head, in relief, and, as we shall presently show, in the effigy, advanced far enough, he in due course was set to the making of stone images, which should permanently furnish the fronts of the churches just as the goldsmith's wood and ivory images had furnished the interiors. English figure-sculpture could accordingly without difficulty base itself on the free experiment of its own artisans in imitation of its own native imagery; and there was small necessity for calling in artists from abroad or for seeking models from the East. The native goldsmith's art supplied the models, and the native sculptor's practice the skill. Gothic building being that of stone-shaping, the conception of fashioning the block to the human figure was its natural prerogative.

It may be thought that the examples of Roman sculpture in South France and Italy may have stimulated the ambitions of the sculptors in the south of Europe, while their absence in England may account for the late achievement of the statue with us, since our Gothic sculptors, having nothing to copy, waited till the ideas of southern France reached England. In our opinion, however, we should seek another explanation for the hints of Greek style which are apparent in our earliest statues. So far as pose and attitude are concerned, the whole system of sculptural representation in England was necessarily that of ecclesiastical prescription, which had long ago fixed the types of head, the attitudes and features of sacred character. Such prescription, in its foundation Byzantine and drawn from classic art, appears in English churches as elsewhere, and the direct transmitters of its traditions would be the goldsmiths employed upon church images. Mason-imagers following this lead were on the groundwork of a general classic likeness, but so far such a universal habit of church representation means little as to any immediate borrowing of the Greek inspirations.

However, explanation may well be asked for those subtle affinities with the pagan Greek art which we have noted in the Lincoln arch-mould figures, the reliefs of the Westminster triforium, and now again will find in the sculpture of Wells. We are not seeking to compare our stone-sculpture to the marble masterpieces of Phidias or Praxiteles; but there is a monumental simplicity and directness of expression in pose and drapery which makes our best thirteenth-century sculpture and that of the fifth century B.C. alike, and in some instances creates a quite remarkable resemblance. The fine treatment of the drapery, the purity of its lines, as well as the serenity of the whole expression in face and figure, suggest parallels.

But again, can we justly take this monumental quality in the English work as implying conscious imitation by the Gothic artists of an earlier style? Must

not this very quality be proof that Gothic art was a fresh enterprise that grew to its strength in overcoming the difficulties that are involved in sculptural expression? The affectation of copying makes the monumental standpoint impossible, for the intellectual conventions of imitative style are alien to it. Modern effort cannot now of set purpose reproduce the simplicities of either medieval or Greek art, and in the same way it would have been impossible for the thirteenth-century sculptor to have got his quality by slavishly following a Greek model even if he could have got access to it. The similarities are not instances of imitation, but may be indications that the medieval sculpture arose under the same kind of influences as those which produced the Greek. Simplicity and directness were symptoms in both arts of a certain stage in their growth.

We conclude, therefore, on all grounds, that the art of the medieval statuary was the direct outcome of the English mason's craft of building; his skill in the figure grew from his own practice in the stone-shapings of an architectural science. The subjects of his representations were however at first the same as those of the imagers, who filled the churches with wooden and metal saints, and this some of the earliest stone figures show (Fig. 317) very plainly.



FIG. 317. Peterborough Cathedral. Statues of west front. c. 1200.

SECTION II. THE STATUES AT PETERBOROUGH

As well as being examples of dependence on the manner of the imager, the figures on the Peterborough front (Fig. 317, opposite) can be accepted also as some of the earliest of English Gothic statues, since in them the wooden image is plainly suggested. Their broad, smooth surfaces are those suited for the decorative patterns with which the oaken draperies were painted, and the big stone nimbus is carved to form part of the head in a way that would be natural to the shaping of wooden planks. It is curious how a similar technique can be seen recurring in the sculpture of the fifteenth century (see pp. 392, 396), when stone and wood were being used in the shops side by side for image-making. Although there are no wooden images of the late twelfth century or early thirteenth now left of English work, still, as has been pointed out, their treatment of the figure can be gathered from contemporary seals, which would be worked in the shops of the imager-goldsmiths. Referring to the Lincoln seal (see Fig. 156, p. 173) we can see how at Peterborough the statues have much the same features as the figures on seals, the goggle eyes, the thin nose and long upper lip; also there is the same distinct division of the legs. This image-treatment¹, as we may call it, is most clearly seen in the row of nine "apostles" illustrated opposite whose position is just above the great arches of the front.

The façade of Peterborough was not, however, achieved all at once; there are evidences of a gradual evolution of its magnificent arched bays, the last work being the widening and heightening of the two great flanking archways. It is possible therefore that the central figures only were of the earlier date, say c. 1200 when the work was begun, and that the rest of the statues belong to the latest rearrangement, 1214 to 1220. The earliest apostles are somewhat larger than the rest and have most characteristically the wooden style. Below them in the spandrels of the great arches the twelve smaller figures of "Bishops" and "Ladies" show an advance of the stone sculptor somewhat away from the squat models of the goldsmith. Then above, and of the same kind, are six "Kings," two in each gable, which have dispensed with the nimbus. As we have explained in Book I., "Kings" and "Ladies" may probably represent the "genealogy of Christ," whose figure with that of the Virgin-Mother no doubt occupied some central station below.

¹ Image-making at the time at Peterborough is referred to in the Chronicle as to Abbot Lindsey,

1214: "fecit renovare imaginem sanctae Mariae et sanctae Johannis ultra magnum altare."

Above the tiers of standing "Apostles," "Kings" and "Ladies" there are placed in the apex of each of the three gables large seated figures who are the three remaining "Apostles," the central statue being the "St Peter" of Peterborough (Fig. 318), though this last is of a different quality. Those in the north and south gables are wooden in style and have the image-treatment that was characteristic in the standing "Apostles" below. Their squat figures are now extended by grotesquely long necks, probably made good originally with metal ornaments. But in the central gable (Fig. 318) the St Peter is a whole stone statue, well proportioned: and since an alteration or later finishing of the central bay seems likely, this would be the latest figure put



FIG. 318. Peterborough. Centre gable.
St Peter. c. 1250.



FIG. 319. Brackley (Northants). "Apostle"
on west tower. c. 1250.

upon the front, carved when the sculptor-mason had developed his style, and was less under the suggestion of wood-imagery. A later example of the same seated model, but with more action, appears in the "King" on the Peterborough gateway. And in this case has come that change in the modelling of drapery that marks the second style of medieval sculpture (see pp. 337, 341).

We shall be showing presently some figures on the Lincoln front (see Fig. 359, p. 322) which must seem to reproduce the squat standing model of the Peterborough images, but with a handling of head-features like the above

St Peter. These may be dated c. 1250: but immediately afterwards at Lincoln another handling of quite superior quality made its appearance with a style derived, we think, from the London centre of craftsmanship. At Peterborough on the other hand the peculiarities of the local manner remained a permanent influence on subsequent statue-work. A school of sculpture arose in the oolites of the Northamptonshire building distinguished by a dignified and rather stern type of figure with high shoulders, square head, and a drapery of clean straight cutting with broad folds. In particular the seated model as seen on the front at Peterborough can be recognised in statues dated c. 1250 at Brackley, a place on the west borders of Northamptonshire, where, on the tower, are two fine examples, an "Apostle" and a "Bishop," with all the Peterborough characteristics. Again, the squat proportion of the standing statue crops up continually in the later sculpture of the district, as can be seen on the tower of Newark (see Fig. 470, p. 397). Both models had at the outset been significant of the origin of the style. The goldsmith, with his medallion motive in his craft of shrine-making and seal-engraving, had to adapt the representation of saints to the enclosing lines of circles and quatrefoils whose shapes would favour broad rather than long proportions in figure-work. Accordingly the sitting model was more suited to goldsmith's work than the standing, and when he used the latter his tendency was to make it as short as possible.

But the image-source apparent in the first free figure-sculpture of the eastern abbeys is not what we shall see at Wells. The end of the twelfth century had, as well as the goldsmith, another craftsman engaged upon the figure, whose practice favoured long proportions, as will be readily understood by anyone examining the examples of memorial effigies in Book III. The marble of the Isle of Purbeck and the oolites of Somerset provided long slabs suited for full length recumbent representations, and the maker of stone coffins at the end of the twelfth century was carving coffin-slabs with relief-images of the deceased, which were soon modelled up as effigies. Now we see inside the abbey-church at Peterborough such effigies of the abbots, c. 1200 and later. How is it that they were not the models for the stone-carvers of the statues on the front? The reason has been that these effigies were not the work of the local sculptor, who was the building-mason. They are of Purbeck marble: and the ornaments and methods of their marble draperies, their bluff expressions and round heads (see Figs. 649, 650, p. 575) differ in all respects from those of the freestone "apostles" upon the front. There can be no question that the former were imported ready made from the marbler's workshop; and also that the freestone sculptor at work on the statues remained apparently quite unconscious of their methods—he founded his ideas on the current productions of wood imagery that were to hand.

SECTION III. THE STATUES AT WELLS

The peculiar style of the Peterborough sculpture reminiscent of wooden imagery has no example at Wells—instead of squat proportions we have long figures, and in place of broad folds the remarkable rippled draperies on which we have already commented. Accordingly the sources of Wells style cannot immediately be based on image-making. There are here (Fig. 320), as at Peterborough, recumbent effigies of early ecclesiastics. But in this case they are not imported figures of Purbeck marble: they have been wrought in the stone of the Wells building and show the leaf-carvings which are those of its early Gothic capitals. We cannot doubt therefore that in them we have works carved on the spot, and by the masons who in the cathedral fabric were creating the Gothic style of western

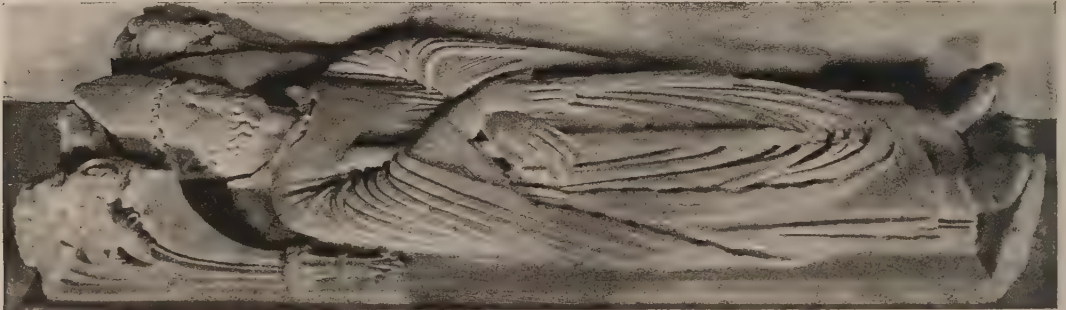


FIG. 320. Wells Cathedral. Recumbent effigy of "Abbot" in quire-aisle. c. 1200.

England. Though all the recumbent effigy-work will be treated separately in Book III. we illustrate one of these early Wells figures here, since it is needed to explain the "bishop" statues of the front. The example (Fig. 320) lies in the south aisle—the first on the left as one goes eastwards—and seems perhaps the earliest of the Wells "bishop" effigies in date, though another beside it was probably produced contemporaneously—both sculptured about the year 1200. There is a third "bishop" in the north aisle, and two others at the end of the south aisle, the whole five figures finding place in Bishop Reginald's quire¹, which would have been just finished. There are two other effigies at the end of the north aisle, but these are later, as the type of the

¹ There had been, with Reginald, five Bishops of Wells from the Conquest and it would seem to have been the habit to commemorate preceding Bishops in a new building. At Chichester we find

seven marble slabs in the east chapels (c. 1200) in honour, as we think, of the building Bishop Seffrid and his six predecessors in the See back to the foundation of the Cathedral.

leaf-carving in one of them shows. We have therefore in the seven memorial "bishops" a sculpture of recumbent figures (to which the Douling masons were set, because no doubt the land-carriage to Wells of Purbeck effigies made them unduly expensive) and we can trace in this sculpture a gradual advance towards the statue-technique. For example, the folds, which in the first efforts are rendered in parallel rounded ribs very like those of the Romanesque reliefs (see Figs. 153 and 164, pp. 171, 186), obtain in each succeeding effigy a more natural expression. In the north-aisle effigies the complete rippled rendering of drapery that was peculiarly that of the Wells sculptor has been achieved. We can follow the process of an architectural carver being trained into a statuary: in the label-head and corbel (see Figs. on pp. 228, 230) he cultivated the power of rendering facial features; next, in the recumbent effigy (Fig. 320, opposite), he practised himself in the statuesque presentation of costume upon the figure, and so equipped himself for dealing with statute-work in the round. But the long proportions which were natural to the coffin-lid remained in his art as the expressive record of its origin. Instead of the normal proportion of six or seven times the head height, the Wells "saints" attain a stature of ten times.

It is not proposed to attempt here any complete description of the statues of the Wells front, or indeed to enter upon the doubtful points in the meanings and possible ascriptions of the several figures¹. There are 127 now remaining *in situ* out of the original total of 180, which were executed in the first half of the thirteenth century. Their stone is, as has been said, the stone of the cathedral building, brought from the Douling quarries at Shepton Mallet about five miles away; and the costumes and character of the figures indicate the date of their sculpture as that of Bishop Jocelyn's erection of the front, which has been shown to be from 1220 to 1242. The list of thirteenth-century pieces excludes the row of standing figures, the "apostles" highest in the gable whose style plainly declares them of later work—they must be referred to the late fourteenth century or early fifteenth, when the two towers were raised upon the thirteenth-century substructure. Also the range of "archangels" below the "apostles" must be dated to the fourteenth century. However, on the main body of the sculpture-screen all the statues are sufficiently of one kind to be, in our opinion, approximately contemporary and belonging to Bishop Jocelyn's building.

¹ The reader is referred to *Archæologia*, Vol. LIX. (1904), where W. H. St John Hope and W. R. Lethaby have classified the statues and discussed all the evidence available for their probable significations, thus providing the basis on which all subsequent discussion of the meaning of the figures must proceed. We have numbered the statues in our illustrations according to the excellent key-plan

given in their paper. The letters N and S mean respectively to the north and south of the central doorway; the Roman letters indicate the figures of the lowest tier, the *odd* numerals those of the second tier and the *even* ones the third tier. In each case the numbers begin at the central doorway and go respectively north and south along the façade and its returns at either end (see diagram, p. 299).

It will be understood by reference to Fig. 86, p. 88 that there have been three tiers of figures set in the structural arcades which stretch right across the front and round its north and south ends; the heads of the statues are shadowed under architectural canopies, and their feet are supported sometimes by low pedestals, but more often are set directly on the platforms of the arcades. The first tier was in the arcade some fifteen feet from the ground, and, except on the north and east sides of the north tower of the front, has most of it disappeared. The second and third rows of statues, which are respectively about thirty and forty feet from the ground, are well preserved; some projecting features have perished, and two or three heads have been replaced, but generally the work we see is completely genuine and untouched by restoration.

It has been usual in attempting to assign a meaning to the statues to take each separate tier as being in itself a connected subject, as is the case with the relief-carvings in the quatrefoils (see pp. 278—280) and with the Resurrection panels at the top (see pp. 282, 283). There can be little doubt that the figures on either side of the central door would have had, according to the habit of medieval compositions, a meaning in connection with the carving of the "Madonna" on the door-head. A connected purpose runs also in the alignment of the statues on the buttresses—"bishops" on one side, "kings" and "warriors" on the other. But such horizontal schemes are not to our mind to be taken as necessarily continuous throughout the whole front. The panels between the buttresses (*viz.*, the main walls of the front, see diagram opposite) offer independent vertical groupings of statues outside the principal dispositions of figures on the buttresses. Thus the extreme panel to the south of the front has four figures which have been called the four "hermits" (see Figs. 338, 339, p. 309): on the north, the corresponding panel has four lady-figures (see Fig. 340, p. 310) as a balance to the "hermits": and these sets would not seem in subject-connection with the statues on either side. So too the central panel (that in which are the west windows of the nave) seems intended to present a separate set (see Figs. 346, 347, p. 313). Finally, the figures on the north panel of the north tower, and again those on the east side of it abutting on the aisle, exhibit in each case the connection of a separate grouping. We have not space to do more than suggest these arrangements, but our point here is that we have upon the Wells façade batches of statues, executed from time to time, so that the whole has not been the immediate conception of a single artist, but the result of several groups of artists working on a general idea. We shall be able to distinguish these sets by their various treatments, which will be proof of different hands upon the sculpture, different dates of execution, or probably both: for it is hardly likely that all the 180 statues of this front could have

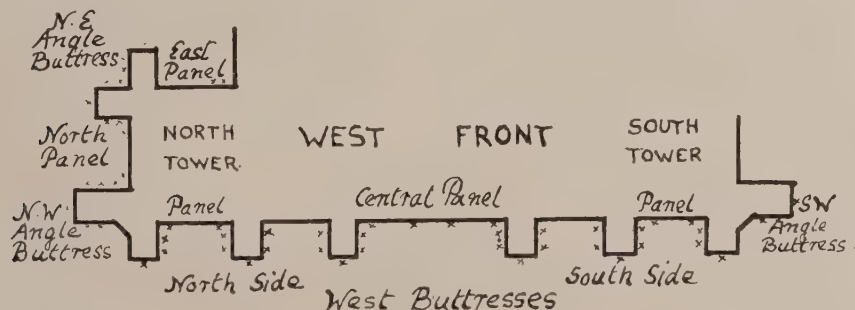
been worked by one sculptor or could have been completed, we think, in the same ten years, if we may suggest that period as on the average the working years of a single sculptor's career.

The general idea or scheme of the iconography has been ably worked out by Professor Lethaby (see Bibliography, p. 107), who may be followed implicitly when he points out how "it spreads one great sculptural drama over the entire front." That drama is of course the Biblical one, which rehearses the spiritual and temporal genealogy of Christ. But while we may recognise how throughout there has been that general unity of style which is the medieval characteristic, we see, too, groups, with the appearance of being worked at one time, and placed in juxtaposition—usually it would seem in sets of four, six, or sometimes eight figures.

The first sets would, no doubt, be those on the lowest tier on either side of the central doorway and on the buttresses immediate to this and the flanking doorways (see Fig. 86, p. 88); but as none remain, we have no evidence of their character. It is true that there are two statues at the extreme end on the south side which, though decayed, can be seen to have a distinct handling but the style of it is not early so these outside figures may well be of later placing, as were the figures on the north tower. Next after the niches round the doorways the upper niches on the returns of the front buttresses¹ would seem to have been filled—the statues being placed on the buttresses, first to the south and then to the north, to be followed by those of the north tower. When the faces, too, of the buttresses had received their statues, in both the tiers, then the niches upon the panels between received their figures, and it was last of all that the sets of statues were placed on the lowest tier of the east sides of the north tower.

This seems roughly to have been the course of the statue-making as we gather it from the detail of the sculpture and its general advance in technique. In order to give some distinctness to these ideas we have separated nine types or classes of style, and have proposed to consider them as representing more or less a succession of dates from c. 1220 to c. 1240 or perhaps 1250.

¹ The diagram here can show the positions of the statues on the second tier where they are nearly complete.



Type A. Since we have lost the statues of the lowest tier, the earliest type would seem represented by some of the second-tier figures. Fig. 321 is a characteristic specimen of the "bishops" ranged on the returns of the buttresses to the south of the doorway. Here are figures which in cut of drapery and head-features closely match the bishop-effigies inside the quire, and the



FIG. 321. Class A. "Bishop." Return of buttress. S. II.



FIG. 322. Class B. "King." Return of buttress. N. 23.

illustration above will show how near the likeness is. The recumbent effigies are indeed so similar to many of the statues that two of them (see Fig. 320, p. 296) which lie in the north aisle of the quire could, without discrepancy, be set up in the niches of the front. The distinctions of the A type are the

block-like treatment of face expression and the bag-like foldings of the chasuble—the apron-like vestment which made the eucharistic garb of priest and bishop. The figures are broad and flat, with large heads and faces that look full front, the beard and hair being treated in stiff locks. The draperies are rendered with thick edges, with the folds more coarsely and bluntly divided than in the later Wells types, as can be seen by looking from Fig. 321 to, say, Fig. 335 (p. 308). The dozen figures of the A type are all on the second tier, on the returns of the buttresses to the south of the doorway: but at the extreme south end of the front there are examples on the third tier, and two seated figures there on the faces of the buttresses also are of the type.

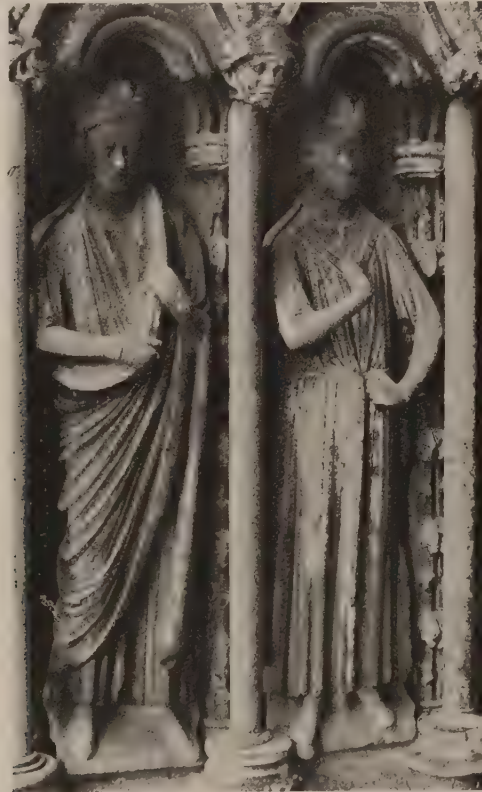
Type B. The same sculptors, or others at their side, were working on the standing “kings” and “princes” (young men) which are in the second



FIG. 323. Head (enlarged) of class C. c. 1230. FIG. 324. Head (enlarged) of class B. c. 1230.

tier on the returns of the buttresses to the north of the central doorway. In style some of these statues are like the “bishops,” but have more variety in their attitudes and expressions: we recognise the distinct evolution of the rippled drapery that makes the peculiar distinction of the Wells sculptor. An advance is indicated as we proceed from the middle buttresses to those of the north-west tower, and the example given opposite (Fig. 322) is of the later type. Its head, which is large but finely finished, is exceptionally well-preserved, with the original painted surface almost intact. These “kings” are carved “trampling” on prostrate figures and animals, a motive which appears from the earliest times in the coffin-slab effigies (see pp. 573, 575). Of this type there are ten figures, one of which is to be seen on the third tier, as if shifted up from below. The gentle expressions and delicate inclination of the heads (Fig. 324) have now become particularly characteristic.

Type C. The appearance of a third type in the second tier is marked when the figures get various actions—a departure from the immobility of the effigy conception evident in the earliest works. Turning the corner of the north-west tower, the buttress-niches which look east directly upon the north porch seem to have been filled with batches of statues next after the front. They represent “princes” and “notables” standing in resolute attitudes; but, as a distinction from Type B, they are not trampling on dragons,



Prince N. 55. Prince N. 53.
FIG. 325. Class C. West return of north buttress.

etc. Here the hands, instead of hanging by the side are employed on the dress, fingering the breast-strap, or holding up the cloak. There are six examples of this type upon the buttresses at the north-east angle of the north tower (Figs. 325, 326). The rippling draperies become highly developed, the V-shaped folding on the breast being distinctive. Also the expression of the head (see back, Fig. 323, p. 301) has freer rendering than in the Types A and B, the hair being wavy in place of the tight curls of the first figures.

The seated "kings" on the faces of the buttresses here have clearly been by the same hands, as in example below (Fig. 326). In the lowest tier, at the north-east angle of the same tower, but facing west, are four figures which suggest another development by the same sculptors. They make a separate group that we may call the "Evangelist" type—for the specimens (Fig. 327) have characteristic long heads (see Fig. 351, p. 314) and toga-like treatments of the mantle. Now this "Evangelist" type can be seen to be represented in some of the figures of the "Old and New Testament" reliefs (see



"King." N. 67.

"Prince." N. 59.

FIG. 326. Class C. North-east angle of north tower.



N. xxxi.

N. xxx.

FIG. 327. Class C. "Evangelists." North-east angle-buttress.

Fig. 305, p. 279), the likeness being close enough to suggest the same hand in both.

In their sum the advances of sculptural power from the first figures of Type A to the latest of Type C have been considerable. But in the seated figures the arm-attitude (see Fig. 326 above), in its exaggerated expression of kingly dignity, is as faulty here as in the Westminster relief (see Fig. 285, p. 264), or in the Lincoln "Angel of the Scales" (see Fig. 292, p. 271).

Type D. This contortion is in evidence, too, on the main front in some of the seated figures upon the buttress faces of both second and third tiers: but the "bishops" and "kings" here are on a more competent model that we may call the D type. The statues match one another on either side of the mid-line of the front, and so it would appear that they make a distinct group by themselves, with a meaning apart from that of the standing



FIG. 328. Class D. "Bishop." Face of buttress. S. 9.



FIG. 329. Class D. N. 19.

figures on the sides of the buttresses. At any rate, on the south wing of the front we find a seated "king" placed among the "bishops" and *vice versa*, a seated "bishop" is introduced upon the north side among the "kings" and "warriors"; also seated "popes" and "notables" occur, but identification of the figures is difficult. All the set have more or less the peculiarity that the upper part of the body is considerably longer than is in proportion, but this shortness of the thighs was no doubt an intentional device allowing for the

perspective as seen from below. We show four most distinguished figures (Figs. 328, 329, 330, 331), but the "Bishop" (Fig. 328) has been much repaired¹. We saw that, on the north tower, the seated "kings" have come from the executants of the C statues, and on the south tower the seated "bishops"—many of them much decayed—are of a style that might seem



FIG. 330. Class D. "Noble."
Face of buttress. N. 9.



FIG. 331. Class D. "King."
Face of buttress. S. 10.

from the sculptors of the standing figures of Type A. But the Type D of the central group shows the individual work of another sculptor, with a separate and vigorous characterization for each figure, deep-cut features, and strongly rendered draperies.

¹ This seated "bishop" is usually shown as the best specimen of the Wells statues, but its head has

P. & G.

been much pieced. The seated king farthest to the north on the west front has the whole head new.

Type E. We see, too, an individual sculptor in the case of four mailed figures, two on the second tier upon the north-tower buttresses (Fig. 332) and two on the third tier of the west face (see Fig. 335, p. 308). These fine pieces are of special interest for comparison with a recumbent effigy at



FIG. 332. Class E. "Warrior." North tower. N. 37.

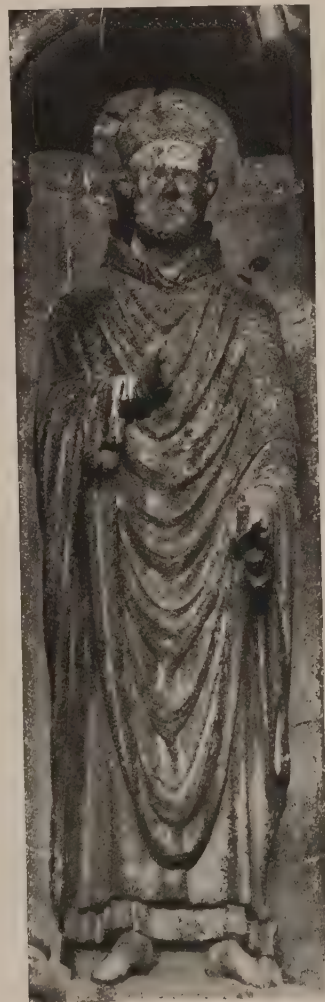


FIG. 333. Class F. "Bishop." Centre panel. S. 3.

Salisbury—that of Longespée, who died 1227 (see Fig. 680, p. 607). In pose and armour the effigy and statues are so similar that we think all from the same workman's hands¹, so we get a date for them as perhaps 1230, when the

¹ Similar but later figures are to be seen at Shepton Mallet, where the stone was quarried. See p. 608 as

to the peculiarity of the lines of the mail being up and down the arm instead of round it.

quire of Salisbury Cathedral would be sufficiently advanced to receive the tomb of Longespée.

Type F. A "bishop" on the second tier (Fig. 333, opposite) in the central panel of the front may be thought an advanced example of the A sculpture, and its character is repeated in three or four ecclesiastics in the third tier upon the buttress returns of the south tower. Mixed with them are two or three broad-gowned figures of monks with full sleeves (Fig. 334), which have



FIG. 334. Class F. "Monk" and "Bishop." Return of buttress of south tower. S. 12 and S. 14.

all the dignity of the sitting bishops by their side. These broad-proportioned figures we may call Type F, and they are distinct from the general run of the third-tier statues, whose peculiarity is to be very long. We have mentioned one or two exceptions whose position in the top tier seems accidental, but the above south-tower figures are a separate group of not a little distinction in style which again we may think that of an individual sculptor improving in practice.

Type G. Apart from the F figures the largest number of the upper tier statues—whether “bishops,” “warriors,” or “ladies”—have a marked expression given them in their tall proportion. This is often ten times the head-height as in the “lady” (Fig. 336), and has been thought a perspective device for correcting the view from the ground. We give a “bishop” and “lady” from the north tower buttresses (Fig. 336); but there are also many of the kind all along the front, and in the north-east angle of the north tower are four mail-clad “warriors,” whose tall, thin figures, cut out of coffin-shaped slabs, seem worked along with the earlier types below. Still, we include them all



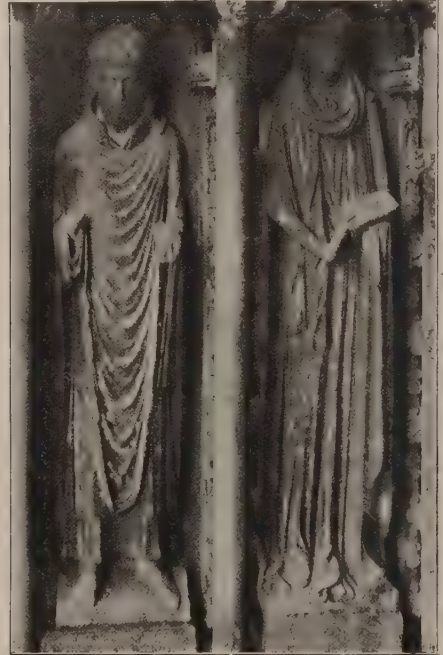
N. 24.

N. 22.

FIG. 335.

Class G. “Bishop.”

Class E. “Warrior.”



N. 56.

N. 54.

FIG. 336.

Class G. “Bishop” and “Lady.”

in one class because the long slab-examples grade imperceptibly into others modelled fully in the round with considerable variety and grace of treatment. There are “bishops,” for example, on the third tier (Fig. 335) which may rank as to style with the female figures of the most characteristic Wells sculpture in the lowest tier. Their small heads, rippled hair, and finely-folded draperies separate these G figures quite distinctly from those of the preceding classes. On the other hand, distinct signs of immaturity (two of the figures are made up of two stones, see Fig. 337) show them as a class precedent to the more accomplished type that follows.

Type H. The Wells style culminates in the statues that are on the wall-faces, or panels, between the buttresses (see note, p. 299). This finest type occurs on all three tiers, and since both its handling and its sets of subjects appear outside the first general scheme, there seems evidence for a distinct



FIG. 337. Class G. "Lady."
North tower. N. 74.



FIG. 338. Class H. "Hermit."
South panel. S. 26.



FIG. 339. Class H. "Hermit."
South panel. S. 28.

interval between the slab-treatments of the first sculpture and the accomplishment which marks the latest works. This special type is that of the "Hermits" (Figs. 338, 339) in the four niches on the panel between the buttresses of the south tower. Then on the corresponding panel of the

north tower there are four "ladies" or "queen-abbesses," one of whom we illustrate (Fig. 340). On the north panel of this tower can be seen a "king" and the "queen" in juxtaposition. Then in the lowest tier on the side of the north-west buttress are four figures, two of which we take to be the "Salutation"



FIG. 340. Class H. "Lady."
North tower panel. N. 27.



FIG. 341. Class H. "Lady."
North tower panel. N. 49.

subject, viz. the "Virgin" greeted by "Elisabeth" (see Fig. 87, p. 89). The drapery arranged like a chasuble may well mark the Virgin figure as at Amiens and Reims, while equally distinct is the aged model of Elisabeth immediately to the left. Of the two remaining "lady" figures on this buttress

side the statue on the left (Fig. 342) is characteristically the "Virgin" of the "Annunciation" subject, but the other seems of a different handling. Now of similar handling on the south tower is a damaged figure which to our mind represents the "Angel Gabriel" (Fig. 343), once in juxtaposition to complete the "Annunciation" subject, as on the porchways of the French churches.



FIG. 342. Class H. "Our Lady of the Annunciation." N. XXIX.



FIG. 343. Class H. "Angel of the Annunciation." S. XXIII.

One sees how all the lady-statues sculptured on the Wells front have their heads covered, but this statue is bareheaded: also, if we turn to the "Annunciation" statues at Westminster (see Figs. 356, 357, p. 321), we shall see just similar models of both "Virgin" and "Angel." We put the two side by side above so that the reader may judge of our conjecture.

A beautiful figure of the latest type in the angle between the north-west buttresses of the north tower was called "Duns Scotus" (Fig. 344): it fell from its niche in 1906, and has now been replaced much damaged, but our photograph was taken before the accident. A slightly different character

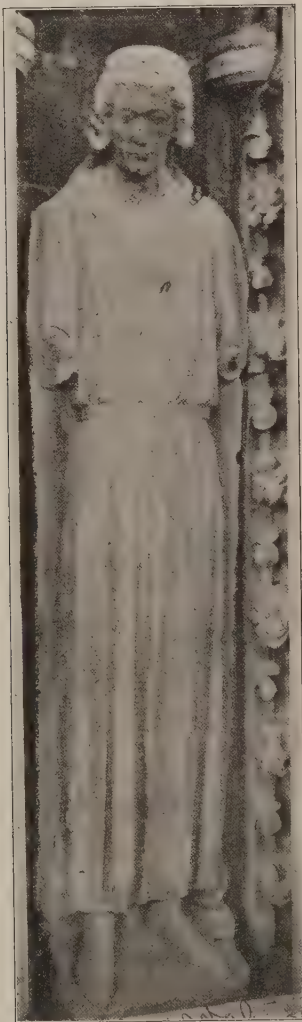


FIG. 344. Class H. "Notable."
North-east buttress. N. 38.



FIG. 345. Class H.
East face, north tower. N. 75.

belongs to the set of four statues on the east face of the north tower. One of these has been probably identified as "St Louis" (Fig. 345) and another as "St Eustace" (see Fig. 67, p. 71). The beauty of this latest phase of the Wells art, and the interest that attaches to it as English sculpture

whose sentiment as well as handling is distinct from what we see at Amiens, Chartres, and in other continental examples, may justify us in



FIG. 346. Class H. "Lady,"
Central panel. S. 2.

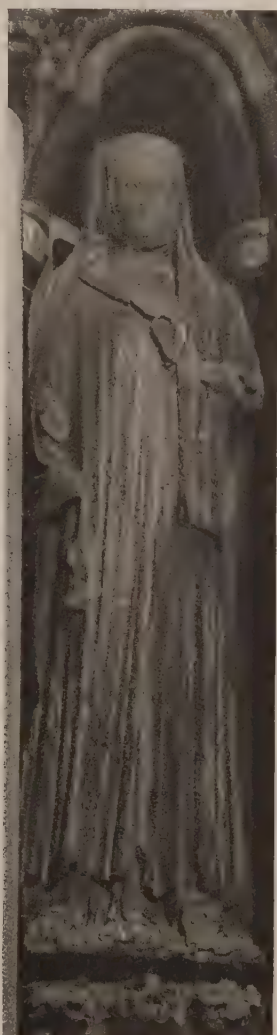


FIG. 347. Class H. "Abbess,"
Central panel. N. 2.



FIG. 348. Class H. "Lady,"
Return of north buttress. N. 8.

giving many illustrations. The ladies above are grouped on the upper tier of the central panel, and on the buttress-returns adjoining. The "Abbess" (Fig. 347) may be a later work of the sculptor of the F ecclesiastics (see Fig. 334, p. 307): but the two "queens" (Figs. 346 and 348) we think are from the hands of the author of the "Salutation" (see Fig. 87, p. 89).

We give below (Figs. 349, 350) the head-types from two of the later "ladies," and put in comparison (Fig. 351) the head of the "evangelist" type (Class C) and the very different expression of the "deacon" (Fig. 352) type which is our last group. It will be seen how the deeply-cut, severe features of the earlier types as represented by the C head are succeeded by the



FIG. 349. Head of class G. N. 48.



FIG. 350. Head of class H. N. 35.

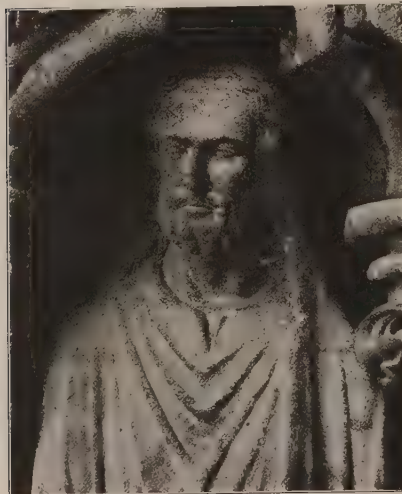


FIG. 351. Head of "Evangelist." N. XXX.



FIG. 352. Head of "Deacon." N. XXXIX.

mystical absorbed expressions of the H statues (see Fig. 344, p. 312, back). The brows tend to become highly arched; the faces more oval and the foreheads smooth, with the eyeballs scarcely sunk below them, while the lower eyelids are taken straight across the eyeballs (Fig. 350). At the same time

in the progress from class to class the draperies have grown finer until they have acquired an extraordinary suggestion of tenuity (Fig. 352).

Type J. The style of the "deacon" class should be taken outside the general body, as exhibiting the individuality of a special sculptor. There are five "deacon" figures, grouped in the lowest tier of the east buttresses of the north tower (see Fig. 14, p. 15). We illustrated one in Book I. (see Fig. 2, p. 3) to represent the style of English sculpture. The two below



FIG. 353. Class J. "Deacons." East buttresses. N. XXXIX. N. XXXVIII.

(Fig. 353) have the same masterly expression (see also Fig. 354, p. 317). The strong head-treatment, with its breadth of feature and a modelling of crisp curls, is different from the other types at Wells but has some likeness in heads at Salisbury (see Fig. 237, p. 235). The sturdy dignity of the attitudes is remarkable, and the typical rippling of the Wells drapery has here its clearest individuality.

The foregoing classification has dealt with some 130 statues, whose sculptors may have been conjecturally nine or ten different masons. But, no doubt, the nine types or manners of figure-work mark stages of sculptural skill as well as the idiosyncrasies of separate artists. Yet there are no breaks as if relays of executants succeeded one another at appreciable intervals. The statues close at hand give one the impression that their sculptors have executed them most often in pairs. Two figures will seem almost replicas in their tricks of style, and then in the same type there occur other pairs slightly different but with again a close connection. And the gradations run through the whole gallery of statues: the first type, A, if it leads on to the second, B, and so on to the third, C, itself branches into D and F. Figures so separate in sculptural intention as the short, large-headed "bishop" in the thick-folded chasuble (see Fig. 321, p. 300), and the long, small-headed "lady," with trailing mantle (see Fig. 337, p. 309), can be joined by a series of connecting examples, and both can be linked by separate chains of intermediates with the long-headed "evangelist" in the toga (see Fig. 327, p. 303) and the round-headed "deacon" in the dalmatic (see Fig. 353, p. 315, back). This seems all evidence of a body of stone-cutters who, starting on the groundwork of effigy-practice, at first carved statues as they had carved the recumbent "bishops" for coffin-lids, each no doubt with a way of his own. But since they worked side by side their skill and their methods were in common, till they achieved the latest well-proportioned figures, those of Class H, which are no longer the slab-effigies of the beginnings but the statues in the round of accomplished statue-makers.

Looking, therefore, broadly at our classes, we may accept the standing "bishops" and "kings" of the second tier, the A and B types, and some, too, of the long third-tier figures of the G type, which are most slab-like and elementary in their posture, as executed at the beginning of the front 1220—1225. And we may take as the latest, close upon its finish c. 1240, those statues which develop action, advance the foot, or stretch out the hand, which bow the head and turn it sideways, as in the "Deacon" (Fig. 354) or in the "Annunciation" group (see Fig. 343, p. 311).

The most marked expression of experiment in attitude occurs in the short figures ("king" and "queen") on either side of the central window (see Figs. 34, 35, p. 44). Professor Lethaby has shown (conclusively, we think, as to these statues), from similarities in pose and detail to statues at Amiens and Chartres, that they represent "King Solomon" and the "Queen of Sheba." Along with the "Coronation" relief just below them, they may be thought additions to the first arrangement of the front. It is clear that the conception of the Wells sculptor has in these figures lost somewhat of its earlier architectural dignity. The flatly set feet are now those of image-making, and the "king's" head is turned completely sideways, while the "queen" seems

slightly to bend the right leg. The draperies show shorter skirts than before and the folds are very finely rendered as if of the thinnest lawn. We may suspect, therefore, that at the finish of the west front the Doultling statue-maker was becoming an imager, who would supply free standing figures to order. At Winchester it is possible to think we have one of his wares.



FIG. 354. "Deacon." North-east buttress. N. XXXIV.



FIG. 355. Winchester. Figure in feretory.

Fig. 355 is from a figure about four feet high, dug up in the Dean's garden, and now placed in the feretory. It appears to be of the Doultling stone, and the draperies have the fine thin rippling of the later Wells statues. The subject was possibly the representation of the "Jewish Synagogue," the emblematic broken staff having been of metal and also the girdle, as is clear by the marks of its fixing. The freedom of the attitude and the sweep of the drapery are more pronounced than in the Wells ideal, and in some respects a

likeness may be observed to certain statues at Strassburg in Germany, which are dated c. 1270. But the handling of the folds is that of the Wells sculptor, and a spray of "stiff-leaf" foliage that is found at the feet substantiates the English provenance.

The Wells sculpture comes before us as a local development, a school of the mason's faculty that has advanced step by step by virtue of its own experiment. Before leaving it the specially English peculiarity of its execution deserves mention. The contemporary manifestations of thirteenth-century statue-making at Amiens or at Chartres—to mention the two most marked—were equally in our opinion developments of local capacities that ran their own way and took little impress upon their several styles from schools of sculpture outside their own. At Wells the local art of our English masons has a technique less perfect, a treatment less classical and a manipulation less assured than in the 1225 works at the French cathedrals—but at the same time it exhibits a feeling more tender and intimate than belongs to the greater, more learned sculpture of Amiens and Chartres. It is curious that in so judging it we seem to be echoing a criticism that may be applied to some modern English art in comparison with continental.

On the point of the general composition of its sculpture-screen (see Fig. 86, p. 88), the Wells front is the grand example of the English method. The separate, original character of such a composition and its distinction from the great caverned doorways of the continental cathedrals need not be dwelt upon here. But in respect of origins, the hints for the English method may fairly be connected with those developments of sculpture in Western France that have already been noticed influencing the English Romanesque in its latest phase. At Poitiers and Angoulême (and in the Spanish façades too) arrays of sculpture were spread over the whole fronts instead of crowded upon the doorways. This idea, grafted on the English development of arcade-ranges, bore fruit in the Wells sculpture-screen. Except at Wells, however, the English ideal was never achieved again in quite the same heroic fashion. Other architectural ideas of cathedral façades intervened, as at Salisbury, Lichfield and York, where the doorways and great windows of the building scheme became assertive items in design. Moreover the composition of twin western towers that was in the tradition of Anglo-Norman style, cramp and override the screen composition. Only at Lincoln and Exeter were there, after Wells, partial realisations of Bishop Jocelyn's great conception—but the first is broken by the retention of the Romanesque nave-front—while at Exeter, though the work is consummate of its kind, the whole makes but half a story of the Wells façade.

And as regards the peculiar flavour of its art, the school of Wells sculpture dies away with great suddenness, and no heirs of its style can be

recognised. When the last image was set up on the front, into whose service passed the statue-makers? Whither went the trained observation and sympathetic chisels which had rendered so tender an ideal? It is difficult to answer these questions. At Wells itself the head-carvings of the next generation are seen in the chapter-house undercroft and the chapter stairway, c. 1270, and then in Bishop Marcia's tomb, with its noble effigy in the south transept, to be dated c. 1300. But these works are neither in style nor in quality affiliated to the sculpture of the front. Did the Wells sculptors then migrate to Salisbury in the mid-century, and carry their statue-craft to the finishing of the Cathedral? In view of the half-dozen statues left on Salisbury front¹ one must reply decisively in the negative, for one sees there a quite different art of later inspiration—rather a picturesque, uneasy art in comparison with the serenity of Wells. Lichfield façade was decked with statues within perhaps a generation of that of Wells, and with a scheme of similar intention. Destructions, repairs, and nineteenth-century restorations obliterate the medieval record of the Lichfield masons: but what is left—the relief over the west door and the Madonna statue upon the south side—have none of the style of Bishop Jocelyn's imagers, but belong to what we shall presently describe as the Mid-England sculpture represented to our day mainly by the sandstone recumbent effigies (see Book III., p. 617). The great abbeys, neighbours to Wells, at Glastonbury², Bath, Malmesbury and Cirencester may have taken some statue-masons into service, but their ruins give no evidence. The peculiar mason-craft of the Wells front—its combination of freestone and lias shafting—was indeed repeated in two works we know of, the Exeter chapter-house and the "reliquary" at Gloucester—but no statues remain to tell us of sculptors from Wells taking their art to these places. Now Bristol was the great city immediate to Wells Cathedral, and we shall see (pp. 609 seq.) that c. 1250 a flourishing trade in recumbent effigies of knights and ecclesiastics was wrought in an oolite which is scarcely distinguishable from the finer varieties of Douling stone: so it seems reasonable to decide that the Wells sculptors largely drifted into the Bristol workshops. There is an effigy which might be the work of a Wells sculptor in St James' Church, Bristol (see Fig. 679, p. 607), and in a back street of the city there remains a much mutilated figure of similar technique. So in default of better evidence we look to the trade of western effigy-making as the sole inheritor of the Wells traditions, but on this point we shall speak in Book III.

¹ Two sitting figures with well-preserved drapery but with new heads are upon the central gable. The figures below, much decayed, belong to a later style, see Fig. 388, p. 344.

² Canon Church has produced from the Wells

records an entry as to a family of Bunton, "sculptor," holding lands at Glastonbury, c. 1240. "Sculptor," however, may mean any stone-cutter (see p. 98). The mason, if a figure-maker by profession, would have been likely to call himself "imaginator."

SECTION IV. THE STATUES AT WESTMINSTER, LINCOLN, ETC.

The eastern side of England offers no evidence of an importation of figure-sculptors from Wells. In any case London might be expected to have in its own craft-schools the capacity for stone imagery without prompting from outside. Unfortunately, for the discussion of it we have no examples that would be contemporary with the Wells statues, except a figure or two in the chapter-house of Westminster. There are, as we have already described, on the two chapter-doorways leading into and out of the chapter-vestibule two well-preserved standing figures, and some fragments of three more worked in the Caen stone of Henry III.'s building of the Abbey.

At Wells no document as yet discovered could tell us anything of the sculptors of the front or of the date of the statues placed upon it. But as to Westminster, it is quite possible that we have at the Record Office the entries of payment for the two figures that still remain to be seen inside the chapter-house. They had been long hidden behind casings but were discovered in 1865 on the cleaning out of the building by Sir Gilbert Scott (see *Gleanings from Westminster*, p. 226). The building of the chapter-house was begun, according to Matthew Paris, in 1250, and there happen to remain the Close Rolls with the full account of all the King's expenditure, during the year 1253, upon the church, the chapter-house, the belfry and hall of Westminster. The first roll of this account is the summary for the weeks from February 2nd to April 20th, and makes mention of the canvas for the windows of the chapter-house, showing therefore that it was at this date vaulted and being finished inside. And among the entries also is the payment for two images¹, which might well be the two figures we illustrate. They are paid for as separate works: the other figure-carvings of the chapter-doorway having, no doubt, been part of the walling, and included summarily in the day-wages of the masons. The statues (Figs. 356, 357) represent the "Annunciation," but the "angel" is without wings, which some think were supplied in metal. If this were so, the group is stamped as the work of imagers, not of an architectural mason-craft. The differences from the Wells style are distinct: the draperies have none of the clinging softness of the Wells folds, and the expressions of the figures are of another kind. They were said by Sir Gilbert Scott to show "Byzantine stiffness," but to our mind the epithet hardly does justice to the note of simplicity, which, as in the reliefs of the triforium, has a feeling nearer the ancient Greek than the

¹ "In ij imaginibus ad tascham cissis lijjs. iiijd." (for two images carved by the job fifty-three shillings and fourpence), equal to about £70 of money to-day. This roll has not yet been printed in full, and the

extracts from it given in Scott's *Westminster* do not include this entry, which however it is easy to look up in the Record Office as one of the authors was able to do.

Byzantine inspiration. The joyous attitude of the "angel" and the gesture of the "Virgin" show distinct advances upon the immobility of the Wells type, and the draperies have a sweep which may be characteristic of the



FIG. 356. Westminster. "Gabriel."
The Annunciation.



FIG. 357. "Virgin" in the Abbey chapter-
house, c. 1252.

London school, since it is seen in the transept reliefs of the Abbey. Certainly a mark of style lies in the facing of the folds with flat angular planes as in all the Westminster figure-sculpture. It is from the effigy-sculpture that we

think this handling of drapery has been derived, for we find the same edge-cut draperies in the Purbeck-marble half-effigy (c. 1261) of Bishop Aymer de Valence (Henry III.'s half-brother) at Winchester (Fig. 358); as also in the Purbeck-marble recumbent "Knights" of the Temple Church; and in the beautiful Purbeck-marble lady at Romsey (see Fig. 673, p. 598). The connection between the marblers of London and the Purbeck quarries at Corfe will be discussed later, but some illustration from contemporary style is valuable here, for otherwise the Westminster figures seem almost to stand alone. The outer vestibule doorway has also its figures—the "Virgin" and attendant "angels"—but all are badly decayed, though indicating similar technique in their draperies. Save in these figures the record of statue-work



FIG. 358. Winchester. Bp. Aymer's "Heart-Memorial." Purbeck marble. c. 1261.



FIG. 359. Lincoln. Figure on west front. c. 1250.

is a blank until we come to the Eleanor figures of forty years later. We may possibly take up the Londoner's style as conveyed to North England and see an outcome of it there—but our capital city has lost almost entirely both the architecture and the sculpture of medieval art.

Lincoln is the only site in England where free figure-sculpture remains to give any account of itself for the thirty years following the Wells art. There are three kinds of figures there in the thirteenth-century work. First there are upon the front five or six statues standing in the niches of Bishop Grossetête's sculpture-screen that was the finish of his nave-work (c. 1250), and was a sort of copy of the Wells front. In comparison with the Wells figures these Lincoln statues are curiously insignificant. They are short, flat-footed,

and in attitude and habit like the "Solomon" and "Sheba," which at Wells we called imagers' work. But this squatness and image-likeness (Fig. 359) are as evidently in direct continuation of the Peterborough figures with which we started this chapter, and carry on the goldsmith traditions that we noted as at the origin of the statuary art in East England.

There comes however quickly into Lincoln statue-work an inspiration of very different quality, which, as we said on p. 295, seems a direct derivation



FIG. 360. Lanercost, Cumberland. "Mary Magdalene" in west gable. c. 1270.

from the London style. The expressions of the Lincoln school recall the Westminster angels—as for example the drapery held high up by the left arms (see above, Fig. 360, and Fig. 357, p. 321, back)—a connection in style that can be explained by supposing some royal intervention in the conduct of the Lincoln building. Edward I. was, owing to the Scotch wars, constantly in the north of England, and was frequently resident at Lincoln. In this way we account for the Mary Magdalene (Fig. 360) on the west gable of Lanercost Abbey in Cumberland, wrought in the red sandstone of the building

and scarcely decayed. It has much of the Lincoln feeling, though with coarser, more summary handling, being far from the eye. Like the Lincoln and Westminster figures, this is an image, although wrought in local stone; and we may account for its existence, in what now seems a remote district for such a work of art, by the fact that Edward I. was brought frequently into the neighbourhood of Carlisle from 1273 onwards. He and his court, on more than one occasion, were lodged at Lanercost for several months, so a sculptor from Lincoln, or one trained in the Lincoln style from the works at Carlisle, might well have been brought to carve an image which was possibly a royal gift.

The second group of statues consists of those placed in the niches round the south (or "Judgment") porch of the Angel Choir. There are here four headless figures, and on the buttresses further to the east there are three others, to which modern heads have been given. The statues on either side of the porch are among the finest of our medieval examples. We illustrate the female figures (one opposite, Fig. 361, and the other Fig. 3, p. 3) who, as Professor Lethaby has explained (see *Archaeologia*, Vol. LIX.), represent the "Old" and "New Covenants" respectively—the "Synagogue" and the "Christian Church," a pair frequently present on either side of the medieval doorway (see Book I., p. 40). The vigour and expression of their draperies (see also Fig. 363, p. 327) and their distinction from the rippled handlings of Wells are evident. In depth and boldness of cutting; in the contrast between the heavily fringed tunic and the light vesture beneath; in the dignity of the pose and breadth of treatment, lies an impression of power which is of rare occurrence among the fragments of medieval figure-sculpture that have come down to us.

At Crowland Abbey, near Peterborough, there is a headless figure which can be seen (Fig. 362) to correspond very nearly with the Lincoln statue (Fig. 361). It is placed in a similar way at the side of the west doorway, and represents the same subject as the Lincoln figure—the "Synagogue." So close is the likeness between the Crowland and Lincoln figures that they appear the works of the same sculptor. Now, in a stone in the Cathedral cloisters of Lincoln was inscribed the figure and name of Richard of Gainsborough, "mason of the church," who died 13**, the exact year uncertain. He has been thought to be Richard of Stow, a village near Lincoln, mentioned in the accounts of the Eleanor crosses (1293) as the mason engaged upon the cross erected there. However, it would be a hasty conjecture to take him as necessarily the one great sculptor at Lincoln, to whose genius we owe all the masterpieces—the great angels of the "choir" triforium and the noble statues of the porch. Though between the angel-reliefs of Class F (see pp. 274, 275) and the "Christ" of the tympanum (see Fig. 315, p. 286) there are resemblances which might allow them to be the work of one sculptor, quite a

different handling belongs to the South Porch statues. While the treatment of the draperies in the "angels" illustrated on pp. 267 et seq. is with smooth and baggy folds, that of the Porch figures has an angular, tense expression.



FIG. 361. Lincoln. "Judgment Porch."
The "Synagogue."



FIG. 362. Crowland. West front.
The "Synagogue."

The statues indeed in all points show quite another style, bred in a different mason-craft, and are not merely a variation of handling such as an individual sculptor might practise.

The reader should however turn to page 262, where one of the five Westminster "Angel" reliefs is figured. Comparing the Lincoln drapery (Fig. 363) with that of Westminster, there can be recognised in both a force and sweep outside the conventions that belonged to the Wells style. At Lincoln the peculiarities are accentuated in the notched folds at the girdle and the deep-cut heavy drag of them upon the limbs. In these matters some little affinity with the German thirteenth-century statues at Magdeburg is suggested, but we shall discuss this when dealing in another chapter with the Mid-Gothic pieces at Durham and York.

The German likeness becomes, however, pretty distinct in a third type of Lincoln statue (Fig. 364), that of the "Ecclesiastic" habited in cope and alb, to be seen in one of the chapels of the east transept. Such an example holds a position just on the dividing line between the first and second Gothic figure-sculpture. Its restrained pose and the dignity of its draperies—in their lower folds very close to the porch figures—belong to the first Gothic art; its elaborate finish of detail and distinct portraiture herald motives outside the conceptions of the earlier ideal.

Our Lincoln examples may fittingly bring to an end an account of First Gothic figure-sculpture. The shrining of St Hugh took place in the "Angel Choir" on October 6th, 1280, and was attended by a magnificent assemblage of royal and noble personages. Queen Eleanor was present, and King Edward I. himself helped to carry the saint's remains into the quire. The sculptured porch, whose figure-moulds and carved tympanum had been sculptured for the glory of this doorway, now had its jamb-niches filled with their statues, probably in honour of this occasion. Such an occasion marks suitably a summit or turning-point of style. As the "Angel" reliefs at Lincoln have a scale never afterwards attempted, so, too, the statues of the "Judgment" Porch may be ranked as the crowning examples of English statue-making. Contemporary with the completion of this great chapel, built for St Hugh's shrine, came the beginning of two magnificent buildings of English Gothic—Exeter, in the south of England, by Bishop Bronescombe (c. 1280), and York, in the north, by Archbishop Romaine in 1286. We shall draw from these later works many illustrations of English figure-sculpture of the second period; but it will be seen how something which had been present up to now in English art—certain dignities of style conspicuous in the Lincoln sculpture—have been compromised. In the work of the later artists we shall find greater prettiness, a greater fancy, greater facility; but that faculty which by the restraint of imitative realism achieves monumental simplicity, was a declining factor in their schools. With the dexterity of the chisel came the love of richness and variety, and as time went on such partnership degenerated into exaggeration and insensitiveness.



FIG. 363. Lincoln. "Judgment" Porch.
Statue to east of entrance. c. 1280.



FIG. 364. Lincoln. Statue in chapel.
c. 1280.

CHAPTER VII

THE STATUES OF THE FOURTEENTH-CENTURY OR SECOND PERIOD OF ENGLISH MEDIEVAL FIGURE-SCULPTURE (1280—1380)

THE statues of the thirteenth century have been taken on to the year 1280 at Lincoln, but this date is suggested rather as a summit than a boundary, for there was no sharp line in the thirteenth-century watershed of English figure-sculpture. A full generation, indeed, was to elapse before there came so substantial a change in the expression of sculpture that we can say a new period has brought a new character into medieval figure-work. And, moreover, that character (which we would label fourteenth-century for the reason that it was roughly coincident with what is generally described as fourteenth-century architecture) was even then more in evidence in the small subject-sculpture that will be treated in the next chapter than in the statues which we first review here.

Lincoln makes a convenient starting-point for the second period of English figure-sculpture because of its two manners in the Angel Choir, (1) that of the angel-reliefs of the Choir (see pp. 267 seq.) and (2) that of the statues in the Judgment Porch (see pp. 324 seq.). From each of these branched a style in fourteenth-century statue-work. The angels of the Choir had soft draperies, broad and flowing figures, and attitudes saturated with expression, sometimes to the verge of hysterical display. The statues of the Judgment Porch were, on the other hand, tense and severe, with vigorous functional lines in the draperies, and with attitudes self-contained and statuesque. Now the former handling, that of the angel-reliefs, appears to run on directly into the northern art of Durham and York, where in statues and effigies can be detected the same emotional expression. On the other hand, the Lincoln statues of the Porch were the start of another expression to be represented by a long series of figure-work begun at Peterborough and continued in its neighbourhood. Finally, in mid-England and London, the Lincoln art can be seen growing into the main style of English work. We shall therefore deal with the examples in three divisions, (1) the northern art, (2) the Peterborough art, and (3) that of mid-England and its southern extension. We take the *northern* art first, because the Durham angels, which are specially characteristic, would seem executed as early, perhaps, as the Lincoln statues of the Porch.

SECTION I. THE STATUES OF NORTHERN STYLE

Two figures of angels (Fig. 365), about five feet high, stand on brackets above the quire-triforium, and have the full broad draperies, the shocks of curly locks, the head-poses and emotional attitudes of the Lincoln reliefs. Their



FIG. 365. Durham Quire. The "Angels of the Sanctuary." c. 1280.

material is the local stone of the Durham building, and their date seems that of the finishing of the quire, c. 1280. Now, in these angels there appear the same likenesses to contemporary statues in Germany which will come up

for comment also in respect of the recumbent effigies of *north-eastern style* (see Figs. 692 and 705, pp. 617 and 632). In the nave-building of York Minster, begun c. 1286, we come immediately on a sculpture of this class in a "Madonna" (Fig. 366 below) with attendant angels, these latter much broken away.



FIG. 366. York nave. Madonna over doorway in north arch. c. 1290.



FIG. 367. York chapter-house. Madonna by doorway. c. 1300.

This is inside the doorway in the north aisle, which formerly led into the chapel of the Holy Sepulchre, and the sculpture, as far as the angels are concerned, seems clearly part of the walling, with a date c. 1290 which we may take as that of the statue also. The swaying pose, so popular in German

art, is as evident here as in the examples from Durham. The same thing occurs in another example at York, the "Madonna" carved at the entrance of the chapter-house, and we might take this last figure as from the same hands that produced the remarkable "Lady" effigy at Bedale, c. 1300 (see Fig. 705, p. 632). Putting effigies and statues together, we have a set of characteristic treatments which, inasmuch as the examples are generally distributed in and round the capital city of the great Yorkshire plain, seem sufficient warrant for speaking of a "York" style in statue-work, just as we shall in memorial effigies (see Book III., pp. 615 seq.).

The fourteenth-century figure-work of the York workshops can, as a class, be identified by its exhibiting the figure with these swaying poses, narrow sloping shoulders, and usually twisted or bellying folds in the draperies, which at first are broad and summary, but after 1300 acquire the fine foldings of the southern sculpture. Where the heads have been preserved they are remarkable for a strongly cut square chin, as in the corbel-head (Fig. 366; also in Fig. 708, p. 635), as different from the pointed French chin of Reims and Strassburg as from the rounded expressionless type of the south of England (see Fig. 410, p. 360). There is also the luxuriant treatment of the hair in massive curls (Fig. 366; also Fig. 394, p. 347), though much the same thing occurs in the south.

We have pointed out how the facial expressions of the York school resemble those in contemporary figures of the Bamberg and Naumburg sculptors¹. Seeing that they are the "Lady" figures among the memorial effigies and the "Angels" and "Madonnas" among the statues that show this German bent, the explanation may be that the "Madonna" model was throughout the medieval period of sculpture the stock motive of the image-shops. Wood and metal figures were of easy carriage from one country to another, and since the commerce of the Easterlings with the Humber was great, York images might go to Germany and *vice versa*—so connections of style were likely. However, since in stone sculpture the material of the York figures is the local limestone quarried at Tadcaster, the actual executants, however much influenced by their knowledge of German images, must have been the native masons.

We have remarked that figure-work which had been abundant in North England building of the twelfth century, was little used in the thirteenth: but towards 1300 there comes a renaissance of sculpture. The great quires which were building about 1300 were distinguished by fronts both east and west, storied with niches the filling of which must have meant statues in the stone of York building. There was therefore plenty of occasion for the motives

¹ See Hasak's *German Sculpture of the Thirteenth Century*. Casts of Freiburg statues establishing our point are to be seen at the Victoria and Albert Museum.

and technique of a York style to develop in architectural figure-work. The limestone has, however, much decayed so that the external statues have now almost entirely disappeared, and we possess only a few torsos and fragments in evidence of the fourteenth-century productions. In the Minster Library at



FIG. 368. York. Statue in Minster Library, c. 1300.



FIG. 369. Durham. Statue in "Nine Altars," c. 1320.

York are two or three headless figures (Fig. 368, above) that have come from the nave of the Cathedral, and they show the sway and broad draperies of the figures of c. 1300. At Durham is a figure of St Cuthbert holding the head of St Oswald (Fig. 369, above), but in this the handling of folds is tame.

However, for the distinctive qualities of Yorkshire style we may well turn to the smaller specimens of decorative figure-work. Though such small things properly belong to the shop-work sculpture which we will discuss in



FIG. 370. Beverley. Percy tomb. The "Christ with the Soul."
c. 1320.

the next chapter, it will be convenient to show here one example from the Percy tomb at Beverley (Fig. 370, above). This whole monument is worked in the stone from Tadcaster, and it is to be seen how the figure of the

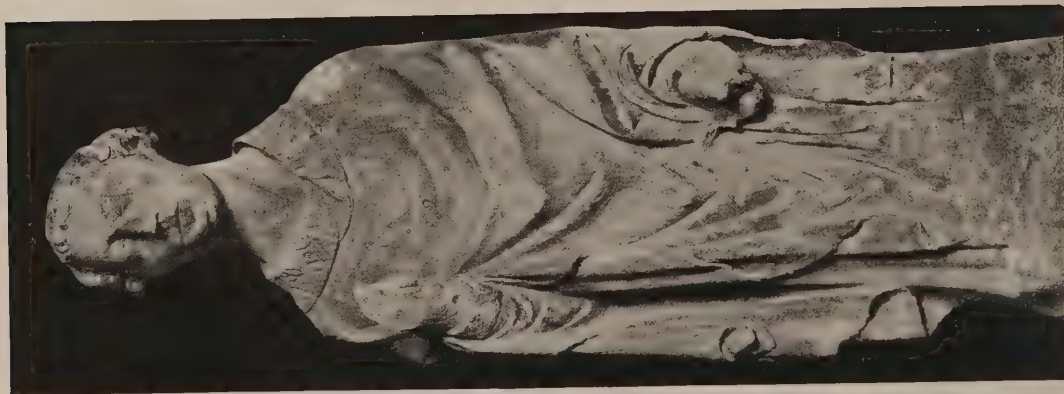


FIG. 371. Howden. "Priest" in S. transept. c. 1300.



FIG. 372. Howden. "St John" in quire-screen. c. 1320.

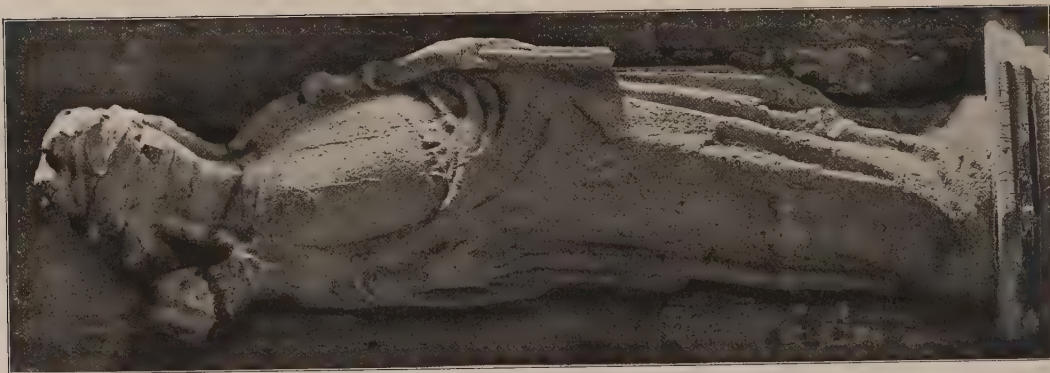


FIG. 373. Howden. "Synagogue" in quire-screen. c. 1320.

"Christ" receiving the soul of the dead has carried on a style-tradition which had appeared in the "Madonna" of the York chapter-house.

But though it is now in the small decorative pieces of sculpture that figure-work has been best preserved for us, the practice of the York statue-makers was continually in demand, and upon occasion it could show itself ambitiously large. We see in the Museum of St Mary's Abbey at York heads of a "Virgin" and of a "Christ," and part of the lap of the former, which have come from a group of the "Coronation of the Virgin" on a scale of at least double life-size. At Durham a mutilated head of still larger make is preserved in the undercroft of the Library. It is difficult to judge from the pieces the merits and effect of this great architectural figure-work on the outside of the northern abbey-churches, and we know no instances in southern England. The Yorkshire use of architectural figure-work inside churches can be seen in the clerestory parapets of York nave and Selby quire. The two characteristic heads found at Warter Priory, a few miles from York, have belonged apparently to figures of this use. The corbel-head beneath the Madonna (see Fig. 366 on p. 330) may illustrate the type of sculpture.

Of the stone images the best collection remains to us at Howden, where there are now placed in the niches of the screen, at the back of the present altar, nine statues carved in the magnesian limestone of the building. They are not, however, in their original place on this choir-screen, nor are the figures all of a kind or date. They appear to have been brought from many positions, some, we think, from the outside of the church. The surfaces are unfortunately much decayed, but our illustrations give what is best preserved. A priest (a figure over life-size) now stands in the south transept (Fig. 371, opposite), and this has sloping shoulders and draperies which match the nave "Madonna" at York. One figure on the reredos-screen is "St John" (Fig. 372) and has the hanging scroll treated as in the "lady" effigy at Bedale already mentioned (see Fig. 705, p. 632). Another represents the "Synagogue" (Fig. 373), and this, with some others that are more decayed, is very similar to the torsos in the Minster Library at York. In these cases narrow shoulders and swaying attitudes appear, but less conspicuously. On the other hand, some of the Howden figures, such as certain "Bishops" in the south transept, seem rather to approach the types of the "Ancaster" work, whose district lay immediately to the south of Howden. The great decay of the stone surfaces makes a difficulty in quite appreciating these diverse characters, but it would seem that the Howden sculpture may make a sort of half-way house between the peculiar York methods and those of the Ancaster-stone carvers. The water carriage from York on the north and from Newark in the Ancaster district on the south was equally easy.

SECTION II. THE STATUES OF EASTERN STYLE

The Ancaster schools of sculpture and their style in statue-making seem to emerge directly from Lincoln, but not from the Angel-Choir reliefs. On the east side of the Judgment Porch are two figures of the same class as the great statues of the porch, and probably of the same date. Though they have now been given new heads and otherwise tampered with, we illustrate them below (Fig. 374) as having a freedom in the attitudes and the drapery which we can see continued in the Peterborough district. At Peterborough



FIG. 374. Lincoln. Statues above Judgment Porch. c. 1280.

itself early examples have been preserved in the "Abbot" and "Prior" (Fig. 375, opposite) set upon the north front of the gateway of Bishop Lindsey. On the south side are figures, which have been called "Apostles," with a broader type of drapery. Though with severity in execution, there are advances here in picturesque treatment beyond anything at Lincoln, and from them to the natural attitudes on the "Eleanor" monuments the transition is short. But Peterborough style (see p. 295) is to be recognised in the restrained upright carriage and in the square shoulders, with the arms held level with them, and also in the straight draperies, which are well distinguished from the billowy movements of the York school.

This school is seen in mid-England, where statues remain on many towers. Round the spire of St Mary's at Oxford, built c. 1300, the niches at the base held until lately nine figures, more or less patched and repaired with modern work. They were in 1900 taken down and placed in the old "Congregation House" of St Mary's, one only being left in position on the spire. This,



FIG. 375. Peterborough gateway. "Prior." c. 1290. FIG. 376. Oxford. St Mary's spire. "St Hugh." c. 1300.

which is the most genuine and best preserved, shows in its big head and uplifted arms much of the character of Peterborough sculpture. We show (Fig. 376) "St Hugh of Lincoln with his swan," photographed at the time of its removal, a fine figure which may illustrate the type.

After 1300 the style is represented in a number of statues and effigies, carried out in the Rutland and Ancaster stones, and distributed to many churches within reach of the quarries. Recumbent figures of this school will be illustrated on pp. 637, 638. The statues are found upon porches and

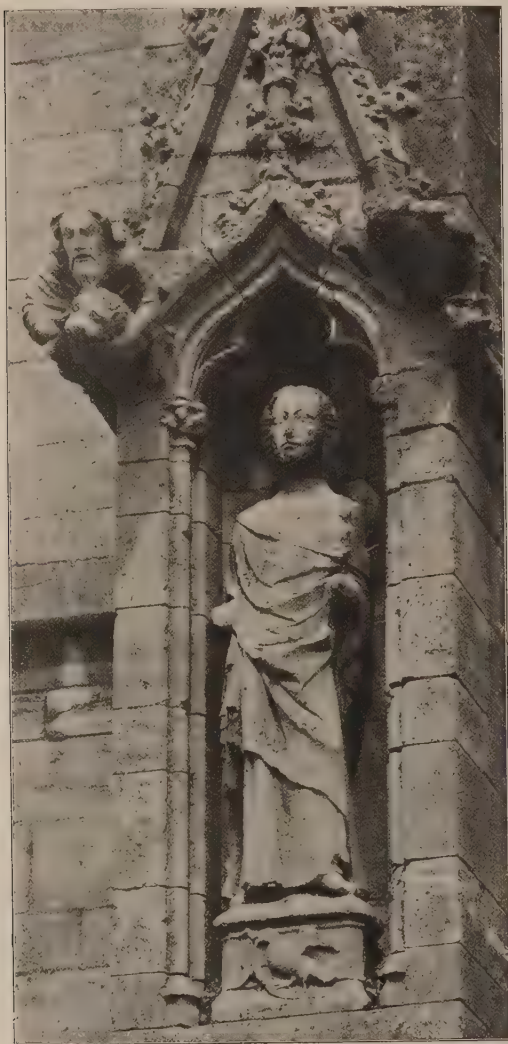


FIG. 377. Heckington. Statue on south side of tower. c. 1320.

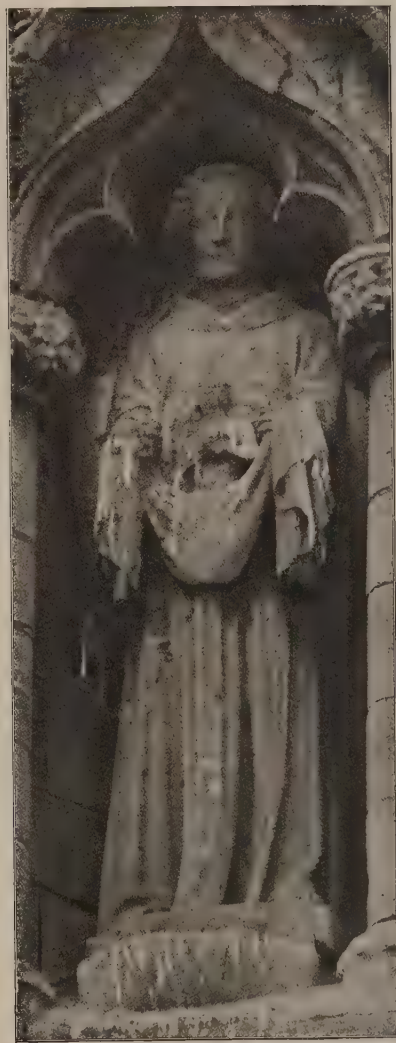


FIG. 378. Newark. Statue on east face of tower. c. 1330.

towers, and can be recognised as of the same handling. What we give here may be taken as exhibiting the course of sculpture-craft from 1300 to c. 1350 in the vigorous church-building, whose material was taken from the Rutland and Lincolnshire quarries. Fig. 377 is the one statue left out of a dozen

that were on the tower of Heckington Church near Boston. Fig. 378 is one of twelve statues upon Newark tower, a work of the Ancaster stone-masons. Over page (Fig. 383) we illustrate the "St Margaret" on the west front of



FIG. 379. Boston. "Madonna" on north side of nave. c. 1340.

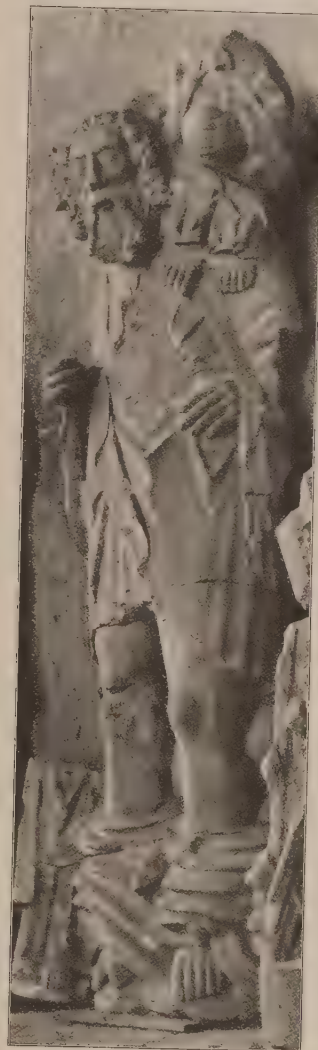


FIG. 380. Terrington St Clement. "St Christopher" in tower. c. 1340.

Sleaford Church, and above (Fig. 379) is shown a "Madonna" from the north side of Boston church. They have been mentioned roughly in order of date: the "St Christopher" (Fig. 380) standing in the tower-space of Terrington St Clement near King's Lynn seems of the same handling as the last.

Such figures of fourteenth-century style have gained in picturesqueness in comparison with the statues of Peterborough gateway but they have lost dignity—their handling is that of imagers'—work coarsened by translation into stone. Note as of image-origin the square heavy blocking of the figure in its lower members, the feet being usually wide apart. Still, the traditional attitudes remain, and, as in the memorial effigies, the Ancaster school was for long reminiscent of the straight draperies, highly-held arms and the deep-cut severe faces of the Peterborough types.

The seated image-model of Peterborough style also left descendants. We have shown the St Peter repeated in two seated figures of apostles on the church of St Peter, Brackley (see Figs. 318, 319, p. 294), in the south corner of Northamptonshire. Of the same type was the seated king on the Abbey gateway at Peterborough. The vigorous execution of these figures shows the style of the Lincoln statues and probably dates to the last quarter of the thirteenth century. A generation later there were placed upon Moulton tower in Lincolnshire two seated figures which have similar characters (Fig. 381, opposite). So the Peterborough model of the seated figure would appear to have spread eastward through the district of the Ancaster stone.

At St James' Chapel, Brackley—the place on the borders of Oxfordshire where we saw the earlier "Peterborough" figures—the later development has a drapery of broadly-treated folds and large head-features (Fig. 382, opposite) with a massive blocking of the hair. Here we seem on the borders of another province of style, represented, for example, in the 1325 statues on the south aisle of Gloucester Cathedral, which we shall presently notice (see Fig. 392, p. 346). The picturesque representations of the western districts pass outside the severe characterisation of Peterborough. We might indeed have expected a more lively and gracious art of figure-work in the Lichfield and Worcester dioceses, for we shall see in Book III., when we show the memorial effigies, that the "Knights" and "Ladies" of the western midlands were sculptured in many picturesque attitudes, with draperies in long pleated folds deeply cut and hanging from the breasts to the feet. It is unfortunate that, owing to the great destruction of the medieval work at Lichfield, hardly anything is left of what must have been a wide and vigorous craft of statue-making in the soft sandstones of the midland building. The one statue remaining out of the many that once had their place on the south side is a "Madonna" (Fig. 385, p. 342), which has been of charming expression, though now the mutilation of the face and loss of the "Child" have spoilt its symmetry¹. But the handling of this figure shows a close connection of style linking the west-midland type of Lichfield with the "Eleanor" statues which we have now to discuss.

¹ At Haughmond, near Shrewsbury, the ruins of the Abbey show five figures which must be classed with the Lichfield work, though, being carved out

of the jambs of an existing doorway, they are stiff in attitude (Fig. 384) and cannot be specifically distinguished from the Ancaster renderings.



FIG. 381. Moulton. Statue on church tower. c. 1300.



FIG. 382. Brackley. St James' Chapel. Statue. c. 1340.



FIG. 383. Sleaford. "St Margaret." c. 1320.



FIG. 384. Haughmond. "St Margaret" in jamb of cloister doorway. c. 1330.

SECTION III. THE STATUES OF THE SOUTHERN SCULPTORS

In more than one way the statues of Edward I.'s queen hold a peculiar position in the course of English figure-sculpture. In memory of her he had crosses erected at the places where her body had rested as it was carried

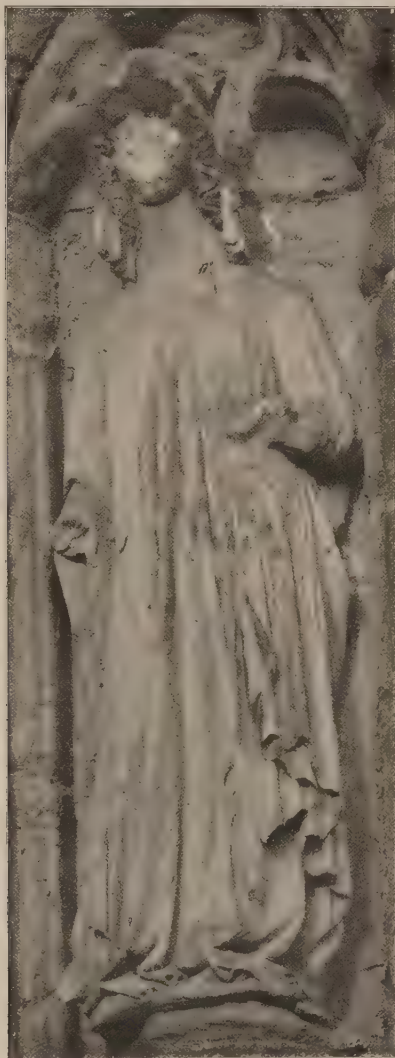


FIG. 385. Lichfield. South side of quire. c. 1300.



FIG. 386. Geddington. "Queen Eleanor" c. 1295.

to Westminster for burial. Three of these remain—at Geddington, near Kettering; at Hardingstone, near Northampton; and at Waltham, near London. Ten "Lady" figures are now to be seen on them, rather above life-size, representing the Queen in varying postures and draperies: but though professing

to be portraits they must be regarded as all modelled upon the "Madonna" motive, much as at Lichfield (Fig. 385 opposite).

As to the figures at Northampton and Waltham, we have the advantage—a rare one in the case of medieval works of sculpture—of knowing the exact date of their carving, the names of their sculptors, and the prices paid. The accounts of the Eleanor Trustees, preserved in the Record Office, recount the expenditure subsequent to the Queen's death, and give all details as to the erection of the crosses. But no mention is made of the Geddington cross, which happens now to be the best preserved, and, since the others have been mutilated and much restored, gives most accurately the original form that the monuments took. Geddington lies in the district of the Rutland quarries, and its cross is of a stone different from that of the other two, and its figures, besides, have a distinct style. One point in the draperies is significant: the way in which the skirt of the cloak is held away from the body in the "Eleanor" (Fig. 386, opposite) was noted in the figures at Lincoln (see Fig. 263, p. 246). Moreover at Geddington the upright carriage of the Queen with the high-raised arms resembles the standing model of the Peterborough gateway figures—the passage of style from one to the other is a short one. The sculptor at Lincoln and Peterborough might, without straining the probabilities, be supposed to have worked these Geddington "Eleanors" also. Now the accounts mention one cross as paid for at Lincoln though no trace of it remains, and they describe Richard of Stow (which is a place close to Lincoln) as the only recipient of money in connection with it. Accordingly it is possible to suppose this Richard the sculptor. Indeed it has been thought that the cross is the one mentioned as being paid for at Lincoln—that it was made there, but set up in Northamptonshire. The diapers that appear as the background of the figures on the monument are certainly characteristic of work in the Cathedral at Lincoln, as, for example, in the quire-screen, at which Richard may have worked. But such diapers are also found upon "Crouchback's" tomb at Westminster, and moreover they are used in the same way in the first Alard tomb at Winchelsea, which we shall think (see Book III., p. 653) of Westminster school. Still, this need not invalidate for the Geddington cross the theory of Lincoln make, because in view of the prestige attaching to the Lincoln building at the end of the thirteenth century the style of its craftsmen would be leading the fashion. A wide distribution of similar ornaments occurs at this date all through the midlands, and since London sculptors were recruited from the ranks of both the sandstone and oolite masons the London style of monument would be likely to absorb the building uses of the provincial crafts.

¹ In 1306 the chapter made a contract with the "novum opus"—probably the erection of the Richard of Stow (or Gainsborough) in respect of tower.

All this conjecture as to Geddington is necessarily vague, but the figures at Hardingstone (Northampton) are described as having been brought direct from London. There are four statues on the cross, but the accounts mention five as being carved in 1292 and sent down for it to Northampton "et alibi." The broad fluttered draperies (Fig. 387, below) and the cloak taken across the body (in three of the figures) bring these Hardingstone "Eleanors" very



FIG. 387. Hardingstone. "Queen Eleanor"
on cross. c. 1292.



FIG. 388. Salisbury statue on west front.
c. 1290.

near in style to a "Lady" effigy in Westminster Abbey, that of Aveline, Countess of Lancaster, who lies immediately to the left at the sanctuary rails—an important piece of sculpture which we illustrate here for comparison (Fig. 389, opposite). Now the sculptor of the Northampton "Eleanors" was, the accounts tell us, William of Ireland (*de Hiberniâ*), who is described as mason (*caementarius*) and imager (*iminator*) indifferently. This must show

him a mason-carver with that architectural grounding for his craft which we have thought likely in Richard of Stow. Both learnt their art of sculpture in the practice of building, but while in the Geddington cross we have the style of the Lincoln and Peterborough mason-craft, in that of Northampton there is the more specialized skill of the London workshops, to which mason-craft was not a natural but an imported aptitude.

Now a point of great interest in this connection is the treatment of drapery with overlapping and convoluted folds seen in the statues upon the Eleanor crosses. This rendering is so different from the thirteenth-century usage at Wells, Westminster, or Lincoln, that we may be justified in calling it a new manner of sculpture, and in giving some attention to its origin and first occurrences in our English work. At first sight the Salisbury sculpture might be thought to have led the way. We have spoken (p. 257) of the chapter-house reliefs as showing a new kind of drapery, and also have pointed

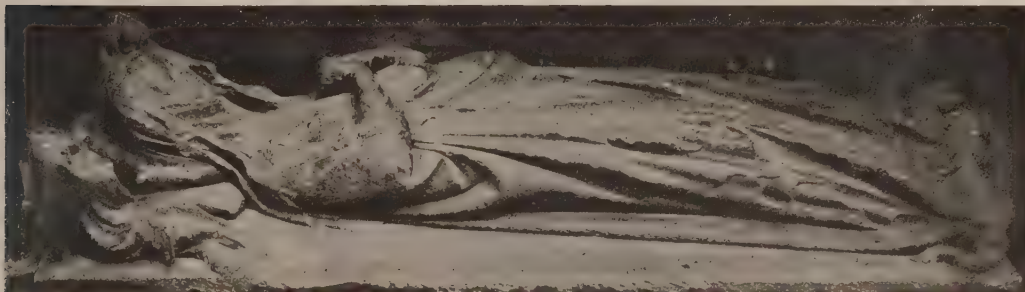


FIG. 389. Westminster. "Aveline, Countess of Lancaster," d. 1269. Effigy probably c. 1290.

out (see page 319) how the statues upon the west front differ from those at Wells, and this although the architecture of the Wiltshire façade is of the same kind as that of the Somersetshire one, and was built immediately after it. The original figures are few at Salisbury—but where best preserved they have their draperies with thin overlapping folds that are naturally rendered, and along with this handling there are swaying, picturesque postures (Figs. 388, opposite and 390, next page) that contrast strongly with the stately simplicity of the Wells sculpture. It is unlikely that the Salisbury front, finished as it was before 1260, would have waited long for its statues. But, seeing that nearly all the old figures have perished, it may well be that the statues first executed for the front have all disappeared, while what have chanced to survive may be the later additions to the niches. For, setting a Salisbury figure by the side of Northampton "Eleanors," as we have on the page opposite, the expressions of drapery appear to be identical, and such as we must date to nearly the end of the century.

Fig. 390 is the best preserved of the Salisbury statues, and the same type appears in the four headless figures (probably "Apostles") which have been dug up in Winchester (Fig. 391) and are now to be seen in the feretory. They would seem image-figures about four feet high, made for setting on a screen or retable, and are remarkable examples of the new handling of costume, with very thin silky folds and a peculiar twist of the skirts over the feet which remained in the representations of drapery till the close of Gothic sculpture. They may be dated by the latest examples of memorial figures in Purbeck marble—for example, the Rochester and Salisbury "bishops" which are figured



FIG. 390. Salisbury. c. 1300.

FIG. 391. Winchester. c. 1300.

FIG. 392. Gloucester. c. 1325.

on pp. 585, 597. In effigies the broad overlap of the chasuble seems first represented about 1270, but it does not show undercut and convoluted edges like the above figures till close upon 1300 (see Figs. 675, 716, pp. 600, 641). Both the marble and freestone memorial effigies of ecclesiastics develop this handling at similar dates as, for example, the "Swinfield" (d. 1299) figure at Hereford (see Fig. 690, p. 617), where the drapery is a close parallel to that in the Winchester torsos.

In the first quarter of the fourteenth century a free rendering of drapery with naturalistic expression had become the common practice of English

sculpture in all districts. Thus the voluminous folds of the York figure-work are rendered finely in the carvings of the Percy tomb at Beverley, c. 1325 (Fig. 394). In the West of England the Gloucester figures (Fig. 392, opposite)



FIG. 393. Rochester.
Chapter doorway. "Synagogue." c. 1330.



FIG. 394. Beverley.
"Angel" on Percy tomb. c. 1325.

dated c. 1325 have naturally-rendered draperies, and at Rochester we have the same materialism in the figures of the "Church" and "Synagogue" (Fig. 393) in the chapter doorway, which are nearly life-size.

We return however to the "Eleanor" sculpture. In the third cross, that at Waltham, the "Queen" figures (Fig. 395) have a different and we think individual execution. They have been modelled with restrained and elegant attitudes, and in their original state must have been among the finest



FIG. 395. Waltham. The "Eleanor" of the Cross. c. 1292.

of our medieval works. In this case we read that the carver was Alexander of Abingdon, who is mentioned also as having supplied figures of bronze. He may, therefore, fairly be supposed as by trade a goldsmith-imager, a

professed maker of church figures, who would use stone as a variant for metal or wood. That in this way two several crafts, goldsmiths and stone-masons, appeared together making stone statues, marks the "Eleanor" work as a significant landmark in the change of style which the fourteenth century ushered in (see pp. 98, 100).

It would be interesting if we could discover more of the personality of this Alexander and find an individual style in his work. The Waltham "Eleanors" have also a likeness to the above-mentioned Aveline's effigy (see Fig. 389, p. 345), but the handlings of the drapery are not so similar, as was to be seen in the Northampton figures. We may, however, bring into immediate comparison a beautiful memorial effigy of a "Lady" in Aldworth Church in Berkshire, that is in close general resemblance (Fig. 396) with the Waltham "Eleanors." The effigy would very likely have come from the Abingdon which was used to surname Alexander, a town of some consequence



FIG. 396. Aldworth (Berks). The "Lady" effigy of c. 1300.

in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, with an important monastery and a reputation that at one time would seem to have made it the rival of Oxford. Now, c. 1300, the craft of making memorial effigies had become shop-work, in immediate connection with the patterns of imagery. The Abingdon building got its stone down the Thames from Gloucestershire, a fairly soft material in which a goldsmith-imager might practise a trade of figure-work. These "Ladies" at Westminster, Waltham and Aldworth would seem executed from c. 1280 to c. 1300, and are all, at any rate, sufficiently alike to suggest their source from a special *atelier*. Is it possible that they show us the style, too, of a single artist, and one of considerable personal endowment? We would draw attention to the restrained and delicate posture of the body, to the straight draperies, to the very slight bend of the right knee, and to the gentle inclination of the head, as indications of a personal touch in Alexander's works.

It must be confessed, however, that much of the English sculpture of this date that we find in southern England has similar expressions, and the attribution of their charm to a single executant is rash. It is safer on the general ground of the attitudes at Northampton and Waltham to say that they are London work, and we certainly make this distinction for London style, that its postures were more natural and easy than either the stiff upright Peterborough presentments or the pronounced sway of the whole figure, which appears in exaggerated form in the York examples. As to the new fashion of drapery in the "Eleanor" figures of 1292, this had appeared in the Aveline memorial, both in the "Lady" effigy and in the "Weepers" on the tomb-chest. Now in France the royal effigies at St Denis had shown this manner as early as 1260. It is reasonable therefore to suppose it coming into the style of the London imagers as the adoption of a foreign fashion, and superseding the earlier mason treatments.

In considering this passage of the craft of building sculpture into the craft of a shop statuary, it is easy to see how it took place in memorial effigies and tomb-chests—as works outside the fabric construction and supplied when the building masons had finished. Then appeared workers in stone figure-work—*mason-imagers* we may call them—making a craft of memorial effigies, but only in the largest cities, where there would be sufficient custom to keep them going. London especially had early its Purbeck-marble trade that dealt in figures of "Bishops" and "Knights," and in this grew up a special class of figure-carvers, occupied with memorial subjects, which they worked in freestone as well as in marble (see pp. 640 seq.). It would seem natural that such a class, supplying royal and noble patrons, whose intercourse with France was frequent, would be ready to adopt the more advanced renderings of the continental sculptors and practise imagers' sculpture, such as we see in the "Eleanors," outside the general course of architectural figure-work. In the destiny of English sculpture the stone image was a symptom of the turn which ushered in its second or fourteenth-century expression.

If it were not for memorial effigies examples of London work would fail us: from the Eleanor statues to those of Henry V.'s chantry we have nothing to show. The destruction of the great medieval churches of London has carried with it the loss of all that the stone imagers executed. We can only piece together some idea of London style by discussing the smaller work that we have reserved for the next chapter. We turn, however, to a vigorous architectural figure-work in the fourteenth-century building of the south-west of England. The west front of Exeter Cathedral displays the largest gallery of medieval figure-sculpture left to us in England after that of Wells, and many of its statues are of fine quality. The sculpture-screen of the façade was the finishing work of Bishop Grandisson's building of the nave,

and was begun, it would seem, as early as 1330, though not completed at his death, 1369. The dates accordingly give a wide margin for the carving of the statues, and indeed the figures on the front have distinct differences in character and handling, just as the niches which hold them have a varying style¹. That "intensity of character" which Cockerell (see Bibliography, p. 107) has very justly admired in the statues is to be found chiefly and



FIG. 397. Exeter. Statues of the lowest row of west front. c. 1345.

strikingly in the "Warriors" and "Kings" placed in the lowest row (Fig. 397). There are of this kind fourteen seated figures, with crossed legs and folded arms, rather above life-size, and these fill the niches of the panels between and beyond the buttresses. Both the vigour of execution and the handling of details mark this set of seated figures which we take as put in

¹ The diminutive pearl enrichment is distinctive of the lower mason-craft but is absent above.

hand along with the beginning of the front, and as sculptured directly in connection with the angels of their corbel-pedestals (Fig. 398, opposite). The cross-legged attitude of all these figures can be judged characteristic of the school—it will be found with similar vigour in the recumbent “knight”-effigies, which came from the Exeter workshops in the first half of the fourteenth century (see Fig. 697, p. 625). Still, romantic attitudes at this date occur not only in Exeter but also in effigies of the second quarter of the fourteenth century in various parts of England, for example, at Aldworth near Abingdon; at Ingham, and Reepham, Norfolk (see pp. 649, 650); and in the wooden figure at Chew Magna, Somerset. We cannot therefore declare that the dramatic representations exhibited in the west-front figures were peculiar to Exeter—any more indeed than the costume of the Exeter “Warrior” (see back, Fig. 397, p. 351). He wears that transitional garment, between surcoat and jupon, which is called the cyclas (see account of military costume in Book III., pp. 560, 561), and this fixes the Exeter figures as before 1350, for the cyclas had a definite period from c. 1325 to c. 1345, being found in figures all over England. But the “knight” at Exeter gets his strongest likeness in the effigy of the “Grandisson,” who was brother of the Bishop and was commemorated at Ottery St Mary (where he founded a college of canons). His fine warlike figure is shown with the cyclas, and he has his accoutrements ornamented with the same roses as we shall see in the Grandisson ivories (see Fig. 405, p. 357). There seems therefore every reason to take the statues as the work of an Exeter school of sculpture.

Long heads with high cheek-bones belong to this Exeter type, and such, too, are found in the figures on the great reredos at Christchurch, Hampshire (see Fig. 37, p. 47). In the sculpture of this great piece, the “Jesse” figures (we illustrate opposite, Fig. 399, “David” introduced as a base in the same way as the “angels” at Exeter) seem from the hands of the sculptor that worked on the west front of the Cathedral. At Christchurch, however, the principal images set in the niches were wooden figures covered with silver plates, and the whole in its entirety must have been a splendid piece of furniture worthy of the Exeter craft. Being under cover, the Beer stone of the Christchurch reredos is little decayed, but on the outside of the Cathedral there is much flaking of the surface so that the fine detail of the sculpture is mostly obliterated. But the minuteness of the handling can be seen in the Porches.

¹ Cockerell (see Bibliography, p. 107) was the first to call attention to the magnificent workmanship of the Exeter front, which should make it the pride of our western capital, and the cherished possession of the county of Devon. Unfortunately no care nor scientific knowledge has as yet been given to the preservation of this splendid monu-

ment of craftsmanship. The authorities with lamentable persistency and in spite of remonstrance allow the stonework of the canopies to be hacked away and replaced by mechanical carving. Meanwhile the statues themselves remain begrimed and slowly rotting from dirt and damp—partially held together with ragged pieces of wire.

In another example, which seems also of the same western school, the decay has gone so far as to disguise all the marks of style. This is the series of angel-figures, representing the nine orders of the celestial hierarchy, which are ranged above the Resurrection tier on the west front of Wells Cathedral. It is possible to suppose the figures placed in the thirteenth-century niches when the scaffolding was raised for the building of the north-west tower in 1370; but they may well be earlier, and contemporary with the angel-corbels



FIG. 398. Exeter. "Angel"-corbel of west front. c. 1345.



FIG. 399. Christchurch (Hants). Figure-corbel of reredos. c. 1350.

of the Exeter front, to which they have some resemblance. An illustration was given on p. 22, Book I.

We have already said that the statues in the upper tiers of the Exeter front would seem of later make, for their art is of coarser type, and less vivid, in its portraiture. We accordingly leave them for treatment under the third or final style of English medieval sculpture—and indeed there occurs the shield of Richard II., showing them late in the fourteenth century.

CHAPTER VIII

THE LESSER FIGURE-WORK OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

SECTION I. THE IMAGES

THE statue-work of the fourteenth century has continually had to be illustrated by reference to the images placed on altars or retables; to the carvings upon the reredos or tomb-chest; and also by bringing into connection the memorial effigies that were laid out upon the tombs. We have, therefore, already made it plain that the sculpture of the figure, which earlier had been of varying expressions according as the executant was the goldsmith or the mason, was now, at the end of the thirteenth century, one art with a single expression in all the trades of figure-carving. That is to say that the great architectural pieces that the building-sculptor executed were taken as models by the goldsmith-imager—so that the motives of the mason's "lodge" or building-yard passed into city workshops, where the metal, wooden and ivory images were made. We have shown, too, how the stone-mason had himself become an imager, and had a shop where he made marble and freestone figures outside his constructive craft, and that this was a departure from the ideals upon which Gothic architecture had raised itself. The sculptor-instinct, that had its interest in the representation of the figure, separated from the building use, that had its interest in construction. But this meant an enfeeblement of the architectural expression by the taking away of one vital element. When we deal with the fifteenth-century art, the consequences that come of this will be shown in the marked decadence and decay of architectural carving.

We may turn here, however, to what seemed at first the enrichment of the imager's art by the energies that had developed in Gothic stone-sculpture. A new style had been given to him, and by this gift the maker of small figures was raised for the time to the foremost position in figure-carving. The goldsmith, such as Torel (see p. 100) of Westminster, who could found the effigy of Eleanor of Castile (see Fig. 739, p. 661) could, we think, be trusted to model for the altar a "Virgin" and a "Christ" that might rank among the great figure-work of the world's sculpture. We may be quite sure that gold, silver and bronze figures were wrought, though none of them have been left to show what precious works of art the English altars of the

fourteenth century once possessed. There are gone, too, the wooden figures plated with silver as recorded at Christchurch, Hampshire, and those gilded jewelled pieces that existed at every altar. To represent fourteenth-century image-work we have most often only stone figures too shattered even for classification. Our cathedrals and larger churches possess some heads and busts of figures, dug up from their floors, many of which may in a general way be recognised as of the fourteenth century, and we have already illustrated some of the most important of these. It will be seen, however, that though we must think the second period of English medieval figure-sculpture undoubtedly its golden age as respects the image-figure, our chance of illustrating it is small.

As to the north-country imagers, scarcely anything survives of their fourteenth-century crafts in the Yorkshire cities. We shall show further on a



FIG. 400. Cartmel (Lancs). Tomb-figures of York style. c. 1340.

wooden "Madonna" in the York Museum, but this is clearly of later making. The earlier style must be judged of from tombs, like the "Percy tomb" at Beverley, from which we gave illustrations in the last chapter (see Fig. 394, p. 347), and such architectural expressions must mark for us the limits of that special York sculpture which c. 1300 had seemed such a vivid one. Far away in North Lancashire the great tomb at Cartmel is to be thought a work of the York school though executed in the local sandstone. Above the screen-work on one side of the tomb is a "Majesty," on the other a "Coronation of the Virgin" (Fig. 400), and there are attendant figures, more damaged, on both sides as well as various relief-carvings. Though the work is blunt and expressionless the angels kneeling at the side of the "Coronation" are of very similar style to those at Beverley, and in all the figures the faces and hair treatments have the York peculiarities.

It is possible that a "Madonna" set on the east front of Patrington Church in South Yorkshire, and now much worn, may once have been an altar-image. The long face and coarsely-cut locks of hair are like those at Beverley, but the rough execution points to its being a building-mason's attempt at imagery. How lifeless such attempts could sometimes be can be seen at Howden, where a "Virgin with a bird" is a dull block (Fig. 401). Our later chapters will comment on what appears an extraordinary decay of sculpturesque expression in the works of the northern figure-sculptors after the Black Death of 1350.



FIG. 401. Howden. "Virgin." c. 1340.



FIG. 402. Ely. c. 1320.



FIG. 403. Newark. c. 1350.

Any adequate representation of the eastern image-crafts seems equally impossible owing to the loss of examples. At Ely Cathedral there are two statuettes about 20 inches high, now placed in Bishop West's Chapel. One, almost perfect and of great beauty, represents a kneeling nun (Fig. 402), originally, no doubt, in connection with a "Christ" or "Madonna." Its handling of drapery in broad folds differs considerably from that of the current relief sculpture: the influence of the London image-shops is, as we shall see, to be assumed. The second figure, that of a monk, which has been spoilt by a foolish attempt at restoration, can in its drapery-style be referred to the architectural reliefs of the Ely Lady Chapel. The style may be traced,

too, in a torso in the Lincoln cloister, and in some small figures, about three feet high, in the niches outside the north transept at Newark, of image type (Fig. 403, opposite). They seem late in the fourteenth century, and are proof that the workshops of Ancaster stone had after the Black Death a craft of imagery without the peculiar exaggerations that affected the York works.

The midland imagers of the fourteenth century have left examples of their craft in a different style. Though Nottingham lay in the York diocese, its manner of alabaster sculpture (see next page) was not founded on that of the York workshops. The likeness is to the statues on the spire of St Mary's, Oxford, but with less leaning on the severe types of the Peterborough and Ancaster masons. Also the stone-sculpture of West England is in near

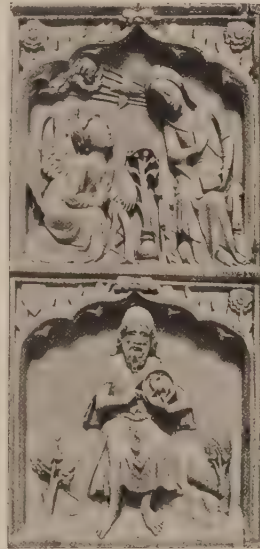


FIG. 404. Hereford. "Coronation" in Lady Chapel. c. 1350. FIG. 405. Brit. Mus. Grandisson diptych. c. 1340.

connection: for example, there is at Hereford a "Coronation of the Virgin" (Fig. 404) upon the c. 1350 screen-work at the north side of the Lady Chapel, a beautiful piece two feet in height. At Tewkesbury a rather larger figure (now represented by a cast) has the same character. Some comparison may also here be made with the handling of action and drapery in the Grandisson ivories (Fig. 405) as well as with what we show on next page in an alabaster statuette at Royston. There are differences of detail in the three materials, stone, alabaster and ivory respectively, but their similarities may connect the first figure-works of the alabaster-shops with southern image-style. Neither the Ancaster statue, with its big head, nor the York treatment, as shown in the Beverley tomb, seems the precursor of the alabaster image.

In the exhibition of alabaster made by the Society of Antiquaries in 1910, many image-pieces were shown, and we are able to illustrate as well as the Royston "Madonna" (Fig. 406) another elegant figure that was shown there (Fig. 407). Being placed on screens, the alabaster statuettes are flattened at the back, and have rather the modelling of high relief. For more than a hundred years they were supplied from workshops in Nottingham and other cities, this trade preceding that of the "tables" or slabs of relief-subjects carved in alabaster, the working of which into church furniture probably began c. 1350,

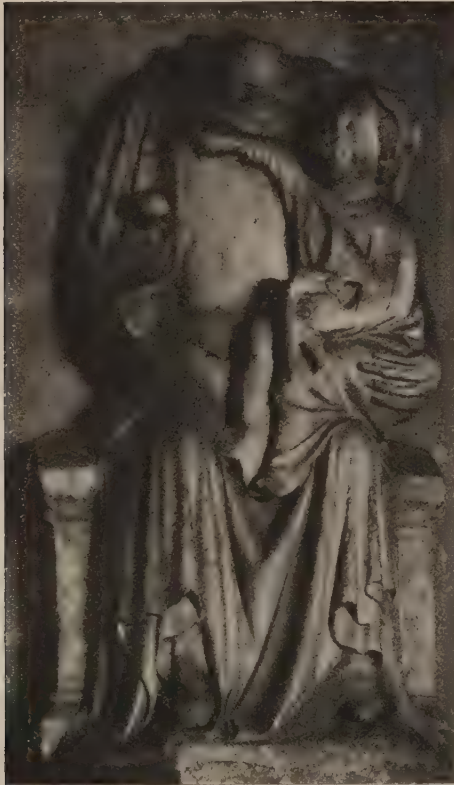


FIG. 406. Royston (Cambs). Alabaster "Madonna."

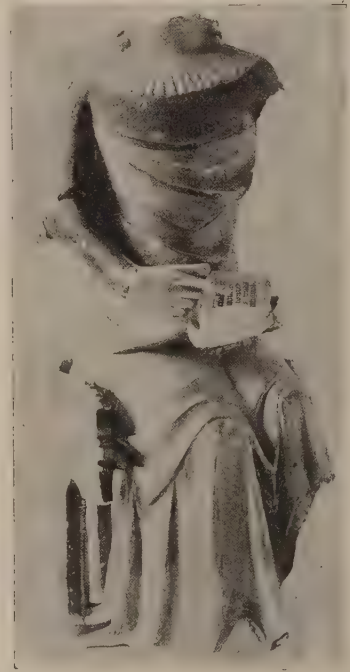


FIG. 407. Alabaster image of "St Anne."

though its conspicuous examples are later. The three figures found in Flawford Chapel, near Nottingham, and now in the Museum of the city (Fig. 408) rank among our most perfect medieval images. They are some 3 feet 6 inches in height, and since their material is the Derbyshire alabaster, and Nottingham was the city immediately at hand to the quarries, local *provenance* seems assured. Thus we have in them the style of the fourteenth-century imagers who worked in the midland cities for the screens of great churches such as Lichfield and Southwell.

Another piece of the same material and with similar handling is at Breadsall, Derbyshire (Fig. 409 below). The crimping of the head-veil and the hair treatment in these alabaster "Virgins" also occur in some "Lady" effigies



FIG. 408. Nottingham Museum. Flawford Madonna.



FIG. 409. Breadsall (Derby). "Our Lady of Pity." c. 1350.

of the middle of the fourteenth century, such, for example, as the wooden figure at Sparsholt, Berkshire. Such elaboration of textures shows an attention to detail in costume which is characteristic of fourteenth-century sculpture.

The fourteenth-century images of southern England can only be illustrated in stone fragments. At Cobham, in East Kent, are heads and torsos, which were discovered built up in a wall and are now placed in a glass case. There have been four standing figures of "saints" or "apostles," about two feet high, while on a larger scale three female heads (Fig. 410, below) have belonged it would seem to images almost life-size. The handling of the draperies in the smaller figures connects them with the Rochester chapter-doorway carvings which we shall presently show (see Figs. on page 362), but the Cobham image-works may be earlier in date, since the resemblances are close to the weepers of the Crouchback tomb c. 1300 (see Fig. 432, p. 377). The heads show lively expressions, and are valuable examples since in the mutilation of superstitious images most fourteenth-century statues have had their faces destroyed. As to draperies and postures we find the same style in figures lately dug up



FIG. 410. Cobham (Kent). Image-head. c. 1320.

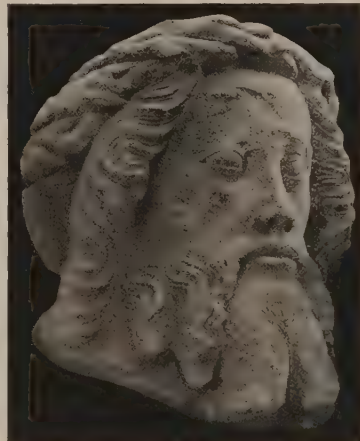


FIG. 411. Winchester. Head in feretory.

on the site of St Augustine's Abbey at Canterbury (Fig. 412, opposite), but here as usual the heads are gone. Also a portion of a statue at Rochester, the upper part of a youthful figure in the dress of c. 1350, has the face-features and hair handled in very similar fashion to the Cobham work. The distribution of such pieces allows us to connect them with the London imagers, as will be further illustrated when we turn to the "weeper" figures upon the Westminster tombs (see pp. 377 et seq.).

Several fragments of stone figures have been found at Winchester. Some heads in the Library and Feretory of the Cathedral, dug up in various parts of the building, would seem knocked off images. We give one of these (Fig. 411, above) as having a treatment suggestive of a fourteenth-century date, though it may be quite late in the century. The heads of the "Kings" that are carved on the Christchurch reredos (see Fig. 399, p. 353) may be compared.

The most remarkable discovery at Winchester of fourteenth-century image-work has been the "Madonna and Child" (Fig. 413, below) now in the feretory of the Cathedral. It is a work of great delicacy and distinction, with smooth draperies that have a different handling from those on the torsos illustrated on page 346. It is carved in Caen stone, and when complete must have been a figure about three feet high, probably an altar-image.

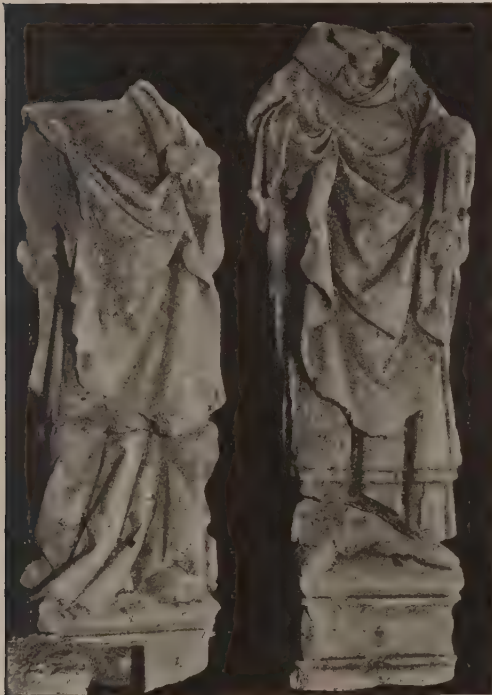


FIG. 412. Canterbury. St Augustine's Abbey. c. 1330.



FIG. 413. Winchester. "Madonna." c. 1340.

The above groupings of image-work have been attempted more or less to accord with the district-schools defined for the larger statues, which had immediate connections with architecture (see pp. 329 seq.). In one case, however, that of the statuette at Ely (see Fig. 402, p. 356), the local work of the architectural sculptors as represented by the Lady Chapel reliefs has not seemed of the same kind. We must go to the Winchester "Madonna" above for its natural modelling of smooth draperies, that are distinctive of an imager's handling. Its connections must be looked for in the "weepers" upon John of Eltham's alabaster tomb-chest at Westminster (see Fig. 435, p. 379), or at Rochester in the figures upon the jambs of the chapter-doorway (see Fig. 414 on next page).

The same broad classes or schools of figure-treatment will appear when we deal with the sepulchral effigies of the fourteenth century in Book III. Since church-images and the memorial figures would be alike of necessity city productions, we must look for similar qualities in their sculpture. The examples of the northern images are, as we have said, too few for comparison of their draperies and head treatment with the effigy-style of Yorkshire. But the "Ancaster" images can be identified by the characteristics of the "Ancaster" effigies, as we may see by putting the Newark niche-figure (which was illustrated on page 356) beside the monumental "lady" which we

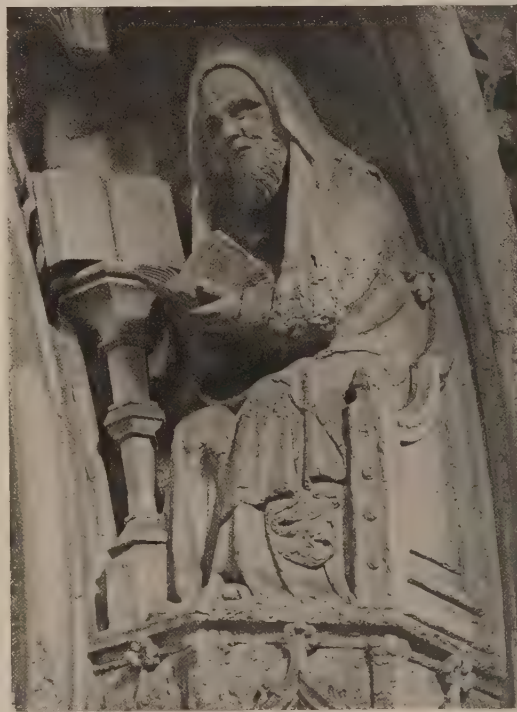


FIG. 414. Rochester. Chapter doorway. "The Doctors of the Church." c. 1340.

shall show from Swaton in Lincolnshire (see Fig. 713, p. 638). The midland workshops developed a style of more varied expression but still with dispositions of draperies such as we can recognise also in the recumbent "lady" effigies at Worcester or Hereford (see Figs. 691, 721, pp. 617, 646). In these cases the local stone-crafts are to be credited as fixing a local style of figure-work in all its branches in the city shops as well as on the buildings.

But the art of building-sculpture was a different thing in London, so that in the district immediately in touch with London style new influences may be

conjectured. We can trace how the imager's manner of carving stone figures had developed in a way to separate itself from the practice of the architectural carvers—that is to say, that c. 1350 shop-style was conceiving the figure as a separate detached imitative object without regard to its position in the building scheme. We may illustrate our meaning by reference to the chapter-doorway at Rochester, a full view of which was given on p. 41. We have also shown in connection with London statues the figure of the "Synagogue" (see Fig. 393, p. 347). This Rochester work, which is so plainly an insertion, makes our best example of the tendencies c. 1350, when the central school was giving a manner of sculpture to the national art. The



FIG. 415. Victoria and Albert Museum. Salting Collection, ivory diptych. c. 1340.

carvings of the archivolt are significant as specimens of image-work style in an architectural setting. The "Doctors of the Church" (Fig. 414) are clearly outside a building-mason's conception. Their furrowed faces and deep-set eyes, their pose and detail are those of an individual pictorial expression, such as an image-maker would cultivate.

Our English record is a poor one in comparison with the French in the wooden images, and ivory figures and groups that are among the most beautiful of medieval sculptures. But the Grandisson ivories are proof of similar English crafts, and the standing "Madonna" in the Salting Collection

(Fig. 415) can be claimed as a specimen of them. And it is at any rate satisfactory, as telling for the view that workshop practice was influencing sculpture in London, that the Victoria and Albert Museum possesses seated images of the "Madonna" which seem to fall into class beside the stone pieces whose fragments must represent to us the work of English imagers. They differ from the French works of similar subject by their setting the "Virgin" full front, instead of with the knees together and turned sideways as was the model of the Paris ivory-workers. It will be seen, too (Fig. 416), that their likeness to undoubted English stone-sculpture may warrant them as native productions. The example to the right, with the seated "Child," is in treat-



FIG. 416. Victoria and Albert Museum. Ivory statuettes conjectured to be English work. c. 1340.

ment and handling very similar to the stone "Madonna" at Winchester (see Fig. 413, p. 361): there is the same plump good-nature of expression, with the same smooth draperies. The other, with the standing "Child," is in draperies and style to be compared with the Royston "Madonna" (see Fig. 406, p. 358). In the Victoria and Albert Museum a set of wooden figures, two representing the "Coronation of the Virgin" and the rest "apostles," have something of the same character (see Fig. 613, p. 524). We can only suppose the centre of such an image-craft, or at any rate the school of its craftsmen, to have been the capital city, London.

SECTION II. THE RELIEFS AND "WEEPER" SCULPTURE OF THE
FOURTEENTH CENTURY

We started the last section by exhibiting all the arts of figure-work as in close connection in the last quarter of the thirteenth century, but our section ended with the insistence that by the middle of the fourteenth century a distinct cleavage was making its appearance, especially in London. At the end of the fourteenth century a differentiation of style, produced by different interests in the careers of the executants—as respectively shopmen and building-artisans—did, in our opinion, become so distinct that we shall separate examples of Last Gothic sculpture. We shall deal in one chapter with the city or shop-sculpture of the fifteenth century, and in others with the architectural figure-working of the building-mason and of his brother the building-carpenter. Here, however, we do not make this distinction for the fourteenth-century work. The habit of shop-sculpture had generally its part in altering the character of fourteenth-century work, but it had not yet forced apart the respective spheres of the architectural and furniture sculptors. Essential difference of quality is not, we think, to be found before the latter part of the century, because, although not a building-mason, the stone-imager was still fresh from the banker-shed, and his set pieces were still very much of a kind with what was put into the bosses and corbels of architectural use.

Yet, in comparison with the architectural sculpture of the first Gothic art, the general quality of its second period in England seems deficient. "The statues and the images of the fourteenth century, if they depart from the sentiment of the earlier art, are still as masterly in accomplishment—but the lesser figure-sculpture of the same period, the reliefs, the spandrel-figures, the corbels and boss-subjects, neither in execution nor in sentiment reach the monumental style they had in the earlier building. We miss the grand manner that at Wells, Westminster, and Lincoln, gave a nobility to every piece. That "Greek" charm which so strangely flavoured the earlier art has now gone, and in its place have come other interests of figure-sculpture, which somehow we feel to be on a lower plane.

It may be worth considering for a moment what we mean by this judgment that fourteenth-century figure-style was no longer on the summit of medieval art, but had taken a step aside. The vivid and romantic expressions of much of it, and the dexterity of its technique, are both unquestionable: but what we miss is, we think, the vital sincerity of sculpture. In much of what we shall show, intricacy and variety are more in evidence than feeling; the fourteenth-century carver can tell stories but no longer seems able to create ideas. In moral power, as well as in its actual scale, his work has somehow become petty.

Now this pettiness was, no doubt, to some extent conditioned by certain developments that determined the position of figure-sculpture just at the end of the thirteenth century. There were two main circumstances at this date which specially affected its representations: first, the stage of sculptural proficiency just reached by the stone-carver, and secondly, the phase of Gothic building into which at the date the sculptor was working. As to the former, we may see, how for a hundred years he had been gaining in expertness, his ambitions at strain towards a distinct goal. We see how from mere indication of sacred story he had gone on to its graphic representation, how this led him to study the human figure and reproduce it in stone. Little by little his chisel had grown more capable of rendering imitatively the external aspects of his subject. But stone-sculpture is less an art of mimicry than of expression, and limitations as to exact imitation are very practical. However strong its assertion to suggest natural forms and textures, strict laws dictate the direction in which that imitation shall proceed. For example, the texture of stone forbids anything approaching actual imitation of the forms of hair, of eyes, or of the weaving of draperies. Only with reservation and, as it were, under a veil can these and other features be suggested in stone; unveiled, the exaggerations which are necessary for the presentation of the facts show nakedly and become offensive. Therefore the art of the stone-sculptor is by its conditions led to address its audience suggestively rather than realistically. As long as the story which the medieval sculptor was unfolding and the scenes which he offered were under the suggestion of symbolism, both the subjects and the manners of the sculptor were agreed. As long as attribute was accepted as distinguishing and interpreting the story, dexterity was not called upon for tricks of representation, but had its power in the broad nobility of moral effects. But efforts at realisation took the sculptor further and further away from the moral exposition of the sacred legend. He imagined its incidents as history, and then the discrepancy between his imaginative power and the possibilities of stone-carving began to appear. To give force to portrayal he exaggerated movement and texture; gesture had to be excessive, and costume elaborate. And the end was that the ingenuity of his chisel finally was called in to condone the contortion of his exaggerated realisms by the help of elaborate accessories.

Shallowness of idea is very evident in some fourteenth-century relief-work, and a pettiness of scale was forced upon it also, in the field assigned to sculpture. There is a stage in the course of the building arts when the details of the constructive scheme become motives of decoration and are multiplied on the fabric surfaces. The delight of the Gothic artist in his extraordinary science of weaving coherent lattices of stone made him fall easily into this habit of ornamenting building with building items. The arch and the gable in

their graceful attenuations became, as it were, symbols of his achievement, and were plastered over his walls on all occasions and on every scale. The niche, canopied and pinnacled, cusped and traceried, became the especial plaything of the fourteenth-century decorators. Accordingly, the wall surfaces which in the thirteenth century had been used for fields of figure-design, were in the fourteenth given up to architectural panellings that admitted the figure in their interstices only, parcelling out spaces for its use, and making it, in fact, a mere variant on leafage.

So in scale as in moral expression the figure-sculpture of wall-surfaces tended to pettiness in the fourteenth century. A good instance of this shift of conception in the province of architectural figure-sculpture is found at



FIG. 417. Norwich Cathedral. Doorway into cloister. c. 1300.

Norwich in the doorway into the cathedral from the east walk of the cloister (Fig. 417), a work begun in 1297. Instead of being given the broad sculptured tympanum of the thirteenth century (as *e.g.* at Lincoln only some twenty years earlier, where the whole is a great picture of the "Doom," dominated by the "Majesty of Christ") at Norwich we have a small "Christ" with other figures set in the arch-moulding, under a picturesque series of canopied niches which are arranged *voussoir*-wise. Significant, too, of a changed ideal is the expressed liveliness of attitudes shown in these figures. Looking back at the more serious art of the earlier carvers, might we not say that the ideal of an architectural sculpture is here invaded? An easel-sculpture, such as would grow up in the shops supplying a great city,

has offered motives outside the conceptions of the simple business of building.

Another work to which a similar significance may be attached is the shrine of St Alban in the quire of his abbey. This is constructed on the pattern of the thirteenth-century tomb-canopies of Archbishop Gray at York and of Bishop Bridport at Salisbury, but is entirely of Purbeck marble. The figure-work (see Fig. 68, p. 72) consists of seated saints and censing angels in deeply cut relief but is singularly insignificant in effect and of merely decorative expression in the scheme of traceries and crockets. It is to be dated c. 1305 and coincides with a sort of crisis in the history of the Purbeck marble craft, which will be of importance in our discussion of the memorial effigies (see Book III., p. 602). Up to the beginning of the fourteenth century the marblers held a special position as figure-workers in the round. This now comes to an end, and for the remaining period of Gothic style the Purbeck



FIG. 418. Lincoln Cathedral. "Easter Sepulchre." c. 1300.

merchants appeared as the purveyors of a crocketted architectural canopy-work, but left figure-works to the freestone masons.

However, on the east side of England the stone furniture of fourteenth-century churches was allowed not a little figure-work. A group of florid pieces can be called evident connections of the Norwich doorway since they have the same peculiar crocketted ogees or straight-lined arches and a similar relief-sculpture. The earliest example of the class is at Lincoln, the "Easter Sepulchre" on the north side of the Angel Choir, which is in the form of a recessed altar-tomb, the panels carved with the sleeping soldiers (Fig. 418, above). At Navenby, not far off, there is the same soldier-sculpture, and in the ogee canopy above, the "angel" and the "women at the sepulchre" (Fig. 419, opposite), the heads unfortunately broken off, but with the draperies delicately handled, and a sway of the figures such as we have seen at Norwich. With this can be immediately illustrated the censing angels carved on the

canopy of a tomb at Gosberton in Lincolnshire (Fig. 420): the date of c. 1300—c. 1310 seems given to the three works by the costume of the military figures, viz. of the “soldiers of the sepulchre” in the two former (Fig. 418) and of the memorial “knight” effigy in the latter. The representation of the mail in intersecting rings is that found in the contemporary recumbent effigies of the north (see pp. 631 seq.) and differs from the usual carving of it in the south of England.



FIG. 419. Navenby (Lincs). Top of Easter Sepulchre. c. 1310.

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FIG. 420. Gosberton (Lincs). Spandrel of tomb. c. 1310.

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FIG. 421. Hawton. “Soldier.” c. 1330.

47

Panels of relief-sculpture under ogee canopies with similar crockets are found at Mattersey not far from Retford, and appear to have been parts of a stone reredos. The subjects are the story of "St Martin" and that of "the Invention of the Cross." The stone-sculpture in the former (Fig. 422) may be compared with that in the spandrels of tomb-canopies at Westminster, which must be nearly of the same date (see Fig. 718, p. 643).

Fully elaborated examples of this class of design may be found in the sculptured fittings which give a peculiar richness to the chancel interiors of Heckington (see Figs. 53 and 57, pp. 60 and 64) in Lincolnshire, and the not far distant church of Hawton (Fig. 425). They are stone panellings consisting



FIG. 422. Mattersey (Notts). "St Martin." c. 1310.



FIG. 423. Ely Lady Chapel. c. 1340.

of crocketted ogee niches and canopies of an exuberant type which are very similar and apparently of nearly the same date in the two places. The chief pieces of work are on the north side in the "Easter Sepulchres," which are stone screens backed into the wall, some twelve feet high, elaborately panelled and niched, and lavishly decorated with figure-works representing the "Resurrection" and "Ascension," while below as at Lincoln are the sleeping "soldiers" (see back, Fig. 421, p. 369). On the south sides the chancels have sedilia with lofty niched canopies of the same kind capped by friezes on which are carved "Coronations" of the Virgin and of Christ by angels (see Fig. 57, p. 64).

These works all belong to the same school of sculpture and are wrought in the same stone, but they are furniture-insertions in the body of the buildings in which they occur. They may be taken as importations from workshops which made a speciality of big pieces of stone furniture either at Lincoln or some other centre of the Ancaster stone-craft¹. Their figure-carvings are free

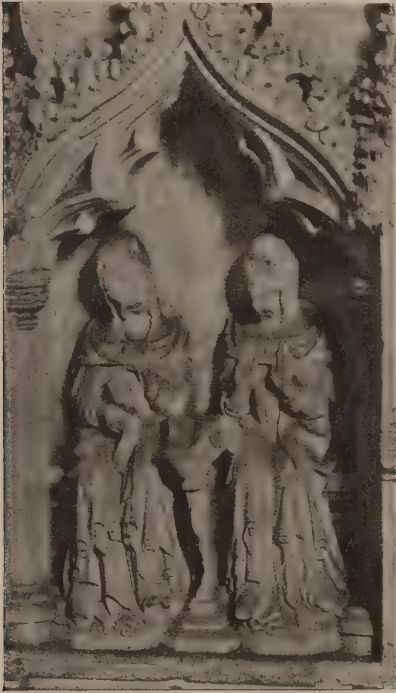


FIG. 424. Lincoln. "Weepers" of Bishop Burghersh's Tomb. c. 1340.

¹ As to the dates of these pieces it may be observed that the foliage types at Lincoln, Mattersey, and Navenby are of the earlier naturalistic quality, which was replaced by the more mannered puckered carving, represented at Heckington and Hawton. These last seem works of c. 1330 since the same puckered foliage (Fig. 424) was carved on Bishop Burghersh's monument (1320—1340).

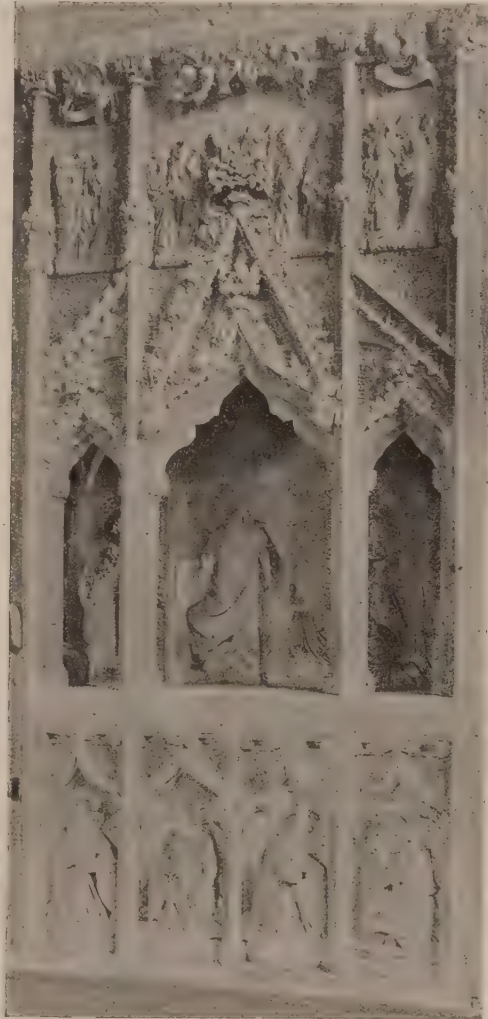


FIG. 425. Hawton (Notts). "Easter Sepulchre." c. 1330.

and picturesque in attitude, and in composition have a quality of decorative story-telling which is peculiar to the first part of the fourteenth century. The subjects of the Mattersey retablo, and the "Ascension" composition at Hawton which forms the frieze of the Easter Sepulchre (Fig. 425), are brilliant pieces of well-modelled figure-ornament.

Of the same kind and a most ambitious and important piece of stone furniture is that found in the Lady Chapel at Ely, the foundation stone of which was laid in 1321. The work is in the chalk-stone (*clunch*) of the eastern counties, and was no doubt from the hands of shop-craftsmen accustomed to supply the stone furniture of churches, the whole style of the decoration and of the figure-work being near neighbour to the rich treatments of the Ancaster stone. The reliefs consist of some 120 spandrel carvings which ornament the long ranges of sedilia round the walls of this fine chapel. The character of the sculpture in its relation to the rich decorative arcade can be best judged from our illustrations (Fig. 425, see also Fig. 56, p. 62). As pointed out by M. R. James (see Bibliography, p. 107), the motive is one of literary presentation throughout; the object has been to



FIG. 426. Ely. Lady Chapel. c. 1340.

exhibit in all the detail of anecdotal expression the Marian legends, and, indeed, ludicrous efforts at appropriate action appear in some of the graceful figures.

We have brought opposite an illustration of an ivory in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Fig. 427) where the figures of the "Annunciation" and "Salutation" are given tricks of gesture and turns of drapery like those at Ely. And like the regular shop-article of ivory, the stone-carving was, of course, highly coloured and gilded. The big proportions that are given to the heads and hands may be taken as one of the expedients of image-craft—such exaggeration being necessary to counteract the flattening effect of bright colours and gilding upon relief sculpture. At Ely the work is all now very much damaged and hardly a head remains intact, while the colour has almost disappeared; but in the original brightness the whole must have

been a magnificent vivid tapestry, with the interest of a story-book. Yet apart from this story-telling it can hardly be claimed that the figure-sculpture has obtained any higher interest than is reached by the leaf-carvings and the exuberant crockets of the overhanging canopies.

Further north, the magnesian limestone of the Yorkshire building gave the material for a shop-craft of stone furniture as rich and decorated as that of the Ancaster and "clunch" masons. There are in the Museum of St Mary's Abbey, York, fragments of richly carved monuments, one of which we illustrate (Fig. 428). Remains, too, of other elaborate furniture have been dug up in a church close to the Abbey. These works have the same florid conception and smooth execution that has been remarked in the other works



FIG. 427. Victoria and Albert Museum. Ivory tablet.

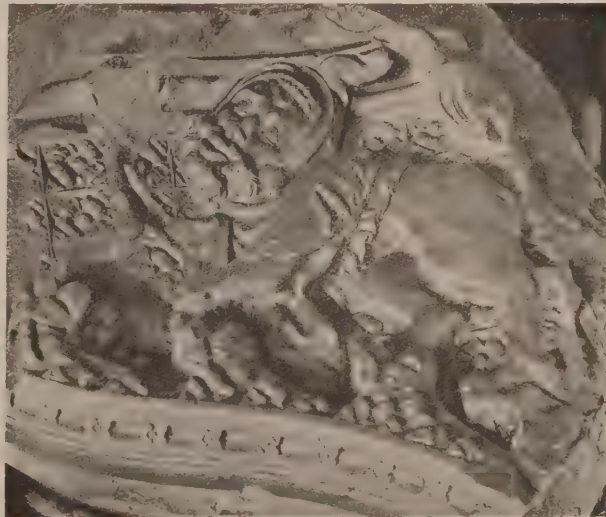


FIG. 428. York Museum. Fragment of carving, c. 1340.

of the Yorkshire fourteenth-century school. Our illustrations (see pp. 333 and 347) have already shown its figure-style in the Percy tomb at Beverley, which is a lofty arched erection in the magnesian limestone of Tadcaster, and came, we cannot doubt, from the York workshops. As well as the pinnacle statuettes there was a decorative figure-work on the cusped spandrels of the great canopied arch (see Fig. 25, p. 34). In all these works figure-sculpture was on the way towards becoming a mere zoomorphic ornament. The accomplishment and ease of it are evident, but the meaning as figure-sculpture has ceased to interest; it had become the trick of decorative instinct and was on the return road to savage art.

While we suggest that a somewhat disordered imagination accompanied the prodigality of the northern decoration, a sweeter, saner expression may

be claimed for the architectural work of southern England, where the stone furnitures of screen and monument have usually, in place of the widely arched and boldly canopied constructions of northern art, a slender panelled screen-work, each panel separately niched for its figure. We have already given one beautiful specimen of this ornamental furniture in the doorway of the Rochester chapter-house (see Fig. 33, p. 41; also pp. 347, 362). Niche statues were usually the sole use of figure-work upon the western shrines and tomb-canopies, which were arranged as stories of tabernacle-work—such as St Werburgh's shrine at Chester, the tomb of Edward II. at Gloucester, and the sedilia at Exeter. But at Christchurch, Hants, the great reredos (see Figs. 37, p. 47 and 399, p. 353) was carved with pieces of sculpture in high



FIG. 429. Exeter Nave. The "Angel" relief of Minstrel Gallery. c. 1340.

relief, which we have connected with the Exeter sculpture-shops. At Exeter also can be seen a characteristic frieze of merry musician "angels" carved on the parapet of the music gallery in the nave (Fig. 429), still retaining much of its original painting. In this south-western work (as we noted p. 352) long heads and high foreheads were special marks of style, and we may see the same in the ivories in the British Museum, that on account of the escutcheon and badges are considered to have been made for Bishop Grandisson, the builder of the west part of Exeter nave, c. 1345. We have more than once referred to these most important works of ivory, which appear to be authenticated English work and therefore characteristic of the trend of our shop-work figure-sculpture c. 1350. But here we lay stress upon the peculiar

Exeter handling of the relief. Below we give (Fig. 430) the triptych in the British Museum, and on page 357 we showed the leaf of the diptych, the other half of which is in the Louvre.

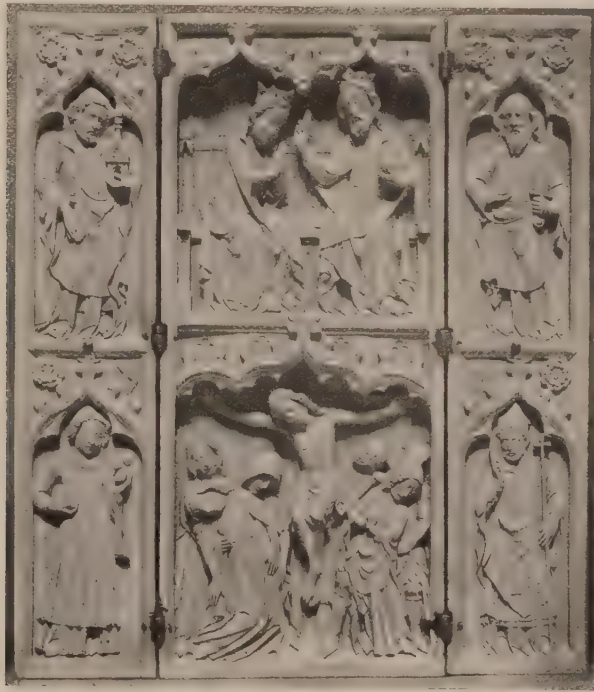


FIG. 430. British Museum. Ivory triptych. c. 1340.

THE "WEEPERS" OF TOMB-CHESTS

The widest review of relief-sculpture in southern style may be made by turning to a particular branch of it which happens in England to have been better preserved than the sculpture of altars and screens. The fourteenth-century tomb-chests were commonly carved with a row of figure-reliefs which were technically called "weepers," being usually representations of friends or connections of the deceased, who are exhibited as if attendant at his funeral (see Fig. 72, p. 76). The habit of placing figure-work on the sides of the sarcophagus had been an early one in our Gothic art. It occurs, for example, in the Purbeck tomb (c. 1207) of Bishop Marshall of Exeter (see Fig. 303, p. 278) and also in the latest works of the marble effigy-makers, as at Worcester on Bishop Giffard's monument, c. 1300. We have mentioned, pp. 176, 177, how, as on fonts, these Purbeck carvings on tomb-chests follow the lines of the lead figure-works in succession to the Romanesque uses on metal shrines.

Upon freestone monuments in England the "weepers" appear c. 1275,

.e.g. upon the tomb of Lady Fitz-Alan, at Chichester, where beautiful little figures, set in quatrefoils that follow the Purbeck marble model, represent her relations. In a monument of c. 1285, at Hereford, we have the "chapter" of Knights Templar (Fig. 431), seated figures of warriors carved in relief upon the tomb-panels of Bishop Cantilupe (d. 1282), who was Grand Master of the English Templars. Of the same kind were the "soldiers" carved on the Easter Sepulchres which we have already illustrated at Lincoln (see Fig. 418, p. 368) and at Hawton (see Fig. 421, p. 369). The above make



FIG. 431. Hereford. Transept. The Cantilupe "Weepers." c. 1285.

small departure from the motives and handlings of the goldsmith modellers: but on many English tomb-chests, c. 1300, standing figures of a new motive appeared. The monument of Louis, son of St Louis, at St Denis, made c. 1260, is supposed to have been the first instance of these costume figurettes, the fashion of which came into the London workshops apparently c. 1280. Aveline, Countess of Lancaster, who died 1273, has on her sarcophagus six "mourners" carved in relief in niches¹. The tomb at Canterbury of

¹ The reader should turn to p. 643, where the Westminster tombs are illustrated.

Archbishop Peckham (d. 1292), probably made in a London workshop, has similar figures. So also has the tomb of the Earl of Lancaster (Aveline's husband, "Crouchback," second son of Henry III., d. 1296) in Westminster Abbey. We may take these three monuments as probably all made c. 1290, the two last in the lifetimes of those commemorated (see pp. 642, 643). During the fourteenth century the fashion of representing the children and relations of the deceased on the tomb-chest becomes general, and is found, for example, at Winchelsea, at St David's, at Howden (Yorks), and on many of the mid-England tombs of the middle of the fourteenth century. Towards 1350 and after, the "weepers" get considerable interest from the



FIG. 432. Westminster. The tomb-chest of the Earl of Lancaster (d. 1296).

changing fashions of fourteenth-century costume, and a later chapter will specially illustrate the manner of third English sculpture from these figures. But the drift of the London shop-sculptor away from the sculpturesque ideal of the earlier building art may be traced in examples taken from the Westminster tombs. In the monument of "Crouchback" (Fig. 432) we may see how the queenly figure represented has likeness to the large statues of the Eleanor crosses, while the fashion of drapery in the "king" above has that naturalistic handling discussed on p. 345 which was fully achieved in the London work, c. 1290. To this school of figure-relief, we believe, belong the

beautiful angels upon Bishop Marcia's tomb (c. 1300) at Wells (Fig. 434, opposite), and in Book III., where we discuss his effigy, we refer that fine figure to the London school and conclude that the whole monument has been from the hands of a sculptor from the capital. Passing on five-and-twenty years later to the weepers (Fig. 433, below) on Aymer de Valence's tomb we see a greater picturesqueness but less dignity. Finally, in the alabaster weepers (Fig. 435) of John of Eltham (d. 1334) the exaggerations of attitude and the disproportions of extremities have appeared just as in the Lady Chapel carving at Ely. So the sequence of style seems to run—at first with little loss to the dignity of the architectural style by the shop-work delicacy of execution, but later with a defective sense of proportion.



FIG. 433. Westminster. The tomb-chest of Aymer de Valence (d. 1325).

Though the material of the "Eltham" tomb is the alabaster from Derbyshire, the work of its carving seems to us that of London craft, and we may here bring into comparison an ivory at the Victoria and Albert Museum (Fig. 437, opposite), in which the figure-representations both in attitude and sentiment have close resemblances to the "Eltham" weepers. A similar handling is to be seen, too, we think, in stone-carving at Canterbury in certain lively little groups carved in the trefoils of Archbishop Meopham's tomb, one of which is illustrated opposite (Fig. 436, see also Fig. 27, p. 34)—note how the curl of the drapery like a roll of paper is alike in alabaster, ivory and stone. By such tricks we recognise the London style of imagery in the Winchester and Ely statuettes (see Figs. 413, p. 361 and 402, p. 356) as well as in the figures on the Rochester doorway (see Fig. 414, p. 362), in all of which we

found the broadly-folded draperies, and the heads full of expression and gesture, as they are seen in the alabaster weepers of Westminster.



FIG. 434. Wells. Angel at the back of Bishop Marcia's tomb (d. 1302).



FIG. 435. Westminster. The alabaster tomb-chest of John of Eltham (d. 1334).



FIG. 436. Canterbury. Abp. Meopham's tomb (d. 1333).

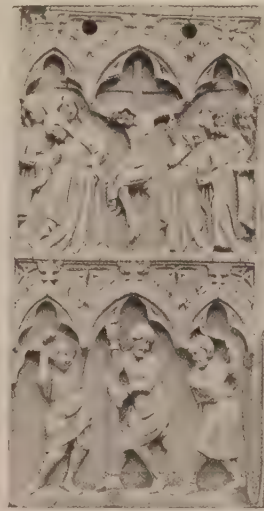


FIG. 437. V. and A. Museum.

SECTION III. THE ARCHITECTURAL SCULPTURE OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

We have attempted to deal in the first sections of this chapter with the rather meagre and disjointed proofs of style that represent the fourteenth-century shop-carvers. We now show figure-sculpture which, by its position in the fabric, has clearly been the work of the fourteenth-century stone-mason in his craft of building, and here abundant material remains for our survey. Though the Gothic carvers no longer made the displays of statue and relief that had given heroic value to the human figure in the scheme of thirteenth-century masonry, there was no lack of figure-carving: indeed a profusion, not unfrequently even a preponderance, of the figure-motive over all the other themes of ornamental carving is a mark of the fourteenth-century building. Such a preponderance is specially seen in the exuberant art of Yorkshire and Lincolnshire. We take, for example, Heckington Church, in the latter county, a well-preserved but by no means a very important or very decorated example of the village churches of the time: a summary of



FIG. 438. Adderbury (Oxon). Cornice of nave. c. 1340.

its architectural figure-work is remarkable. Besides the reliefs on the Easter Sepulchre and the sedilia (see Figs. 53, 57, pp. 60, 64); besides the thirty-one statues and images, attested by niches, though but one of them (that illustrated in Fig. 377, p. 338) is now in evidence; besides, too, a decorative relief of flying angels on the porch gable, there are on the church, inside and out, nearly eighty separate carvings of heads and figures on corbels and label-stops—outside, too, as many as 198 gargoyles (Fig. 439, opposite), mostly large human figures. In all the churches of the Ancaster masonry (as at Newark, Fig. 441, p. 382) we get this abundant use of figure-work which could be illustrated in many examples.

The lavish sculpture of the figure-motive becomes less marked in the habit of the fourteenth-century mason as we go southwards. Still, the blossoming of fourteenth-century architecture into copious varieties of decoration was one of its marked characteristics, and in certain districts there developed peculiar local uses of figure-work. A conspicuous instance lies in the north-west part of Oxfordshire and the adjoining parts of Northamptonshire and Buckinghamshire, where the spire-figures already spoken of are a good example of it. In this neighbourhood are groups of churches, some as at

Bloxham, Hanwell, and Hampton Poyle, with capitals composed of crouching figures (see Fig. 442, over page). At Bloxham little niched figures encircle the doorways: monsters, hunters, and fighters are stretched out in long lines



FIG. 439. Heckington (Lincs). Gargoyles of quire. c. 1330.

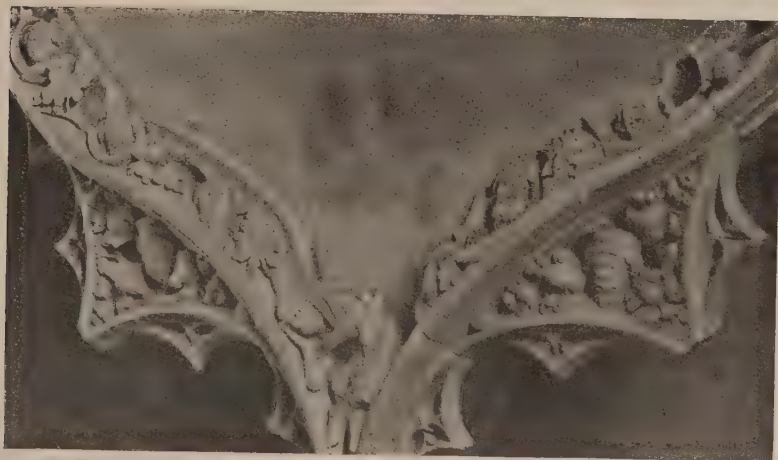


FIG. 440. Ducklington (Oxon). Wall-arcade sculpture. c. 1340.

along the eaves as at Hanwell and Adderbury (Fig. 438, opposite). Strings of heads make cornices at Olney, Berkshire, or give crockets to canopy labels at Ducklington, Oxfordshire (Fig. 440, above).

A similar local development of figure-motive by fourteenth-century craft occurs in the vaulting-bosses that were multiplied enormously in the rich lierne vaultings of the West of England, as at Tewkesbury, illustrated in Fig. 462, p. 389. The methods of these elaborate little sculpture-pictures will be discussed as to some fourteenth-century examples at the end of this chapter. Also in the magnesian-limestone building of the fourteenth-century abbeys in Yorkshire the figure-motive was always in evidence. The now ruined monastic and secular quires (such as that of Howden) attest its lavish use in every detail of the building. It can be seen inside the York chapter-house (Fig. 443, opposite)

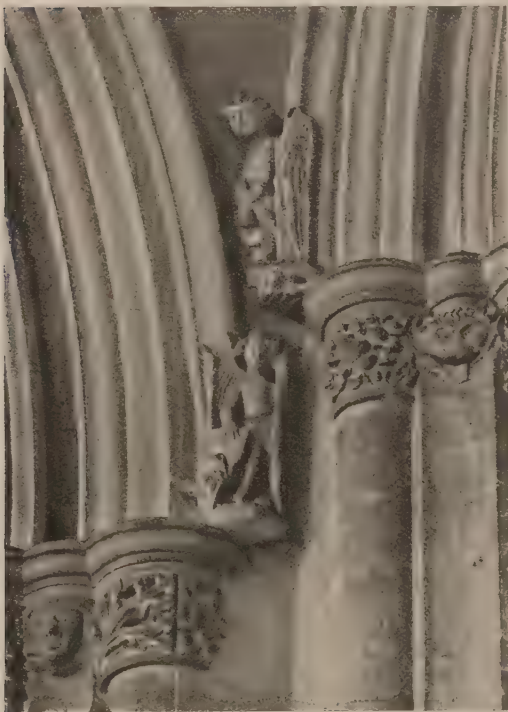


FIG. 441. Newark. In north aisle of nave. c. 1340.

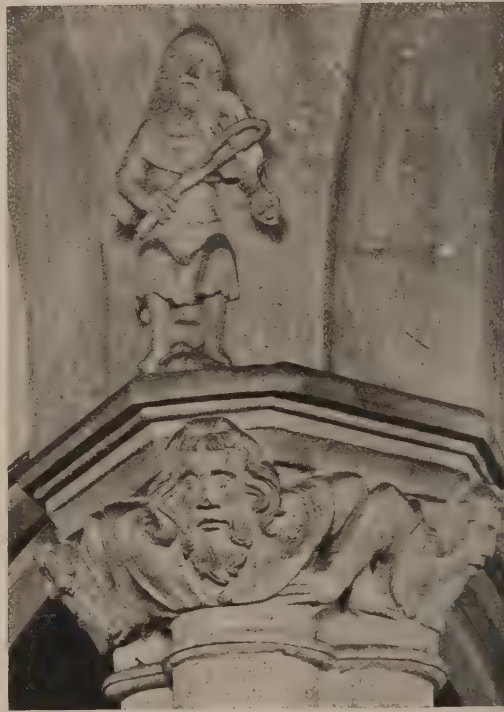


FIG. 442. Hanwell (Oxon). Capital of nave. c. 1340.

or in stone furniture such as the Percy tomb at Beverley. The nave, too, of Beverley Minster has its architecture pointed by a figure-work such as we illustrate on page 387, and corbels and label-stops of similar kind are in the parish church of St Mary. Selby Abbey afforded good examples until the late destructions by fire and restoration. At Patrington, in the East Riding, a fine example of a mid-fourteenth-century church has come down to us as far as its masonry is concerned almost intact. Here, except for the foliage of the pier-capitals, the ornament is almost entirely given by the sculpture of heads, of which some scores crowd on the eye whenever one looks upwards.

Projecting head-work had been particularly characteristic of English style c. 1300, but with an appreciable change as compared with what it had been thirty years earlier. For example, we show here from the chapter-houses of York (Fig. 443) and of Wells (Fig. 444) the works of the first decade after 1300. The first Gothic faces (see pp. 234, 235) had been frequently smiling—frequently they had expressed a rapt devotion; but at York and Wells both laughter and devotional fervour become the playthings of a technical exercise. The religious sentiment is a carver's essay in sentimental "goodness," and the smile is often quite a grimace. In technical ability it is masterly: as at York, below, one or two strokes give the expression and show the ease of a master in the craft. But the fourteenth-century



FIG. 443. York chapter-house. Head-sculpture probably retouched. c. 1300.



FIG. 444. Wells chapter-house.
Head of "Pope." c. 1310.

sculptor turns as indifferently to the expression of contortions and grotesques, especially ugly and debased in the York carving. A summary dexterity and ready lapse into ogreish types may be seen in the carvings, too, at Howden and Beverley (see Fig. 455, p. 387).

At Wells in the chapter-house the heads that flank the stalls of the canons have been made frankly a study in laughter. From popes and nuns to acolytes and jesters each face has its particular "smirk": some are laughing honestly and some wickedly: here is the smile demure; here the smile repressed; here the immoderate guffaw, and here what can only be described as a vulgar grin. The example we give (Fig. 444) retains its colouring; it is the central head in the principal place and may be said to illustrate the smile of recognition which the canons of Wells were glad to have from the Pope.

On the other hand, in the quire of Lichfield the fourteenth-century heads set in the spandrels of the wall-arcades are often grotesquely morose, frowning and bulging out the cheeks, many showing deformities, particularly enormous ears: the most pleasing specimen of the series (Fig. 445) is simply stern.

Command of expression is more worthily used when the heads aim at portraiture, and sometimes a fine individuality is indicated. The examples from Southwell (Fig. 446), Bristol (Fig. 447) and Exeter (Fig. 449) are pro-



FIG. 445. Lichfield quire
c. 1310.

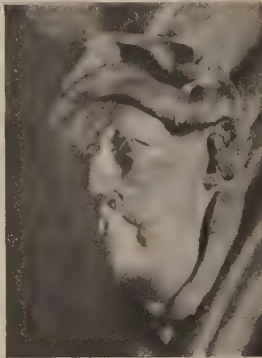


FIG. 446. Southwell chapter-house.
c. 1300.



FIG. 447. Bristol. c. 1300.



FIG. 448. Dorchester (Oxon). Corbel in nave. c. 1320.

bably before 1300; and that from Ely (Fig. 450) about 1325. Usually the later types show perfunctory mannerisms, as at Hawton, St David's, and Patrington (Fig. 451), and the interest of their carvers seems chiefly occupied with variations of hair-dressing, as at Winchelsea or Patrington, where cork-screw curls are elaborately rendered.

Though these fourteenth-century sculpture-uses in the building scheme

may be picturesque and decorative, as in the Exeter corbels, or in the cowed crouching monks at Dorchester (Fig. 448), still in their expressions and multiplications the seriousness of art is compromised. The interest of piquant anecdote, the detail of romantic attitude and lively expression have pushed



FIG. 449. Exeter. c. 1290.



FIG. 450. Ely. c. 1325.

aside the sculptural ideal. In the representations of sacred themes themselves an evidently secular liveliness comes to the front as, for example, in the Tewkesbury corbels which start the magnificent fourteenth-century groinings of the nave—not, we believe, “Adam and Eve,” as they are called, but “Bathsheba” very consciously being espied by David (Fig. 452). There now appears the crowding of detail into small fields, and the grouping of many figures into



FIG. 451. Patrington. c. 1340.



FIG. 452. Tewkesbury. Corbel in nave. “Bathsheba.” c. 1340.

one scene some few inches broad, as a mark of the fourteenth-century dexterity which developed c. 1330. For example, the scenes on the eight corbels at Ely beneath the niches of Alan of Walsingham's dome, important as they are as representing the history of St Etheldreda, are curiously ineffective in their pettiness, though wonderfully skilful if looked at by themselves (see Fig. 65, p. 71).

The larger figure-corbels of the architectural carver after 1300 lose much of their sculptural quality. We have put side by side (Figs. 453, 454) the "Madonna" of a corbel in Exeter quire, c. 1290, and the same motive with the "Coronation" combined with it in the nave of c. 1330, the one piece briskly cut and smilingly picturesque, the other more shallow in treatment and conventional in sentiment. The motives which in architectural carving now replace the earlier religious themes are significant of the loss of seriousness in religious sculpture. In the Winchester transept c. 1320 draught-playing

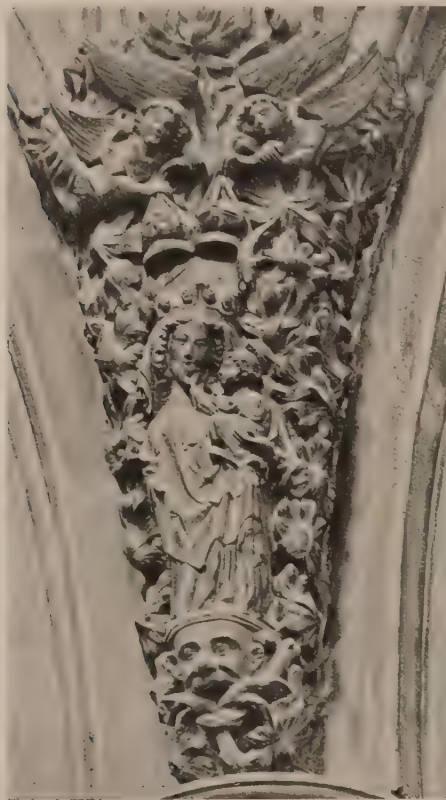


FIG. 453. Exeter. Corbel in quire. c. 1290.



FIG. 454. Exeter. Corbel in nave. c. 1330.

occurs (see Fig. 26, p. 34): in Beverley nave the sports of imps (Fig. 455): in Thornton Abbey gateway c. 1380 the fondling of a poodle (Fig. 456). The tales and legends of medieval literature are drawn upon for picturesque subjects as in the lion with an enormous bone in its mouth at Cley, and the St George and the Dragon (Fig. 458) in the same church. Minstrels and jugglers are now frequently represented in church carving, as again at Cley (Fig. 457), and a whole series of instrument-players are to be seen at St Mary's, Beverley.



FIG. 455. Beverley nave. c. 1330.



FIG. 456. Thornton Abbey gateway. c. 1380.



FIG. 457. Cley (Norfolk). c. 1340.



FIG. 458. Cley (Norfolk). c. 1340.

The decay of sculptural significance during the second period of English Gothic style can be judged, too, by its increasing cult of the anecdotal. The figure-carved bosses of the vaults in the late thirteenth century and then on in the fourteenth century offer us the whole story of the progress from simplicity to intricacy. One of the earliest uses of figure-subject in this position was possibly that at Chester (see Fig. 54, p. 61) in the chapter-house, c. 1260, where the Madonna appears in a boss of foliage much as in the beautiful voussour-carving of the Judgment Porch at Lincoln. The wooden vaulting of the cloister at Lincoln (c. 1295) has a carving of some oak bosses (Fig. 461, opposite) with similar subjects, without foliage, simply and delicately rendered, and among the most beautiful of our English works of the kind. Similar simplicity is shown in the vault-bosses of the cloister at Norwich in the

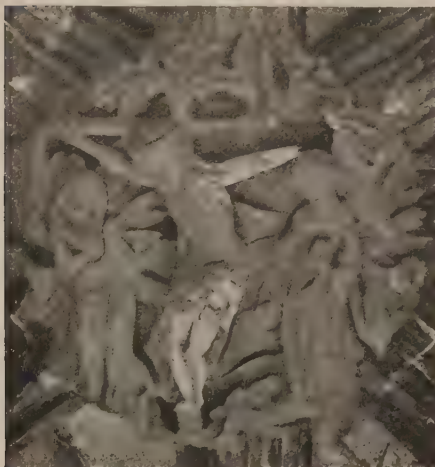


FIG. 459. Norwich cloister. East walk.
"Crucifixion."



FIG. 460. Norwich cloister. East walk.
"St John the Evangelist."

earliest bays built c. 1300 (Figs. 459 and 460). The south cloister-walk was building forty years later, and here we have a representation of Apocalyptic scenes brilliantly and exquisitely conceived (see Figs. 79, 80, p. 83) but beginning that system of petty pictorial boss-carving (Fig. 464, opposite) which in the next century ran its course in the west and north cloisters and in the elaborate vaultings of the cathedral¹. Again, we see how sculpture expressed changed ideas if we turn from the boss of the "Coronation" in the quire-vault at Exeter c. 1300 (Fig. 463) to the "Magi" boss in Tewkesbury nave

¹ Other illustrations of boss-sculpture are given on pages 87 and 508 seq.



FIG. 461. Lincoln cloister. Wooden-boss.
c. 1290.



FIG. 462. Tewkesbury. Boss in nave-vault.
c. 1350.

c. 1350 (Fig. 462). That narrative presentation was possible in the petty carving of architectural items may be said to be the discovery of the fourteenth-century stone-carvers, and the final efforts of medieval figure-sculpture practised little else. The seeds of uniformity which distinguish fifteenth-century style had certainly been sown before the great pestilence of 1349 which as we shall see weeded out the luxuriant varieties of Decorated sculpture, leaving but a single crop to fill the field.



FIG. 463. Exeter. Boss in quire. c. 1290.



FIG. 464. Norwich cloister south walk. c. 1340.

CHAPTER IX

THE STATUE-IMAGERY OF THE THIRD PERIOD, 1360—1530

SECTION I. CONDITIONS OF SCULPTURE FOLLOWING THE "BLACK DEATH"

THE new state of things that came with the great pestilences of 1349 and the following years changed the character of English figure-sculpture much as it did the style of English building. We have insisted how immediate were the connections of the two, and what took place as to the building art in the years that followed the "Black Death," as it was called, may be shortly sketched. From far back in the twelfth century up to the mid-fourteenth there had proceeded a continuous development of structural form. Each ten years made advances in building detail, not of course all round, but in one or other of the various elements which contributed to the construction of the medieval church. Some fresh convenience or simplification of treatment would appear in the arch form, in the window tracery or in the mechanism of the vault and its abutment, and building style would adopt the improvement everywhere. Up to 1300 this stately progress of Gothic architecture can be traced: it came to an end in the generation that followed the "Black Death." Then for nearly two hundred years, the shaping of the structural units into new forms ceased or almost ceased in the Gothic style of England. Arch, window and vault repeat a set of structural rhythms that had been adopted in the mid-fourteenth century, and though on occasion there came variety in arrangement according to the uses to which they were put, the forms themselves were not altered till Gothic motives were superseded. Also there passed away after 1350 the local manners of architectural style: a widespread monotony comes in place of the varied ornaments and sumptuous and luxuriant features that from 1330 to 1340 had perhaps a dozen distinct expressions in different localities. In the course of the generation following the Black Death the districts of "Decorated" style lost their distinctions and the ornaments of architecture were similar throughout all England.

Now figure-sculpture went on its course under conditions which can be regarded as in a certain sense parallel. It, too, became monotonously regular in expression for something like a hundred and fifty years, and the local flavours which in Chapter VI. were described as giving character to northern and southern sculpture—as distinguishing east from west, York from London, and both from Bristol and Exeter—become in the fifteenth century merged in what we may call a stock style, whose expression has become a canon of sculpture throughout the cities of England.

As to the architectural style, the spread of its canon has been traced to the Gloucester masons and to their organizations in the second half of the fourteenth century under the King's officers¹. The scarcity of building artisans that followed the sudden and enormous mortality of the Black Death put the skilled mason at a premium—he was engaged to work out of his district and away from the craft of his local stone. So treated, building habit was as it were standardized, and could repeat itself in all kinds of stone. It can be shown by many documents (see Book I.) that the building-artist was in the fifteenth century commonly engaged by contract, being bound down to reproduce such and such a building already in existence, so that the scope for new achievement was limited. The effect on the architectural agent was to make him a shopman selling his stock rather than an artist creating a building.

The figure-sculpture of the later medieval church under such conditions grew to be specially of the shop, according to pattern and not of fresh adventure. It no longer took its place in the business of the building yard, but was provided for—not worked—in the building. The constructing mason left niches for statues, and on occasion worked bosses with subject-relief, cornices with “angel”-sculpture, and gargoyles with “devil”-sculpture. But this figure-work was not essential, and a whole majestic piece of architecture in Perpendicular style might rise from the ground and never ask for the craft of the figure-sculptor at all. The works of the imager were now in effect *furniture* which could be bought in the city and added to the building at any time. Accordingly statues and reliefs ceased, in fifteenth-century practice, to be carved immediately by the mason upon the building; they became outside works conceived in no intimate relation with it.

Such sculpture being unconditioned and uninspired by great architectural necessities, tended to forms that could be repeated again and again with the minimum of invention. Moreover, it began to exhibit unequal degrees of merit. That best accomplishment which was conspicuous all round in the earlier art is for favoured clients only in the later: good value is given to good money and poor stuff to poor purses. But particularly the lessening interest in sculptural expression induced a continual decline of execution as well as a continual monotony—relieved perhaps by the shifting varieties of fashionable taste or by the personal capacities of expert craftsmen; but still a decline from generation to generation—to be noted in statue, relief and monumental effigy alike. Some work of the later fourteenth century can claim to have preserved the sculptural expression that fifty years earlier had been a matter of course: but after 1400 the trivial and mannered reproduction becomes increasingly characteristic, and though the art of fifteenth-century sculpture in England was often respectable it can never, we think, be called fresh or inventive.

¹ See E. S. Prior, *The Cathedral Builders*, Chap. VI.



FIG. 465. Exeter. West front. The statues of the upper tier. "John," "James," and "Simon." c. 1380.

SECTION II. THE STATUES ON BUILDINGS

We have pointed out how the body of west-country work which we presented to the reader in Chaps. VII. and VIII. was evidence for a flourishing and distinct south-western school of sculpture, and further that the school continued its activities and was still distributing works of excellence after the 1349 pestilence, which made such a profound change in the conditions of English art. Still, the passage through the vestibule that led to unprogressive sculpture is well marked at Exeter (Fig. 465; see also Fig. 36, p. 45). The statues in the ground-storey niches of the west front were illustrated on p. 351, and the cycles of the "warrior" must settle their date as certainly before 1350¹. The variety and fine characterization of these lower figures were in accord with the full and splendid art that glows in the Exeter architecture. We shall see the same sentiment again when we put before the reader the memorial effigies made at Exeter in the first half of the fourteenth century. But a generation later this adventurous touch goes out of the sculpture that was set in the second range of niches—where, by the occurrence of the badge of Richard II., we judge the date as after 1377. A new order of art is evidenced conclusively by the tamer attitudes and squat proportions of the "Apostles" and "Prophets" of these upper tiers. Yet the upper statues can in some instances be called as expressive works as any of Late Gôthic production—we have illustrated the "St Paul" (see Fig. 61, p. 67), and give opposite the "Apostles" (Fig. 465). We may note how the picturesque head-gear (see especially in the "Prophets," Fig. 36, p. 45) and the broad smooth folds of these later draperies allowed rich decorations of colour and gilding and the elaborate diapers and ornaments that were objects of style in the luxurious art of Richard II., as can be judged by the effigies of himself and his Queen at Westminster Abbey. An interesting point is the connection of style, which these figures may show, with those of the Flemish school of sculpture, whose works were at this date paramount in eastern France. The bourgeois sentimentality and rather sordid realism that are to be seen in the "Well of Moses" and the tombs of the Dukes of Burgundy at Dijon have a sort of echo at Exeter, at any rate more distinctly than elsewhere in England.

On the other hand, a retention of fourteenth-century style is distinct at Winchester in two statues of the "Virgin" upon the gateways of Winchester

¹ The pearl enrichments on the mouldings cease with the top of the lower row of canopies, and the south doorway belongs to this work; the north and central doorways seem to be of the later.

College. The dignity of the "Annunciation" statue (Fig. 466) and the well-modelled draperies of the "Madonna" (Fig. 467) seem the virtues of a more earnest art than was contemporary with the building of the gateways, 1387 and 1393. May we suppose these principal figures from the stock of



FIG. 466. Winchester College. Virgin of the "Annunciation."

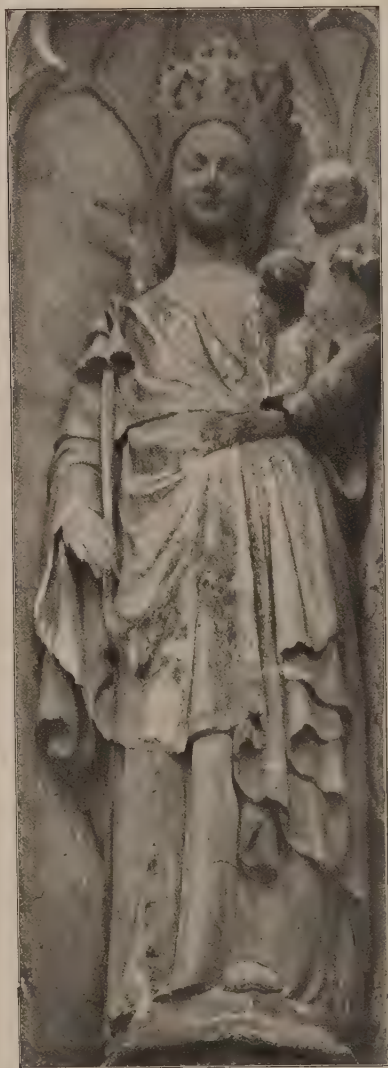


FIG. 467. The "Madonna."

an imager firm in Winchester which continued earlier patterns, or perhaps made them as direct copies of earlier works? The style current c. 1390 would be seen in the figures at the side, the kneeling "William of Wykeham" and other donors, more clearly than in the Madonna subjects.

This ordinary performance which the mason-sculptor of the late fourteenth century supplied for external imagery should be well instanced in the seated "Kings" on the west front of Lincoln Cathedral—set in the row of niches above the middle doorway (Fig. 468). Eleven in number, and all very much alike, they are said to represent the English kings from the Conqueror to Edward III¹. But the visage of the last king, to judge from his monumental effigy in bronze at Westminster, had very markedly set the fashion of the long heads and beards conspicuously repeated in every instance. Edward III. gave his head-type to the sculptor's habit of the time all through his reign, as, for example, in the "Kings" at Exeter (see Fig. 397, p. 351) and at Christchurch (see Fig. 399, p. 353); and as here at Lincoln, so again



FIG. 468. Lincoln. West front. Statues above doorway, c. 1380.

in the representations of Christ upon the alabasters (see Figs. on p. 474 et seq.) and then, too, in private monumental effigies, such as the wooden figure at Much Marcle, Hereford (see Fig. 742, p. 663). About 1400 we find Henry IV.'s countenance coming in, and fifty years later the fashionable head in sculpture was a round fat-featured close-cropped type, which we may recognise in the portraits of Henry VI. That there should appear these sculptor's fashions throughout England in accord with the individuality of the reigning sovereign is, we think, evidence that the London artists who were immediately in royal employment led the way in the motives of English art.

¹ There is a record that the "kings" were placed on the front by Treasurer Welburne, c. 1380. But doubts may be thrown on the authenticity of the existing figures because they are said to have been removed from the front in 1753 to make room for an inscription. A manuscript note

of the time is adduced as evidence. But if removed they must have been replaced, for the "kings" as now seen are certainly not work c. 1752 or subsequently. They may have been cleaned up and repaired at this date, but no indication of eighteenth-century technique appears.

Other works indicative of style c. 1400 are those lanky "Twelve Apostles" seen upon the uppermost range of arcadings on the west front of Wells Cathedral. The south-west tower here was added c. 1380, and the north-west raised to match it about 1420, so the statues (see Fig. 15, p. 22) may belong to either date. They are distinctive in their big make and vigorous summary sculpture, but owing to the great decay of the stone their present aspect is grotesque on a near view. Still, with every allowance, the exaggerated gesture of fifteenth-century style is conspicuous beside the dignified simplicity inherent in the works of the thirteenth-century sculpture below. It



FIG. 469. Thornton Abbey gateway. Madonna and Apostles. c. 1380.

was the architectural habit from 1350 to quite the end of Gothic building to mark entrance façades by conspicuous niches in which a bold figure-work was necessary¹. An example dated 1380 may be found in the gateway of Thornton Abbey, Lincolnshire, which has two tiers of niches on its west side. The principal figure here is the "Virgin" with a crown over her head carried by a dove (Fig. 469), while on either side of her are "saints," and above are other figures with badges—so that the whole is in effect an "Assumption" subject. The broad summary treatment here is of great coarseness. But it must be remembered that in its original appearance this clumsy sculpture was the

¹ At Wells, the "Madonna" of the Precincts transept are other examples of effect got by deep gateway and the "St Andrew" by the north cutting and accentuated gesture.

vehicle of a sumptuous painting, the rich detail of which was designed to tell at a great distance, and in this lay the real motive of the treatment.

We can see the same idea at Newark, where, as well as the earlier figures illustrated in Chapter VI., is a later sculpture of "saints" (Fig. 470)



FIG. 470. Newark. Tower. c. 1380.

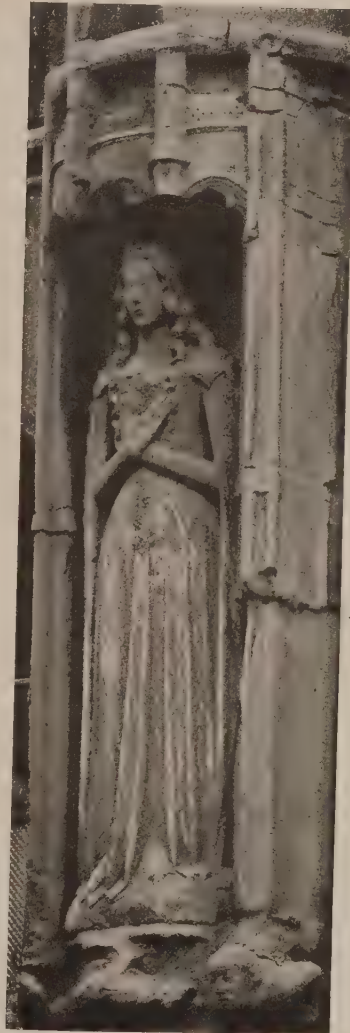


FIG. 471. Lincoln. Gateway. c. 1400.

with huge heads and coarse draperies. The gateways of towns had their sacred figures, as at Lincoln, where (Fig. 471) that known as the "Stone bow" shows the "Annunciation" represented in two uneasy and ungainly figures, but with great elaboration of fine ornament on the drapery.

Exaggerations of one kind or another too often appear in the external imagery of the fifteenth century. Though the Ancaster sculpture had preserved a sedate style during the fourteenth century, one cannot claim for the later schools of external figure-work, as wrought by the Lincolnshire masons, the distinction of either sentiment or sculptural correctness. The gables and west fronts of great churches were, as earlier, provided with arrays of pedestals for figures, but at Crowland we find the same squat big-headed renderings as at Newark. The gables of the chancel-ends and those of the porches were in this district furnished with seated figures, usually of the Virgin, which, as can be seen by the illustration (Fig. 472), has become, as far as sculptural expression is concerned, a mere formal representation.

Further north more ambitious and probably more dexterous displays of niched figures followed the tradition of the magnificent fronts that the earlier fourteenth-century style in Yorkshire had elaborated. The east front of York Minster, built c. 1380, no doubt was adorned with many figures, also the west front of Beverley Minster, c. 1400, where the whole gable has its array of pedestals. At York the figures are gone, and of those that were at Beverley one only remains (Fig. 473)¹. In this case, as frequently in the northern practice of the fourteenth century, the fifteenth-century niches are arranged on the faces of the buttresses up all the height of the towers. At Durham on the central tower in this position there appear niches in which some statues remain, probably of the date of the lantern, 1464—1478².

The same system of giving statue-niches to the buttresses was one sometimes adopted on the churches of East Anglia, as in the porch of Leverington, near Wisbech, c. 1370, and on various fifteenth-century towers. In other parts of England usually the tower-faces have been given the niches, with lofty crocketed canopies of considerable architectural expression. For example, at Wrexham in Denbighshire the tower has a dozen on each face with statues of good execution remaining. A similar placing of niches, nine in number, abuts on the belfry windows high up on the tower of St Michael's, Coventry, while four are ranged round the west doorway below. This habit of niche statue-work on towers meant all through the last period of English medieval style a continuous practice of external figure-work which in some places was of respectable accomplishment. Still, the sculpture we have illustrated is to be taken as representing mason's work of the fifteenth century, and its execution can be seen to be generally jejune in idea and uninstructed in technique—so much so that in some instances the capacity seems degraded to that with which the twelfth-century trials in sculpture started.

¹ At Beverley modern statues have taken the places of the ancient, and are still being added.

² They were removed at the end of the eigh-

teenth century and remained in the Nine Altars till replaced a short time ago along with some modern imitations.



FIG. 472. Newark. Madonna on south porch. c. 1450.



FIG. 473. Beverley. North side of north-west tower. c. 1400.

But occasionally fresh expressions are experimented with: at Bampton in Oxfordshire and at Coventry in Warwickshire there occur figures set on the pinnacles surrounding the spire. So, too, we have seated saints (Fig. 475) upon the "New Building" at the east end of Peterborough Cathedral, dated probably c. 1470. These pinnacle-figures, which appear also at Lavenham, and also at Boston, set in niches on the parapet, seem the rare instance of a new idea appearing in our fifteenth-century art, an echo, perhaps, from the Italian use at Milan. There was, too, some such final flicker of medieval invention in English sculpture in the "Jacob's Ladder" at Bath Abbey (1505—1520), where each turret on either side of the west gable is carved up the whole of its height with the ledges of a ladder, on which are angels, sparsely and drily executed, ascending and descending. Upon the other side of the turrets appear the customary tiers of niched statues, while the gable itself is occupied with angels, the "Deity" above appearing in the central niche (see Fig. 44, p. 51).

In the south-west of England the freestone towers, for which Somerset and the adjoining counties are celebrated, were specially distinguished by a bold niche-work, often designed as the sole ornament upon the ashlar base-stories, whose plainness and solidity gets from them an emphasis in contrast with the many-panelled and pinnaced fretwork of the upper storeys. On the west front of Shepton Mallet church, close to the Doultling quarries, the subject of the "Trinity" is set as the central piece of such a composition (Fig. 474), with saints on either side: at Isle Abbots three rows of double niches contain figures, as also at Bradford Abbas, Dorset: at Taunton the lower storey on each side of the tower has large double niches. As on the towers, so, too, over the doorways of west-country building, niches are constant, as at Cerne gateway, Dorset, where the figure of the "Virgin" has escaped destruction. On the west-country porches niches are a common feature—as, for example, at Glastonbury, though the figures have now most often gone. This "niche and figure" motive with its distinguished tradition retains, as a rule, the original fine sense of architectural composition. But as figure-work it cannot be said that much expression is achieved, or indeed seriously intended. In the fifteenth century the figure-sculpture of the Ham Hill and Beer¹ stone-carvers had no ambition beyond that of a local quarry-craft using religious subjects as conventional badges, just as the sacred scenes, on west-country village- and market-crosses—remaining usually much decayed, as at Rampisham or Stalbridge, Dorset—are a traditional decoration, convenient for the architectural effect, but scarcely amounting to the figure-expressions of a sculptor.

Only in Mid-England is the outside statue-work generally of better quality, and to account for this we assume that in many instances the building or quarry-mason was in this district not the executant, but that the professional

image-maker has been called in, to give the external figures to the buildings. On the gateways of the collegiate establishments, which ecclesiastics and princes were endowing at the Universities and other centres in the last hundred and fifty years of religious foundation, set pieces of religious sculpture were usual—we see a “saint,” or one of the stock scenes of sacred representation flanked by statues of the founder and reigning sovereign. We have mentioned them on the college gates at Winchester, and they can be seen in the same way at Wykeham’s New College, Oxford; at Archbishop Chichele’s foundation



FIG. 474. Shepton Mallet.
Tower.

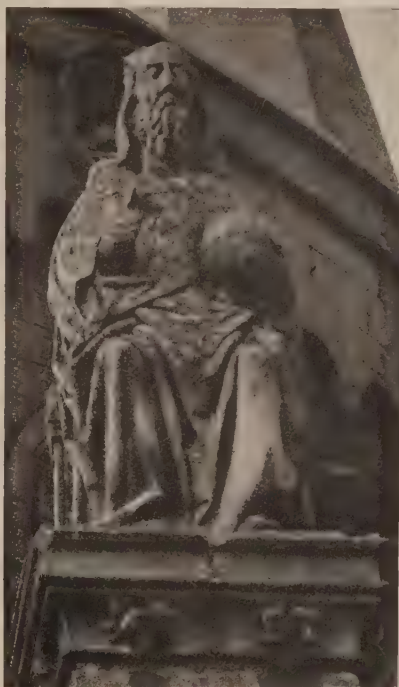


FIG. 475. Peterborough. New Building.
c. 1470.



FIG. 476. Leighton
Market-cross. Madonna.

St Bernard’s (now St John’s College) there, and at his All Souls. The figures that remain are decayed now or much restored, but still expressive of a style which we must take as that of established city crafts in image-making. An Oxford trade in imagery would send statues to neighbouring churches for their porches—as at Burford, for example, where the niches still retain finely worked statues now headless. Also from the same source a market-cross, like that of Leighton Buzzard, would get figure-work. There remain here “saints” and “bishops,” badly decayed, but the “Madonna” above (Fig. 476) possesses some originality of style.

So also the "King's Board," a market cross (removed from the High Street, Gloucester, in 1734 and re-erected at Tibberton Court near Hereford, where it can still be seen), was crowned with a "Crucifixion" as a centre-piece, attendant on which were "Apostles," etc., set upon the pinnacles; here we no doubt had the work of Gloucester imagers, whose usual business was tomb-making. The statues have now gone, but the reliefs on the arch-spandrels with the scenes of the "Passion" remain in good condition and are of delicate work, the latest English example of that arcade spandrel-sculpture that c. 1200 began at Worcester. In the fifteenth century the same Gloucester city-trade supplied the statues for the fine porch at Northleach, which has niches for ten figures, the two that survive being of considerable dignity. Such external statues in stone were articles of commerce, just as was the internal imagery with which our next section deals.



FIG. 477. Taunton. Spandrel relief.
c. 1500.



FIG. 478. Wells. St Cuthbert's Church.
Head of statue from stone retable. c. 1450.

External relief-sculpture occurs too in panels and spandrels¹, but only occasionally. We have not thought it necessary to notice specifically the many pieces that in the West of England are in evidence (as in Fig. 477, above) more or less damaged upon the church-building of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Still, sometimes, in connection with these conventional items a more vigorous, if somewhat homely, invention makes its appearance in the latest sculpture on porches and chantries: for example, a series of reliefs (see Fig. 611, p. 523) are carved on the wall-faces at Tiverton in Devon, and a whole set of grotesques are worked in granite upon Launceston Church, Cornwall, both works dated after 1500. Representations of this kind were avowedly pictorial, and are interesting as giving a hint in the external architecture of England that motives were coming in from the practice of the Renaissance masons, such as would mitigate in country practice the formality of Perpendicular ornament.

¹ In Norwich are some small examples of a spandrels of church doorways, as for example "St Edmund the Martyr" at St Lawrence's.

SECTION III. THE IMAGES ON SCREENS AND TOMBS INSIDE CHURCHES

The custom of the city trades in stone images must have been chiefly in the supply of furniture for the church interiors. The elaborate screens that were erected in the fifteenth century in the great cathedral and abbey-churches were compositions of stations for statues. The suppression inventory tells us as to the great reredos at Christchurch, Hants, which in structure appears a work of Exeter stone-craft, that its figures were not of stone, but of oak, plated with silver. But images made of stone were certainly as suitable to such erections, and when the great masoned screen or reredos became, as it did in the last two centuries of Gothic architecture, the usual division of church spaces, and the usual backing behind altars, abundant occasions were given for an image-sculpture by masons.

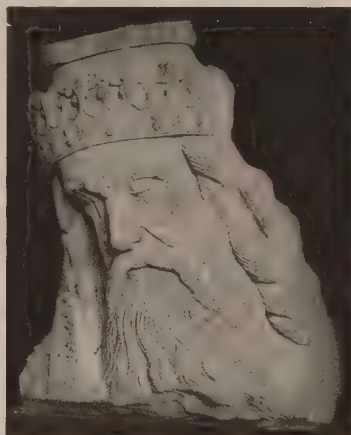


FIG. 479. Winchester. Heads in Cathedral Library, about life-size. c. 1400 (?).

Lofty erections like the two screens in St Albans Abbey—the Cuthbert screen, c. 1440, and the Wallingford reredos, c. 1480; the great altar-screens at Winchester, also c. 1480; at Milton Abbey, Dorset; New College, Oxford; and St Saviour's, Southwark, c. 1500—took many hundreds of statues. At Winchester there have been dug up at various times not a few heads and other fragments which may have been those of the screen-figures, some, as we have seen, of the fourteenth century: but others may be illustrated here, as showing later handling (Fig. 479, above). A similar expression of image-work appears in the heads and torsos which were walled up in the stone reredos now uncovered in the transept of St Cuthbert's, Wells (Fig. 478, opposite), but the western imagers show a mannerism in the deep outlining of detail that can be seen, for example, in Sugar's Chantry at Wells, and in

the monuments of the fifteenth-century abbots at Bristol. Its method in stone would seem peculiarly a trick of the Bristol shop-work in screens and monuments, and appeared too in the images. We shall notice presently the same handling in one set of alabaster "table"-making (see Figs. on p. 498). In most cases the onslaught on church images which accompanied the Reformation in England has left only these broken bits, but a few figures, being accidentally hidden from destruction, such, for example, as those at Hereford (Fig. 480), have come down to us intact. They show the trite art of a long-traditioned faculty.



FIG. 480. Hereford. Screen-statues in Lady Chapel, 3 feet high. c. 1450.

One sort of figure that has survived shows in its execution some novelty. At Canterbury, when, c. 1400, Prior Chillenden's new nave had been finished and connected at the crossing with the twelfth-century quire, the work was completed by a solid screen which now carries the organ. Here were placed not "superstitious images" but six figures over full size representing the Kings of England, probably those specially connected with Canterbury, and their regal prestige has kept them unbroken. The likeness of these king-representations (Fig. 481) is close with the actual memorial figure of Henry IV. (d. 1412) on his alabaster tomb in the cathedral (see Figs. 783, 784, p. 695).

For instance, both monumental effigy and the "kings" on the screen have similar faces and arrangements of robes—the regal mantles being fastened by cords which hang long and have tassels: the crowns, too, in both alabaster and stone have the same *fleur-de-lys* standards set between the vine leaves.



FIG. 481. Canterbury. Quire-screen. "Kings of England," about seven feet high. c. 1400.

In Book III. we shall speak of this alabaster "Henry IV." as a London work, and similarity of style indicates the screen-statues also as direct from a London studio, or at any rate by a London hand.

On this point immediate comparison is possible, for at Westminster exists a full representation of London statue-craft in the first half of the fifteenth century. The chantry of Henry V. was begun before his death in 1422; and the piers which lift it above the procession-path are composed as stacks of niches (Fig. 483) for full-size figures, most of which have survived. Raised on these piers the upper chapel was built with screen-works holding two ranges of niches for half-size figures, and in the centre of each front, north and south, was set a sculpture-subject in full relief—the two “Coronations of Henry V.”, one as King of England (Fig. 482), the other as King of France, on the side



FIG. 482. Westminster Abbey. Henry V.'s chantry. "Coronation of the King." c. 1420.

the king appears as a riding warrior. Inside the chapel the east wall was arranged with seven niches forming a reredos. The central figure is destroyed, but there are still the two statues that make an "Annunciation" group, and in the remaining niches are the "Confessor" and "St Edmund," with "St George" and "St Denis," the patron saints of England and France respectively. Also in the upper parts of the chantry, and wherever a chance occurred, were niches



FIG. 483. Westminster. Pier of Henry V's chantry. c. 1420.

with statuettes, now mostly decayed and of minor importance. It will be noted how copious was the figure-sculpture, one characteristic expression being in the carving of badges and heraldic animals (see on p. 522).

The important works are the twelve full-size statues that remain on the piers. Those of "Edward the Confessor" and the "Pilgrim" on the west face looking towards the shrine of the Confessor (see back, Fig. 483) are tall dignified figures with long hair and flowing beards—in style a little apart from



FIG. 484. "Bishop" or "Abbot."



FIG. 485. The "Confessor."

the rest. The straight folds of their drapery (Fig. 485) have a repose not common in fifteenth-century work. The figures on the tomb-side of the piers—"bishops" or mitred "abbots" (Fig. 484)—show chasubles capably rendered but with the more usual expressions of action and drapery. In the niches above

stand two "kings" (Fig. 486) holding models of the church (probably "Sebert" and "Henry III.", the founders of the Abbey), with their draperies deeply cut; and with these can be classed two "deacon" figures (Fig. 487, below). Towards the south aisle are a "prince," a "cardinal," and a small figure of a female saint,

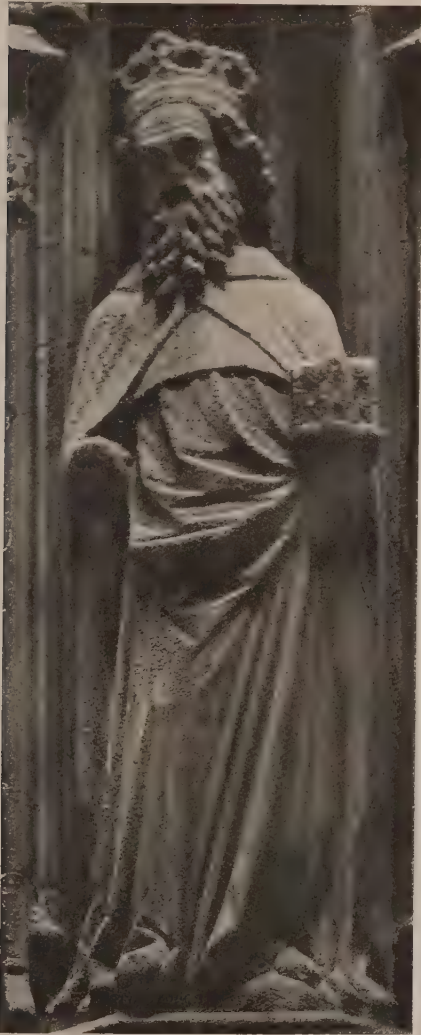


FIG. 486. "King."



FIG. 487. "Deacon."

probably "St Barbara," which last in pose and costume keeps to the tradition of earlier work. In similar positions on the north side are a "cardinal" and "female saint," as well as two small figures, one "St James," and the other a lady holding a book, the latter half hidden by the tester over Queen Eleanor's tomb.

The above description would suggest that we see the figures of more than one sculptor on the monument. Their material has unfortunately suffered much from surface decay, but the attitudes are dignified and expressive, and the faces have been carefully finished and show character. This and the hair-handling, with its bold and rather rough modellings, give some of these figures a recognisable individuality among the examples of our fifteenth-century sculpture. We may read in the Warwick documents (see p. 412) the names of certain London imagers c. 1450, but likeness to the figure-work of Earl Beauchamp's monument is not sufficiently close to warrant ascription to the individuals mentioned. It may be mentioned, however, that in the depositions taken at the enquiry which Henry VII. instituted as to Henry VI.'s arrangements for his burial, Thirsk is named as the master-mason in the employment of the Abbot of Westminster engaged upon the chantry of Henry V. Still, statues in the fifteenth century would lie outside the province of the building-mason, whose work was the construction of the niches only.

The composition of the Westminster chantry was typical of English fifteenth-century methods, of which it is our most distinguished example. The habit of overlaying construction with tiers and rows of niches, each with a pedestal and canopy, with a statue either placed immediately or afterwards added, became the commonplace of enriched architecture in the last two centuries of English Gothic. We may quote examples of all kinds: one of external work is on the Erpingham gate at Norwich, built c. 1420, which is treated like a lofty doorway, with both jambs and arches composed to exhibit a series of niched figures (Fig. 488). Such a piece, though out of doors, has come from the Norwich school of mason-imagers, to whose craft we shall assign in the following chapters pieces of figure-carved church-furniture, as well as the figure-work of boss sculpture (see p. 508). Thus, in a remarkable example of the Norwich craft, the monument (Fig. 489) at Hingham (twelve miles from the city), we can recognise the same niched jambs as on the Erpingham gate, with a use of small image-work of all kinds.

Image-craft on a larger scale, with figures about three feet high, and with a bolder sculpture of the figure, which we may call frankly that of a statue-maker, occurs upon the jambs and arches round the east window in the memorial chapel of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick (see Fig. 490, p. 413). Like the Hingham tomb this memorial instances how the great tombs of the fifteenth century, just as much as the retables and screens of the churches, demanded all kinds of statue-work from the imagers' hands. All through the century the memorial chapels or chantries which nobles and ecclesiastics were in the habit of erecting upon the floors of the churches were elaborate and conspicuous. They were walled in with screenworks, the chief decorations of which were niches designed for statues. Thus, on either side

of the canopy above the tomb of Duke Humphrey of Gloucester (d. 1446) at St Albans are 34 niches; in the Chantry of Bishop Fox at Winchester (d. 1528) are 55 niches for figures; so, too, at the east end of Ely Cathedral, the Chantry erected c. 1488 by Bishop Alcock is faced inside and out with a



FIG. 488. Norwich. The Erpingham gate. c. 1420. FIG. 489. Hingham. Monument. c. 1450.

succession of niches; and that of Bishop West (d. 1533) must have had over a hundred figures, if all the stations for them were filled.

But in intricate and ornate masons' work such as these fifteenth-century chantries developed, both the tabernacle-work and the imagery have come from the same trade, and must have given custom to large establishments of

architectural image-making in many cities. The conditions arrived at became very much those of the present day—monumental firms flourished employing sculptors' labour of all kinds, some skilled figure-workers and many merely mason-executants. The whole conduct of a memorial erection may be read in the accounts of the Earl of Warwick's tomb. His death was in 1439, and his executors commenced the chapel in 1441, completing it in about twenty years. During this period contracts were entered into with many London craftsmen for various works in connection with the chapel itself, the monument and the bronze figure of the Earl. The documents preserved in the muniment room at Warwick were copied by Dugdale in his *Antiquities of Warwickshire*, and we have given extracts in Book I. (see p. 102). The works of sculpture in the chantry are well preserved, and in the details of their supply we get an illuminating peep into the fifteenth-century practice of the arts, which on all hands can be seen as the routine of a regular trade in monumental work.

For the general direction of this memorial to the Earl his executors had made a pattern or model, and the bronze founder who was responsible for the figure agrees to make a "man armed" in accordance with this pattern. But the supervisor of the whole would seem to have been a *marbler*, John Essex, who heads the principal document and is joined with two others in the making. Now this marbler was concerned in the proposal for the tomb which we mentioned two pages back, that proposed by Henry VI. at Westminster. John Essex was, therefore, a monumental agent of high repute in London and in consultation with him for this tomb had been one "Thomas Stevyns, copper-smith." So we find the two together, also, for Earl Beauchamp's memorial, and with them "William Austen, founder, and citizen of London." This last enters into a separate undertaking to found the bronze images—that of the Earl himself, as well as those of the "weepers" and "angels" which are set in the housings of the tomb. William Austen, "founder," must, therefore, have been what we would call a sculptor, viz. an artist who was accomplished in figure-work. His figures are here arranged just as a century earlier Edward III.'s children had been (see the little bronze figures in the Purbeck niches of that monarch's tomb on pp. 415 and 446): but in style Austen's bronzes are of a somewhat different motive from that of the Westminster statuettes. These latter, as we shall be showing further on, belonged to the tradition of costumed figures on many fourteenth-century tombs; and their handling was in close alliance with the alabaster relief-sculpture. At Warwick, on the other hand, the bronze mourners, who are the male and female relatives of the Earl (Fig. 491), make a new departure by their conventional guises of grief. The motive of the hooded figure as representing sorrow had long appeared in English examples in the Virgin images¹, as in the Breadsall "Pieta"

¹ The hood or coverchief can be seen on the brass of Joan de Cobham, 1433, and the lady-effigy at St Helen's Church, London, of about the same date.

(see p. 359). It became a frequent convention for the Virgin figure in the Passion scenes of the alabaster relief-subjects c. 1450, such as the "Crucifixion" and "Entombment of Christ" (see p. 484). Still, as used here at Warwick the broad features and the hang of the bronze draperies are not very different from what we see in the stone saints of the window jambs (Fig. 490, below). Also the small bronzes of angels when compared with the angels of the



FIG. 490. Warwick. Stone statue. c. 1450.

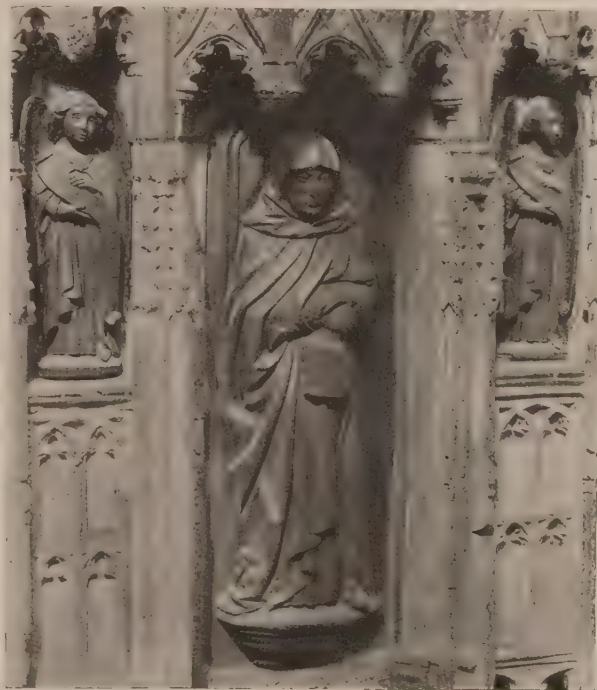


FIG. 491. Warwick. Richard Beauchamp's monument. c. 1450.

window jamb, show similar face-features, hair and wing-treatments. We may take, therefore, the bronzes (like the small stone figures) as distinctly in this case representing imagers' style and not masons'—an imagers' style which was in touch with the continental developments, for the hooded weepers are such as we may see on the tombs of the Dukes of Burgundy at Dijon¹.

¹ The mourner motive of these hooded figures has been claimed as of Flemish invention in the monuments of the Tournai sculptors. See Camille Enlart, *Mémoires de la Société nationale des An-*

tiquaires de France, t. LXII, as to the two heads at Douai, which are of the style of the Warwick bronzes. M. Mâle mentions French examples as early as 1316.

But, as well as Austen the bronze-worker, we have more mechanical tradesmen to finish the monument. "Bartholomew Lamspringe, Dutchman, of London," made separate contracts for polishing, gilding and enamelling upon the tomb: and again another marbler, "John Bourde, of Corfe, in the County of Dorset," contracted to supply and set up the Purbeck-marble base for the figure: he was to prepare the marble for the work, not to do the "entailing"¹ or carving of it, which was separately charged. Finally, "Kristian Coleburne, painter, dwelling in London," contracted to paint four images of stone made for the altar—"Our Lady" and "Gabriel the Angel," principal figures, with "St Anne" and "St George" of less importance. The arch and jamb pieces which we now see (see back, Fig. 490, p. 413) should not, we think, be identified with these specified images, for though the subjects seem much the same, the jamb-figures are all of a size, and other representations besides those specified occur. Still, the same London source seems likely, and probably John Essex was the carver, or at any rate the men in his shop, for their style is close to that of the bronze statuettes.

The same imagers' style of a few years later appears in the delicately-wrought statuettes which decorate the endwalls of the Divinity School at Oxford. These are about two and a half feet in height, and occupy niches in the panelling: others in niches too are set uncomfortably in the deep hollow moulding of the depressed arch that divides the wall from the vault. They are in many respects pleasing, graceful figures; but the attempts at expression are sometimes forced, and indeed incline to be insipid (Fig. 493). The fan-vault in this wonderful building (see on to Fig. 596, p. 513) is crowded with sculpture and heraldic devices, and the pendants have their niches also, with "evangelists," "doctors" and "saints" worked in stone with almost the delicacy of ivories, as we shall illustrate on p. 513. It will be seen how the small dexterity and conventional patterning of most of the above sculptures betray the image-maker rather than the architectural sculptor.

This succession of style, which we have followed from Canterbury and Westminster (Fig. 492) to Warwick and Oxford (Fig. 493), may epitomise for us the accomplishment which the best London sculpture reached during the first part of the fifteenth century. Its image-trade was in possession of a faculty outside and beyond what the general capacity of the building-mason was attempting. Not but that other cities all over England were fostering similar trades of church-furnishing. Those of Oxford and Gloucester seem to have distributed statues in their neighbourhoods, and church-furniture of many kinds, with occasions for figure-work, can be traced to Norwich, Nottingham and York also. As to this last city, the fifteenth-century archives tell us

¹ "Entailing" is used in many English documents for carving and sculpture. See Britton, *Architectural Dictionary*, p. 242. Donatello was described as "intagliator figurarum" in a contract at Florence.

that for three generations there a famous *firm* (as we would now call it) of imagers, the Drawswerds, flourished. The representative of c. 1500 was a Member of Parliament and Mayor, who was of such repute that he was asked to estimate for the figures on Henry VII.'s tomb. It would seem reasonable, therefore, to suppose that the figure-work of the great quire-screen at York, which is of a peculiar style, may have been from the Drawswerd shop. The screen is dated to the end of the fifteenth-century and its niches hold fifteen statues of "kings" distinguished as being those of England by inscriptions. The style of these strange figures may be



FIG. 492. Westminster. Bronze "weeper." c. 1380. FIG. 493. Oxford. Divinity School statuette.

judged by the illustration which was given in Book I. (see Fig. 69, p. 74): it shows an extraordinary enforcement of line by deep undercutting. One is at a loss to understand such sculpture except on the supposition that a mimicry of method from the craft of another art has taken place, and indeed the style seems to aim at the effect of the colour-pictures traced upon stained glass. The art of glass pictures was in great repute at York in the fifteenth century, and this trick of the York school suggests that imagers' sculpture (which it must be remembered was coloured and gilt) was being taken out of

its legitimate province by the ambition of producing as vivid and emphatic a colour-scheme as that defined by lead in the glass-painting practice.

In our cathedrals there has been, as a rule, an entire destruction of the image-work on the monuments: still, what was after all the completest and most magnificent of all English monumental chantries—that at Westminster for Henry VII.—has descended to us, as far as its interior is concerned, almost intact. Its show of figure-work (Figs. 494, 495, 496) may rank it after Wells and Exeter as the third great collection of English medieval statues. Though the 48 statues which formerly adorned the exterior are gone, of the 107 figures that were in the interior niches no less than 95 remain, and in fair preservation. A succession of 71 niches runs all round below the windows at a height of about 20 feet from the ground, with statues some 3 ft. 3 ins. in height. The pedestals rest on a cornice of angels holding crowns, this cornice capping the lower storey of the fabric. The whole series have been minutely described by J. T. Micklethwaite, who has published the plan of them and named all the figures with one or two exceptions¹. In the centre at the east end is “Our Lord,” between the “Virgin” and “Gabriel,” who form an “Annunciation” group, just as in the earlier reredos of Henry V.’s Chantry. On either side are grouped the “Apostles,” and then a series of “holy women,” “evangelists,” “doctors,” with a miscellaneous representation of the most popular saints of the period. There are five figures to each bay, and beneath each is a scroll on which the names would be painted². The figures vary to some extent in quality, the most being of short proportion with large heads, and with the somewhat confused and crumpled draperies of the late fifteenth century. It is difficult to obtain satisfactory photographs of them owing to their position, but we have illustrated one of the best, St Anne with the Virgin as a child (see Book I., Fig. 59, p. 65). W. S. Weatherley, who drew the Westminster statues when taken down for repairs some years ago, described their material as the Caen stone, of which the chapel was built, but found a few to be of the Reigate stone which was largely used in the earlier structure of the Abbey, both being ordinary materials in London building. The Reigate-stone figures he describes as more attenuated than those of Caen stone, with simpler draperies hanging in straighter folds, and suggests them as earlier in date, or originally intended for some other monument³—one may, however, suppose them ordered from a different imager. In addition to the above are 24 larger statues in the aisle chapels, of Caen stone and nearly life size, occupying the elaborate niches which served as retables to the altars.

¹ J. T. Micklethwaite, *Archæologia*, XLVII. 1882.

² It is said that no traces of their painting remain, although elaborate instructions for this

had been left by Henry VII.

³ SS. “Augustine,” “Catharine,” “Ambrose,” “Helen” and “King Edmund,” are the figures.

Though these images of Henry VII.'s Chapel look down on a work of sculpture which is distinctly of the new learning—the bronze figure of the king moulded by Torrigiano—the Westminster sculptors show little of the Renais-



The Confessor.

St Peter.

St Edmund.

FIG. 494. Westminster. Henry VII.'s Chapel. c. 1510.

sance in their modelling of apostles and saints. At their date, c. 1510, Michael Angelo, the last of the High Renaissance artists, was painting the Sistine Chapel: the Italian sculpture was well beyond its virginal prime, and had

grown to be the learned accomplished capacity that we recognise in modern artists. But in England the Westminster figures give little hint of ideas that have travelled appreciably from the standpoint of a hundred years earlier. Yet there are signs of a new vista opening to sculptural treatment. We



FIG. 495. St Roch.

St Martha (?).

show the "St Roch" (Fig. 495) and "St Sebastian" (Fig. 496), and in both there is the freedom of a pictorial representation a little outside the old medieval conventions. "St Sebastian" is represented between his executioners,

the three figures forming a group. Throughout the larger statues there is an attempt, sometimes almost strained, to give an impression of life and movement. "St Thomas of Canterbury" no longer merely holds his book,



FIG. 496. "St Sebastian," and "Angel" cornice.

but is earnestly reading it, and "St Christopher" leans on his staff in an almost theatrical pose. The elaborately curled locks of the "Confessor" and "St Edmund" (see back, Fig. 494, p. 417), the crumpled draperies and striking

head-gear of other figures all tend towards the effect of a realistic genre. But such effects are logical developments of what had gone before in England: they are far removed from the simpler classical conventions that were to characterise the art of the succeeding century.

Henry VII.'s Chapel was begun in 1502, and the King was buried in it in 1509, but monument and chapel alike were not complete till 1512. Though the tomb itself was entrusted to Torrigiano, it seems probable that



"St James."



"St George."

FIG. 497. Henry VII.'s tomb. Bronze figures in screen. c. 1510.

he employed English assistants, whose work is to be found in the heraldry of the monument. The superb bronze screen, too, which surrounds it is to be taken as the work of native craftsmen. It was given a number of bronze statuettes, of which six only now remain (Fig. 497), but they are very good evidence of the capable Gothic sculpture produced in London at the very end of its period. They represent "Edward the Confessor," a prophet, and "SS. John, James, Bartholomew and George," and, according to Professor

Lethaby, were probably made by Lawrence Imber, who is mentioned as in competition for the monument with Drawswerd of York¹.

The full draperies of these bronzes are treated with much variety and freedom of modelling, and the attitudes and heads are full of expression. The "St George," especially, in full armour trampling on the dragon, is a spirited composition. But as in the stone statues, so here in these English bronzes, though their carvers were working beside Torrigiano, there is little that speaks of Italian influence, and if any foreign affinity is to be looked for it must be sought in the art of Flanders or southern Germany.

We started this chapter by laying stress on the monotony of expression and sluggishness of movement of which English figure-sculpture is convicted during the hundred and fifty years of its last medieval period. This will be evident enough when we bring in comparison the intense liveliness, the changing character and advance of style which the hundred and fifty years preceding had witnessed, and the illustrations of this chapter put side by side with those of Chapters VI. and VII. will show our meaning. From beginning to end we have called the conditions of the fifteenth century those of the *shop*—that is to say, its interests did not turn on creative ability but on saleable quality. Both the architecture and the image of the last medieval style have the commercial outlook. It is true that in earlier practice the sculpture of the architect had been supplemented by special classes of stone figure-work, such as memorial effigies, from definite centres, especially London—but the subject-sculpture of the builder and the object-sculpture of the monumentalist were in close connection, and before 1350 no separation of sentiment can, we think, be definitely asserted. Then the gulf that was widening between church-building as a mason's adventure and the trades of its decoration manifested itself in all the expressions of fifteenth-century style. On the one hand the figure-work on buildings had become mechanical with the established conventions of a contract-craft, and on the other the furniture figure-work had grown excited and theatrical, with the established tricks of shop-sale.

The review we have given of the fifteenth-century images has been directed to show the gradual evolution of such conditions. At Exeter, up to the third quarter of the fourteenth century the sculpture of figure-work was still essential to building-craft: it still lay in the bones of the fabric. But at Westminster it was no essential, but an added interest, that of a statue-maker unconnected with building. The pressure of this discrimination upon the style will be even more distinct in the regular trade-sculptures of which our next chapters treat.

¹ W. R. Lethaby, *Westminster Abbey and the King's Craftsmen*, Chap. XI. p. 235.

CHAPTER X

THE CITY-TRADE FURNITURE OF THE LAST MEDIEVAL PERIOD: FONTS AND TOMBS

SECTION I. THE CHARACTER AND CONDITIONS OF RELIEF, 1360—1530

UP to the second quarter of the fourteenth century figure-reliefs were on occasion used to give interest and ornament to broad architectural surfaces (see pp. 366 seq.). This use did not perhaps entirely cease in the last two centuries of Gothic style, but it passed out of notice—for the reason that the spandrels and interspaces of construction, which in the first Gothic building had so characteristically been the fields for figure-sculpture (as we have seen them at Lincoln and fifty years later at Ely Lady Chapel (see pp. 267 seq., and pp. 62, 372), were now occupied by the panellings of Perpendicular mason-craft. Building figure-work, as the fourteenth century ended, was either banished from the structural scheme or was strictly localised—confined to certain conventional uses, such as, for example, to gargoyles externally, or internally to the angel cornices, or such small uses as the bosses of the vaultings. The statue had become, as we have seen, a detached work, a deliberate exhibition of the image-maker's craft, claiming a position of independence in respect of the scheme of the building. And now we find, too, that sculpture in relief belongs to the detached pieces of stone furniture, to fonts, pulpits and retables, and the decoration of chantries and tombs. We will not therefore, immediately, as we have done before, take the architectural pieces—the bosses and gargoyles, but go at once to the sculptured pictures, the relief-subjects upon church furniture, for these make the most characteristic examples of the last English medieval style.

Fifteenth-century relief-sculptures may be called pictures, because in effect they have to be judged as such. The movement of style developed more in the direction of pictorial expression in place of the sculptural. The interest lay in the grouping of figures, in the expressions of situations, and in the story of the action. Very different ideas had animated the thirteenth century: then the sacred scenes were presented by means of one, two, or at most three figures treated as statues and placed in juxtaposition. But about the middle of the fourteenth century such simple presentations were supplemented. Accessory characters crowd into the subject

and are multiplied as the fifteenth century opens. The art of arranging figures into the smallest compass was sedulously practised. Thus in a boss at Norwich (see Fig. 464, p. 389), scarcely fourteen inches across, no less than twenty characters have been introduced.

As another kind of example we may take the "Crucifixion" scene. For centuries this had been the sculptural subject—the simple figure of Christ upon the Cross—or accompanied by two standing figures on either side—the "Mother Mary" and the "Beloved disciple John." But such simplicity was no longer to the taste of the fifteenth century. A complicated composition of many figures was elaborated. The crucified Saviour becomes the occasion for a host of other motives: above Him is "God the Father" with angels: on either side are the crucified thieves, the "Penitent" conspicuously received by angels, the "Impenitent" by devils: His mother, Mary, faints at the foot of the Cross, supported by the other Mary and the disciple John: angels again at the foot of the Cross catch the blood from His feet; the soldier pierces His side; others draw lots for His vesture; Joseph of Arimathea makes arrangements for the burial; Longinus (the centurion) is cured of blindness by a drop of the Saviour's blood. Such is the *picture* of the "Crucifixion," as the alabaster reliefs of c. 1480 present it (see Fig. 583, p. 505). Evidently anecdote, not faith, was making the interest of fifteenth-century art.

The last chapter explained fifteenth-century *statue-style*, as it appears in the niches of Perpendicular screen-work, on the ground that it came from a trade of imagers, whose wares were supplied as a supplement to the decorations of the fabric-mason. In the same way, city-craft must be accepted as the source from which came these narrative sculptures of figure-work; or at any rate from which came that style of them which was most characteristic of the last period of medieval sculpture. Some pieces of church-furniture were necessarily often taken out of the building-mason's hands, as, for example, fonts, which, as already pointed out (see p. 154), seem from the first works of special manufacture in certain quarries. In the twelfth- and thirteenth-century churches they were often of more ancient art than the buildings which received them; in those of the fifteenth century they were often of more modern. So an equal detachment from fabric construction may characterise the font-sculpture of the last period and stamp its figure-work as that of special trades.

In the same way the tombs and monumental constructions of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were very usually later insertions, and had a figure-style outside that of the sculptured stones of the fabric. Indeed, such additions could not help becoming the wares of established trades of mason-craft settled in cities, that is to say, of sculptors not hired by the

day like the building-sculptors, but making objects for sale, as saddlers or armourers might. We have insisted that the statues that filled the niches of screen chantries of the fifteenth century were often shop-stock, and we shall see the same thing in the memorial effigies that come on for notice in Book III. The indentures for making Earl Beauchamp's tomb at Warwick (see p. 102, also pp. 412 seq.) are conclusive evidence of the way in which the London trades of monument-making covenanted for the various works of his monument. Tomb-chest carving was therefore like font-sculpture in the later centuries of Gothic style, and its figure-style became undoubtedly the product of a specialised workshop-art.

A third trade of church-furniture lay in the stone and marble reredos, at any rate in those smaller forms of it which were easy of carriage. No doubt ambitious structures of stone screen-work, such as the fourteenth-century erections at Exeter, for example, or the great screens of St Albans, Canterbury, etc., or the chantries of the Winchester bishops, most often meant masons' work on the spot. They would be too bulky for conveyance wholesale, and we see them commonly composed with rows of tabernacles, whose niches were left to be filled with imagers' statues (see pp. 410 seq.). A smaller kind of stone retable could, however, be sent entire from the workshops of cities: slabs carved with subjects in relief were kept in stock or made to order in pieces easy of conveyance. One form was specially popular in the last 150 years of medieval style, that of the alabaster retable, and the various makes of this are so important that we give the whole of another chapter to them. Their evident reliance on pictorial motives makes them the best samples of what was conceived to be the function of sculpture in the last period of the English medieval style. They are more characteristic than the fifteenth-century statues, for whose art the earlier centuries were still setting the models of arrangement and taste. The alabaster reliefs appear as a new and special development of English conditions, in evidence that the latest medieval art had cut itself adrift from its original architectural association, and we may say a word or two here on this point.

That the alabaster crafts were specially native to England can be seen in their material, which is a sulphate of lime that in the massive form suitable for large pieces of sculpture can be quarried solely in South Derbyshire and the adjoining corner of Staffordshire: its distinguishing qualities separate it from the alabaster used in the arts abroad¹. Its texture was kindly to pictorial motives: the opaque soft surface, when touched with colour for the lips, eyes, etc., makes a very natural flesh-representation; while its substance can be smoothly and delicately handled for draperies and takes easily to enrichment, whether by gesso or painting with gilded borders and

¹ Flemish alabaster, as used in small reliefs of the sixteenth century, is mottled with brown lines.

diapers. Accordingly we find the backgrounds were gilded and embossed, while the foregrounds were painted as meadows "with daisies pied." The white robes of the angels gleam in the glistening whiteness of the material, their wings feathered in vermilion and gold, and the costume of the figures was coloured, edged with gold and diapered in rich patterns.

In these vivid picture-scenes *chiaroscuro* was supplied by deep relief-carving in the more characteristic pieces. As we now see the slabs—most often stripped of colour and enrichments and often much degraded by rubbing—the modelling of the features has been blunted, and their expression has often become bald and ludicrous. But when the sculpture was sharp and perfect, as can be seen in a fragment in the Victoria and Albert Museum, and with the clear colouring of medieval taste, these reliefs in combination made brilliant and expressive work. They were admirably suited for their position behind the altar, where, at some yards' distance from the eye, their vigorous relief enhanced their function of story-telling. They were fitted together by being framed in wood, often with hinged wings as a triptych, and so made lofty erections. But the separate pieces of alabaster were of small size, easily conveyed, whether by pack-horse or on ship, and they went abroad to all the countries of West Europe.

The increasing commerce in these tables shows an established position for English style: yet from first to last a general decline must be recognised in the quality of their art. As the figures multiplied in the scenes, and the aim of the carvers in the fifteenth century became set upon novel and striking renderings (for, though the scenes of the alabaster tables were of fixed subjects, no two editions seem ever to have been exact replicas), the sculptural handling grew increasingly trivial, and was finally often banal in its exaggerations. So much so that it seems surprising that the commerce in these English alabasters extended so widely; for they were exported to France and Germany, even to places where already at their date a relief-sculpture of pictorial power, with a fine mastery of expression, had been reached by the quattrocentists. The progress made by the continental schools before the year 1450 was, indeed, such as to make our insular efforts in comparison rather tawdry shop-work. Yet the English retables would seem to have been accepted, not only all over France, but in southern Germany also. They reached Venice and Ferrara at the time when Donatello was at work, and his contemporaries, the Della Robbias, were turning out a modelled faience whose quality and decorative effects went far beyond what was in the capacity of the English "alabaster men." Still, it is noteworthy that while in the fifteenth century English fonts and tomb-chests still held masonic traditions of Gothic art, the alabaster tables had detached themselves and were everywhere mere pictures, so that their sculpture was so far of the Renaissance.

SECTION II. THE FIGURE-CARVED FONTS OF THE LAST MEDIEVAL PERIOD

An early chapter of this book has pointed out that the twelfth-century font shared in the fortune of the twelfth-century door-head in becoming the field in which the medieval figure-sculptor first established himself. The illustrations on pp. 156 seq. and 175 seq. may be looked up by the reader to see how the symbols, the scenes and the histories of religious faith were used in Romanesque font-sculpture. A very similar function was somehow created for fonts in the last medieval period, but for the intervening 200 years—say roughly from c. 1200 to c. 1400—the habit of figure-sculpture had deserted them. Heads of the same kind as in the label-stops of architecture sometimes appear on the bowl¹, which in the thirteenth century is set upon shafts, much as the architectural capital of Early English building was disposed on the clustered column. In the fourteenth century, too, font-sculpture followed the architectural lead, and exhibited the tracery and niche decoration of building device. But at first the carvers of the font-bowl were content with structural suggestions, and not, perhaps, till close upon 1350 does there appear figure-work upon the traceried panels. It would seem that the weeper-panels of tombs (such as were illustrated on pp. 377, 378) provided the earliest motives of figure-work on fonts. For example, at Tysoe, Warwickshire, close to the north-west corner of Oxfordshire, is an example with the standing figures of the “Madonna” and “Saints,” very similar to the Westminster “weepers” and those copies of them that became common at the date (see Fig. 517, p. 447).

We may, perhaps, recognise as the locale of some of the first figure-fonts this north-west corner of Oxfordshire, where, in the neighbourhood of Bloxham and Adderbury, a local figure-carving occurs upon buildings all through the fourteenth century (see pp. 380, 381), uninterrupted by the Black Death. Here, also, flourished a figure-work in church furniture. For example, at Somerton are the remains of a reredos with the subject of the “Last Supper”—the “Apostles” in half-length figures under arcaded canopies. At Hanwell, in this district, there is a stone retablo in which standing figures of saints and apostles appear under cusped arcades, and this also seems a work of the local building. Of similar style are the carvings upon a circular “tub-font” at Burford, not far off (Fig. 498), and on this one of the panels of the arcading

¹ A fourteenth-century head-carving from the font at Hayling near Portsmouth was shown in Fig. 253, p. 242.

is stretched wide enough to take a "Crucifixion" subject, while the other panels present figures of the "Apostles," so that in the pattern of its figure-work this fourteenth-century font has become almost the duplicate of the very fine Romanesque example at Coleshill, Warwickshire (see Fig. 162, p. 176), a place not far distant. It is possible that at Burford it is an old font—one of the early plain "tubs"—that has been re-carved with figure-work by the fourteenth-century masons. This process certainly took place in the case of the font at Shipton near by in Oxfordshire, where a square block-font has been re-dressed with reliefs of apostles under ogee-headed canopies, and as at



FIG. 498. Burford (Oxon). Figure-carved font. c. 1340.

Burford, it has one large scene, representing in this case the "Carrying of the Cross." This method of arrangement upon fonts—a centre-piece flanked with narrower figure-panels—seems to point to a habit in this district of decorating stone retables with carvings of the "Passion," very like what we shall see in the earlier alabaster tables. Such scenes were, of course, the traditional material of all medieval figure-work, but they would be more appropriate to retables than to font-sculpture, so that we may think the retables had the original motives.

The district of the Totternhoe stone had, in the Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire churches, a school of carving contemporary with that of Oxfordshire, and we find the same sort of squat, large-headed "saints" standing in arched panels upon the faces of an octagonal font (Fig. 499) at Clifton Reynes. But in this case the octagonal form of font has been characteristically developed: shafts are shaped at the angles of the bowl, while the stem also is octagonal with cusped panels on its faces. The date may possibly be c. 1360, and its pattern made a model of font which for the rest of the medieval period was the usual one. Also another slightly different variety appears at Hitchin, Herts, where the font of nearly the same date has the figures in niches set, not upon the faces of the bowl but



FIG. 499. Clifton Reynes (Bucks). Figure-carved font. c. 1360.

on the font-stem, which is elaborated for the purpose. Both ideas were afterwards used, in some cases both stem and bowl having their figure-work.

In the Ancaster craft¹ the figure-types of font were either taken over from those of Bedfordshire or perhaps developed independently during the latter part of the fourteenth century. But examples continue to be found in the district throughout the fifteenth. At Fishlake in South Yorkshire, and then at Leverington in Cambridgeshire, both close on the borders of Lincolnshire, are figure-fonts—the latter (Fig. 500) with standing figures on the stem, as well as seated saints under vaulted niches on the bowl: this must date after 1450. At Grantham also, and at Leasingham,

¹ See pp. 338 seq. The term is used to cover the wide area in which the sculpts of Rutland and Lincolnshire fostered a craft of stone-sculpture, that was bounded northward by the York school

and southward by the Norwich school of fifteenth-century carving. Its borders are necessarily ill-defined, especially on the west, where the sandstones of the Lichfield district were used.

in Lincolnshire are seen subject-carved panels, the former perhaps also mid-century, and the latter many years later with workmanship much deteriorated. The whole progression of a font-sculpture from simple forms to more elaborate compositions and then to degraded types is thus indicated in the Ancaster district. But its forms were not, we think, exactly native to the Ancaster quarry-masons; the ideas of these Lincolnshire fonts seem really sporadic from another centre of style which became pre-eminently the home of figure-fonts—that of the eastern counties.

At any rate the remarkable font-making of the fifteenth century is that of the East Anglian district and we assign it to the Norwich craft. Since



FIG. 500. Leverington (Cambs). Font. c. 1450.

stone fit for sculpture is not to be got from the ground within fifty miles, Norwich had to depend on the sea-carriage of it, and the eastern counties when they used stone had recourse to that city as the *depôt* and distributing centre. For the carving of fonts blocks of considerable scantling had to be got, and only a regular importation of the material from special quarries would enable a series of fonts to be produced. We shall see in Book III. how the presence of similar conditions in London influenced the London trade in Purbeck marble effigies, which continued for a hundred years. At Norwich itself the building of its many churches produced masons engaged from century to century in the working up of imported stone, and, as in

London, such conditions developed a shop-trade in articles of stone furniture. The fifteenth-century building of Norfolk churches used this trade centre for both the material and the masons, and, on completion of the fabrics, fonts must have come, too, from the same city-craft. But easy carriage by water alone would allow the conveyance of such bulky pieces, and accordingly the figure-carved fonts of Norfolk and Suffolk are to be found in churches either immediately on the sea-board or within easy reach from one or other of the estuaries and waterways which penetrate East Anglia. One can say, in a general way, that all that are now found are either within seven or eight miles of Norwich itself, or within that distance of a landing at which boats from the capital city could deliver.

In the extreme north-west of Norfolk, however, we pass out of the Norwich supply, because in that part the neighbouring stone of the Ancaster district had created an established mason-craft. So the fonts that have been already noticed in Lincolnshire and around are not quite of the Norwich pattern, though still, we think, influenced by them and following their fashions. We shall see, too, at Ipswich, the capital of Suffolk, indications of a local making of fonts, and we can scarcely be wrong in referring its figure-work style to the influence of the Norwich craft-shops.

Our pages have told, how in the architecture of the East Anglian cathedral there occur whole sets of figure-carvings on vault-bosses (see pp. 388, 389) which will be illustrated with more detail in the final chapter of this book. These bosses were being carved in the west and north cloister-walks between 1380 and 1430, and then in the nave, transept and quire from 1460 to 1520. They made, for long periods, a continuous practice for the Norwich mason-sculptor in small figure-work: we have also spoken of the Erpingham gate, built c. 1420 (see Fig. 488, p. 411), and the Hingham monument (see Fig. 489, p. 411) as set with Norwich figures in niches of foliage. Now there are three figure-fonts found in the city itself, two almost exactly alike, with a foliage of peculiar type, which appears on the canopies of the niches of the Erpingham gate and also on the boss of the north cloister illustrated in Chapter XII. (see Fig. 587 (*b*), p. 508). Finally, the third Norwich font, that in the Cathedral, has scenes just like those of the nave-bosses in the vault above it.

It seems, therefore, clear that the font-sculpture was worked in Norwich, and since in the abundant building of parish churches, which marked the fifteenth-century prosperity of Norfolk and Suffolk, the font was a parish necessity, its development of figure-carving may well exhibit the phases that the city-production of English style developed in the last century of the medieval arts. We therefore review in some detail the most typical font-sculptures found in East Anglian churches, roughly classing them in three divisions.

Fonts on a pattern like that at Clifton Reynes (see Fig. 499, p. 428), with a bolder carving on the eight faces of both bowl and stem, are found in many Norfolk and some Suffolk churches. At Fakenham there are shields and angels on the panels, and at Aylsham the "Symbols of the Evangelists" and a "Crucifixion" panel: in both appear the shield of John of Gaunt, so we may assume the date as before 1400. These early examples may very likely be the work of building-masons engaged on the late fourteenth-century churches of the locality, but the wide distribution of similar works points also to a headquarters of the font trade in Norwich. At any rate there is a characteristic make of a number of fonts whose panels are carved with the evangelistic symbols, the "angel" of St Matthew, the "lion" of St Mark, the



FIG. 501. Blakeney (Norfolk). Font. c. 1400.

"ox" of St Luke, the "eagle" of St John, the alternate faces bearing sometimes "roses," sometimes "demi-angels" with shields or musical instruments, or in some cases seated "evangelists," as at Blakeney (Fig. 501). "Angel"-corbels support the angle-shafts of the bowl (see illustration), and the stems very often have base-figures—usually a lion at each corner, or sometimes a standing "Apostle" with the figure called a "Wodehouse" (viz. a wild man with a club) alternately. There are over a dozen fonts of this description in Norfolk and Suffolk: one at Acle is said to be dated by the accounts of the church to 1402. The same types appear at Oulton, Norfolk, and three churches near Lowestoft, Suffolk; also at Hoxne and Saxmundham further inland.

In development of this type pinnaced buttresses occur between the panels, as at Wymondham near Norwich, and at Orford on the coast of mid-Suffolk (Fig. 502). The latter has in the bowl-panels, alternating with the evangelistic symbols, "Our Lady of Pity" and "Our Father of Pity"—if we may give that name to the representation of the crucified Christ between the knees of the Father, the Dove, which should complete the "Trinity" subject, being absent. Another elaborate example of nearly similar pattern at



FIG. 502. Orford (Suffolk). "Evangelist" font. c. 1400.

Snape close by has the latter subject with groups of angels. A date of 1443 can be assigned to the font that is nearly of the same make¹ at Tuddenham, near Ipswich, on which, as well as the evangelists, there appear two figures of the "Virgin" on the panels, and the legend of "St Martin."

¹ It is said that some examples are as late as 1460 or 1470 on the ground of an armorial bearing at Hoxne and of the York st rose at Oulton. But

the later specimens of the form may be from Ipswich, since at Norwich, by the middle of the century, a quite different kind of font was fashionable.

As a further modification we have figures all round superseding the lions on the stem, with the development of canopy heads above them at Upton, near Norwich, and at Sutton, not far from Orford, with a double range of angel-corbels; another example at Stoke-by-Nayland (Fig. 503) has little niches in the stem but the figures are now gone. It will be seen how Norwich is the geographical centre of this distribution, and must seem the craft-shop from which, if not the fonts themselves, the masons came who carved them. Also we must think that this type of font was continued for a considerable time and overlapped the other make which we shall next illustrate. The



FIG. 503. Stoke-by-Nayland (Suffolk). "Evangelist" font.
c. 1450.

handling, however, sufficiently distinguishes this special class of fonts: it is freer and more architectural than upon the two other classes of font-sculpture. The figure-style on the Blakeney and Orford fonts agrees with the late fourteenth-century building-sculpture, being at small remove from corbel-sculpture at Cley (see Figs. 457, 458, p. 387). As in the example above, these later fonts were provided with not a little dignity of circumstance, but the fancifully stepped platforms and carved risers were still more elaborated in the later styles of the great fonts.

The general construction of the next class of fonts is closely connected with that of Class I., but the sculptured panels are of more elaborate design, and, instead of simple symbolic and heraldic pieces, have reliefs with standing figures or subject-scenes. The stems also have standing figures in niches, as was the case with the Hitchin and Leverington fonts. These fonts divide into two groups: one kind is represented in All Saints' Church, Norwich (Fig. 504), and this has almost its double at St James' Church: in both the bowl-



FIG. 504. Norwich. All Saints' Church.
Apostle font. c. 1420.

panels show "saints" in pairs, with single figures on pedestals in stem-niches, while the corbelling is of that traceried foliage which has been noticed as carved on the Erpingham gate, and the cloister boss of c. 1420. The date seems, therefore, determined as somewhat later than in the case of the early specimens of the "evangelist" class. A very similar font to those in Norwich is at Stalham, about twelve miles distant; but in this case, as well as "Apostles" in the panel, there are reliefs—the "Trinity" and the "Baptism

of Christ"; and the characteristic foliage already mentioned is here on the base, the corbel of the bowl projection being ribbed as in a vault.

The other group is represented in the font at Sloley, not far from Stalham, where representations of the "Seven Sacraments" appear in the place of standing saints on the bowl. The figure-work, however, has just the same cutting and must belong to the same school of carvers as the Norwich examples and seems of the same date. The rounded angle-ribs are used in a characteristic fashion to accentuate the octagon from the base all up both shaft and bowl, and now the customary angel-heads are set as corbels between the ribs. This type of figure-work, with small variations (the hair of the figures in some cases being more cropped, as was the fashion of 1450, and the draperies more broadly marked), is carved on a group of fonts which are distributed widely in Norfolk, as at Binham, Cley, Sall and Burgh, north of Norwich, and also at Blythburgh, in Suffolk. The font (see Fig. 500, p. 429) which we have illustrated from Leverington in the district of the Ancaster craft seems a copy from one of this Norwich class.

At Great Witchingham and at Brooke, a few miles north and south of Norwich respectively, we find this font-shape elaborated by enrichments of the corbels; while at West Lynn, in North-West Norfolk, another example has panels headed by a flattened arch: and then in a set of three very similar fonts, at Martham, at Marsham (both about fifteen miles from Norwich), and at Gorleston, also not far off, near Yarmouth, the panels are headed with a dais or canopy of crocketed tracery, though the general make and the figure-style are as before, and all belong to one generation of carvers.

The shop-habit of figure-work appears unmistakably in the reliefs of "Seven Sacraments" which characterise these fonts. Queer little scenes exhibit (1) "Baptism," (2) "Confirmation," (3) "the Mass," (4) "Penance," (5) "Extreme Unction," (6) "Holy Orders," and (7) "Matrimony"; and the local topical expression of the sculpture no doubt accounted for the popularity of form. The remaining or eighth panel made a choice of various subjects: the "Baptism of Christ," the "Crucifixion," and the "Assumption of the Virgin" are severally represented in the Cley font-group, while the Marsham group have as the eighth subject the "Doom"—Christ seated on the rainbow and the dead rising from tombs below. The style of the carving is anecdotal, not usually distinguished by dignity, and may be compared in all points with that of the boss-carvers of Norwich, from whom we think this figure-sculpture came. The "Baptisms," "Confirmations," and "Marriages" afford us proofs of date in the costumes, and the horned head-dresses fix their carving as from c. 1425 to c. 1465, but there has been so much mutilation of the figures that it is not always easy to assign dates to individual fonts with any certainty.

A third class of Norfolk figure-fonts is also closely connected with Norwich, an example being in the cathedral itself, brought from one of the city churches. The panels of the "Seven Sacraments" are enriched on the lines of the Gorleston example, but the make of the fonts has some features that had occurred in the later examples of Classes I and II: viz. the characteristic lions of the Wymondham type are arranged to smaller scale as base figures, and niched "Apostles" appear, as at Cley, upon the stems. A



FIG. 505. East Dereham (Norfolk). "Seven Sacraments" font. c. 1470.

distinguishing feature is, however, evident in the bowl-panels, whose canopies show projecting little soffits of lierne vault-ribs, as was seen at Leverington (see Fig. 500, p. 429).

The font erection has now developed into an imposing structure. The earlier examples had been raised on platforms with double steps, the top riser carved with tracery, but now this platform was made more consequential, varied by projections, and with all the risers elaborately sculptured, as can

be seen in the illustration from Walsingham in North Norfolk (Fig. 506, below). The font-bowl itself has extra saints in niches between the panels of the "Sacraments" at Cratfield, in North Suffolk, and these also occur in the cathedral example, and at East Dereham, about twenty miles away, all three being very much of a pattern, except that the forms of the canopy-vaulting vary. As to the East Dereham font (Fig. 505, opposite) the accounts of its making are preserved. They record the purchase of the stone (coming by Lynn) and the payment to the "mason" of £10 "for workmanship" in 1468. East



FIG. 506. Walsingham (Norfolk). "Seven Sacraments" font. c. 1470.

Dereham is so near Norwich, and the likeness to the cathedral example so close, that we cannot doubt that such fonts were manufactured in that city; and, indeed, the figure-work (though now much mutilated) exhibits characteristics which can be seen in the nave-bosses in the cathedral.

Another group of fonts has little niches upon the stem between the figures, as in the Walsingham example above (Fig. 506) and at Loddon, about eight miles south of Norwich, both with picturesquely stepped platforms.

Elaboration, however, was still progressing and in the latest forms we see the panels of the font-bowl headed with a canopy of four tabernacles, and arched corbels are added in place of the string between the bowl and stem. There occur three examples of this kind not far from one another in mid-Suffolk—at Southwold, at Badingham (Fig. 507) and at Laxfield—the last without the stem, but retaining its magnificent platform planned exactly as at Walsingham and Loddon. Though these places are in Suffolk it would be easy for Norwich to have supplied the three fonts, and indeed they may have been ordered together, or in emulation of one another.

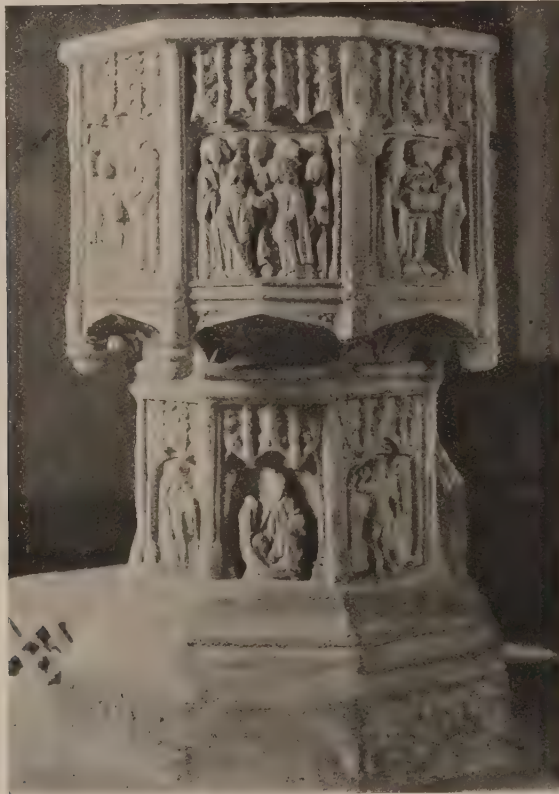


FIG. 507. Badingham (Suffolk). Late Norwich font. c. 1500.

The figure-work upon the latter fonts shows some peculiarities: very fine details are etched on the vestments of the Walsingham font (Fig. 506, back, p. 437) but the folds of the draperies have become broad and inexpressive compared with the earlier Norwich examples. In the Badingham and Laxfield sculpture the costume, much defaced, seems to date to c. 1500. A "Seven Sacraments" example with uncanopied panels is at Gresham, in North Norfolk, and shows similar costumes, with the pedimental head-dress that was in

fashion in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. The Norwich shops appear, therefore, to have gone on producing these fonts, and at Walsoken (Fig. 508), in North-West Norfolk, one of this class is recorded as a gift to the church as late as 1544. But here the execution of figure-scenes and the sculpture of tracery are poor mechanical work—the figure-technique has almost degraded to the level of that barbarous cross-sculpture from which medieval stone-carving had emerged four hundred years earlier.

The three classes we have adopted to illustrate the “Norwich” fonts fall,



FIG. 508. Walsoken (Norfolk). Font of 1544.

therefore, broadly into three periods of style as exhibited in the production of stone furniture. The first shows c. 1400 architectural connections still undecayed (see Figs. 501, 502): the second exhibits those distinct pictorial inclinations that we shall observe in the boss-sculpture from 1400 to 1450 as at Sloley and Marham and illustrated somewhat later in Figs. 505, 506; the third class after 1450 exhibits increasing elaboration of circumstance, but a decay in sculptural expression (see Figs. 507, 508).

In the Lincoln district, as we have said, the Ancaster copyists of the Norwich fonts appear. As at Leverington (see Fig. 500, p. 429) there are niched figures on the stem; the bowl-panels headed by triple canopies and carved with eight subjects, and the elevated step platform with carved risers just on the pattern of the Southwold and Badingham fonts; but in place of the "Seven Sacraments" there are sacred scenes at Grantham.

It would be natural to assign Suffolk fonts to the stone-craft of Ipswich, the capital city of Suffolk. But since the Norwich patterns would seem before-

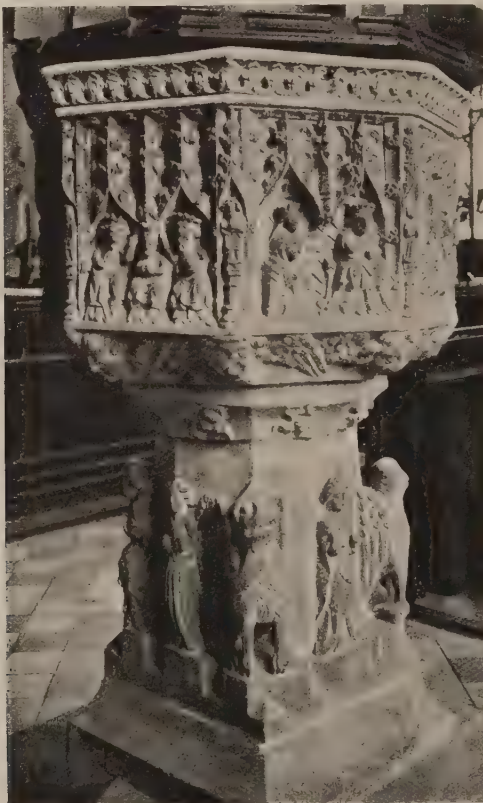


FIG. 509. Ipswich. St Matthew's Church. c. 1450.

hand in date we must suppose that the Ipswich craftsmen started their trade in competition. The figure-fonts in Ipswich itself¹ (Fig. 509), and at Loddenham close by follow the earliest Norwich group with winged creatures round the base, but make a new departure in the upper panels, and represent the "Virgin" scenes in place of the "Evangelist" signs. We have the "Annunciation," "Adoration of the Magi," etc., as in the alabaster retables, and as in them a peculiar rayed background is given to the Virgin figure.

¹ At Bury St Edmunds, on the west side of the county, the font is of Norwich Class I pattern.

A "Seven Sacraments" group is found in mid-Suffolk, following Class II of the Norwich types, but with the stem in panels without figures. The reliefs have a fine handling of the draperies upon a background glorified with the same rays. At Great Glemham and Woodbridge, about the centre of the county, the use of the "butterfly" head-dresses points to a date between 1470 and 1490. At Melton, close to Woodbridge, and at Westhall further north (Fig. 510) are similar fonts in which, however, the rayed background is absent.

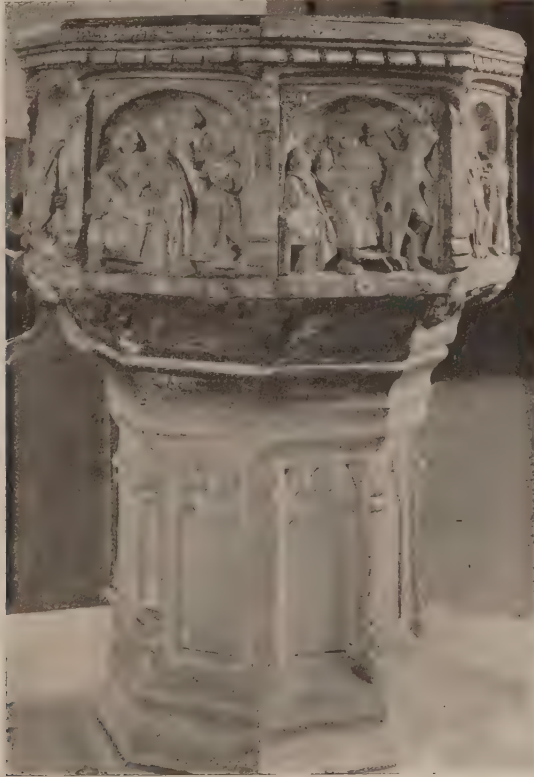


FIG. 510. Westhall (Suffolk), c. 1490.

The Westhall example has the bowl-panels arched and the buttresses very finely decorated in gesso relief, as was common on the East Anglian oak screens. The subject-reliefs still keep their painting, and present lively scenic expressions such as will be found in the misericord-carving of Henry VII.'s later years. Fonts, like all medieval sculptures, were originally painted, and the present bald appearance of their scenes is very largely due to the degradation of surface that has come in stripping off the paint, as well as from the more determined mutilations due to Puritans.

Other figure-fonts in various parts of England may be described as seemingly copied from the Norfolk types. At Hart, in Durham, is one on the Norwich pattern of Class II, with angels and standing figures in pairs upon the bowl-panels: it has also niched stem-figures, and heads round the base. The execution, however, connects it with the Percy tomb at Guiseborough and the peculiar monument called Prior Lechman's shrine at Hexham Abbey. At West Drayton, Middlesex, is a figure-font that seems a local carving on the Suffolk pattern, with the "Crucifixion" and various scenes, but the grotesque monsters of the base follow some Romanesque prototype. At Nettlecombe, Somerset, a font of oolite shows the "Seven Sacraments," but with the handling of the Ham-stone building-mason. The most accomplished performance in the West of England is the font at St James', Taunton (Fig. 511), which is of an independent type with a stout panelled base with flower carvings, while the bowl shows vigorous reliefs of the "Crucifixion" and figures of the "Apostles."



FIG. 511. Taunton. St James' Church. Panels of font. c. 1475.

The expression of fifteenth-century font-sculpture cannot be called distinguished on the side of its figure-work. In picturesque outline, and in the appropriate composition of their various decorations, the fifteenth-century fonts of Norwich are remarkable: but we must recognise that in the hands of the city-crafts figure-sculpture has become a mild pedestrian accomplishment. The more elaborate fonts belong plainly to the decline of medieval inspiration. The work grows richer in detail; the figures aim at vivid character; the pictorial expression is evidently sought after at the expense of the qualities that belong to form in sculpture. It is true, however, that now these fonts remain in bad condition; the figure-work has been chipped and defaced and has lost the colour that was the prerogative of medieval art. It must be remembered, too, that this colour was part of a whole scheme to which the tabernacle-covers of the fonts, the screens and ceilings all contributed, and all were glorious with paint and gilding.

SECTION III. THE RELIEF SCULPTURE OF TOMB-CHESTS AND MONUMENTS

Our review of the font-sculpture in the last section showed it, in its Norwich production, a provincial and quite limited art on the side of figure-work. Something more might be expected of the fifteenth-century monument-makers, since tomb-sculpture was practised in the chief centres of English style. It is true that the conventional and pictorial effects, which, as the fifteenth century advanced to the apex of its style, grew more and more the staple of the sculptor's art, can be illustrated as readily from the relief-sculpture of tombs as from that of fonts. But there had been an earlier opportunity for figure-work in tomb-sculpture, and the tradition of fourteenth-century style died hard: moreover the monumental figure-work was under influences which for a time at least made it the vehicle of the most accomplished carving of the English fifteenth century.

These influences were, in the first place, the great London trade of monuments, and secondly the encouragement given to the alabaster-crafts and the perfection obtained in the working of that material. When in Book III. we shall be dealing with the great monumental figures that were laid on the tomb-chest, the third period of monumental sculpture will be described as specifically that of the alabaster-workers. Their craft created the last style of the English effigy-makers, and it was in conscious emulation of their efforts that masons worked upon freestone tomb-figures in all the great cities of England. The figure-reliefs carved upon the tomb-chest, whether in alabaster or in stone, can be all alike considered as under the influences of alabaster working. The handling of that material made the fashionable demand, and the stone-workers in the monument trade competed by mimicking the alabaster treatments. We shall, accordingly, in this section, deal very largely with the relief-sculpture of the alabaster craftsmen, whose most varied and characteristic productions were the retables whose make and trade were sketched on pp. 424, 425. But the tomb-chest carvings developed a quite similar art, and though confined in their range of subjects were, we think, the originating products out of which the skill of the "alabaster men" was developed.

The motive that was immediately to hand for the alabaster relief-carver was that "Weeper" sculpture which, employed upon the stone tombs of the early fourteenth century, was used in the alabaster memorial of John of Eltham at Westminster. At Reepham, in the "Kerdeston" monument (see Fig. 728,

p. 650), and at Oxford, in that of "Lady Montacute" (Fig. 512), we see these mid-century "weepers." At Lincoln, too, on the Burghersh tombs are characteristic examples of the picturesque liveliness which was not deemed inconsistent with the portrayal of the weeping relatives and friends of the deceased. They appear as charming little doll-like figures (36 in number) on the alabaster tomb-chest of Lord and Lady Warwick (Fig. 514, opposite), at Warwick (c. 1370), and similarly on that of Sir Thomas Arderne (c. 1390),



FIG. 512. Oxford. Stone
"weeper." c. 1350.



FIG. 513. Wells. Alabaster
"weeper." c. 1440.

at Elford, near Lichfield, in this latter case mixed with angels holding shields, the earliest example we know of this motive (Fig. 515, opposite). In the case of the Earl of Arundel (d. 1406) and his Countess, in the chancel of the collegiate church at Arundel, the weeper-figures who have been placed in the niches round the alabaster tomb-chest are the Canons of the College just founded by him, and on the Archdeacon's tomb (Fig. 513) at Wells we have deacons c. 1440 perhaps. Costumed figures of relatives occur on the Abergavenny tombs c. 1470 and at Berkeley c. 1480. Again, quite at the end of the century, as on the tombs of Sir George Forster at Aldermaston, near Reading, and of other notables, c. 1500, the sons and daughters of the deceased

are represented as weepers. The method of such little attendant figures, persistent for at least the two hundred years of the medieval usage of altar-

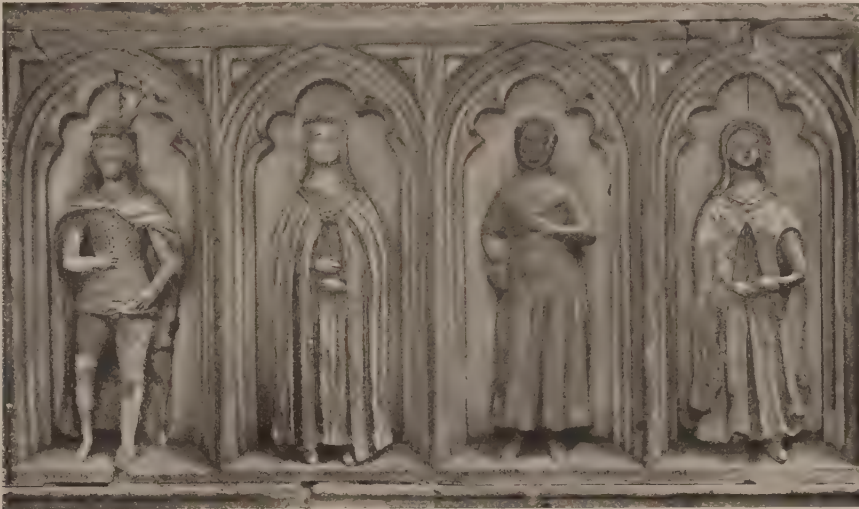


FIG. 514. Warwick. Alabaster "weepers" of Earl and Countess of Warwick. c. 1370.



FIG. 515. Elford. Alabaster "weepers." c. 1390. Probably much repaired and restored.

tombs, was handed on to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, appearing in the kneeling children of Elizabethan and Jacobean monuments.

At its outset we connect this "weeper" motive with the London tomb-making, for it was established in the royal tombs of Edward I.'s reign (see

p. 643). The sumptuous royal monuments of the later fourteenth century, like those of Queen Philippa (d. 1369) and Edward III. (d. 1377) (Fig. 516), have their sides arranged with canopied niches, in which were set little alabaster and bronze statuettes of royal personages and relations, who might be regarded as in attendance at the funeral. Niched stations for such figures are in evidence upon the alabaster tomb at Staindrop, Durham, of Ralph, Earl of Westmorland and his two wives (see Fig. 786, p. 697, Book III.), indicating it also as a London product of c. 1415, for the niches are identical in design with those on Henry IV.'s alabaster monument at Canterbury. All are on the patterns of the Westminster tombs, and no doubt were furnished originally with alabaster statuettes. In the monuments of



FIG. 516. Westminster. Bronze "weepers" on Edward III.'s tomb. c. 1380.

these kings and nobles the London tomb-maker appears as a worker in alabaster, in Purbeck marble, and as a bronze-founder. Thus we read how for Queen Philippa's tomb in 1377 John Orchard, "latoner"—that is, "worker in bronze"—made images of angels, and at the same time he was paid for supplying figures of alabaster.

At first the kings, such as Edward III. and Richard II., had the expensive bronze and Purbeck marble erections. Then the greatest personages were provided for by whole alabaster tombs in copy of the royal monuments, while lesser folk had copies in stone. And in this way the London trade spread its uses abroad, so that the habit of the Westminster monumentalists was continued in the stone copies of local make throughout the country. Soon therefore stone-masons and alabaster-workers were using identical patterns. Thus

at Lincoln we see c. 1380 upon two stone monuments "weepers" in pairs under wide ogee-shaped niche-heads, just as upon an alabaster tomb at Barthomley, Cheshire, while at Colne Priory (Fig. 517) in Essex the alabaster memorial (reputed that of the 8th Earl of Oxford, d. 1371) has its pairs of "weepers." We suppose this last a London production, and the connection of all three is evident. Again, at Clifton Reynes (Bucks), a "clunch" or white-stone monument has single weepers, very similar but under smaller ogee heads. We shall show in Book III. how generally the stone-mason has followed the tricks of the alabaster-working in all the details of tomb-making.



FIG. 517. Earls Colne. Alabaster "weepers" from Colne Priory. c. 1375.

In the middle of the fourteenth century the London crafts in their use of alabaster were no doubt in connection with the quarries from which it came. In our later chapters on effigy-sculpture we shall show how in the thirteenth century the "marblers" of London, and those at Purbeck, where the material was quarried, came into touch with one another and developed the same craft. So now it would seem that the working at London and Nottingham of the same Derbyshire product gave alabaster-sculpture its style or at any rate the same form of monument. The alabaster furniture-making in the midlands was certainly of such repute in 1360 that we have the great reredos for St George's Chapel, Windsor, brought from Nottingham, the important town most immediate to the alabaster district, a certain "Peter Maceon" being paid for it. Also after 1400 the great tombs of London make were duplicated from the neighbourhood of the quarries in almost similar compositions, which records tell us were made by the "kervers" of Chellaston Hill itself, where is one of the chief alabaster quarries. But this tomb (see the illustration, Fig. 91 on page 101) at Lowick, Northamptonshire, and that at Arundel (both c. 1418) are in very near connection, while Henry IV.'s

monument at Canterbury, c. 1413, itself an alabaster copy of Richard II.'s tomb in Westminster, would seem the probable model of both (see Fig. 783, p. 695).

A divergence can be detected when in the Lowick tomb there had appeared, not the Westminster "weepers" as the motive for the relief-sculpture on tomb-housings, but angels carrying shields. Architectural sculpture took this motive on the bosses of Worcester cloister, illustrated in Fig. 599*a*, p. 516. But as regards tombs, the originating source of this form, as distinguished at any rate from the London method of the "weepers," may conjecturally be placed in the York workshops. At Swine (Fig. 518), in the East Riding, there remain some alabaster tombs of remarkable sculpture, two of which, by the costume of the recumbent effigies that lie on them, may

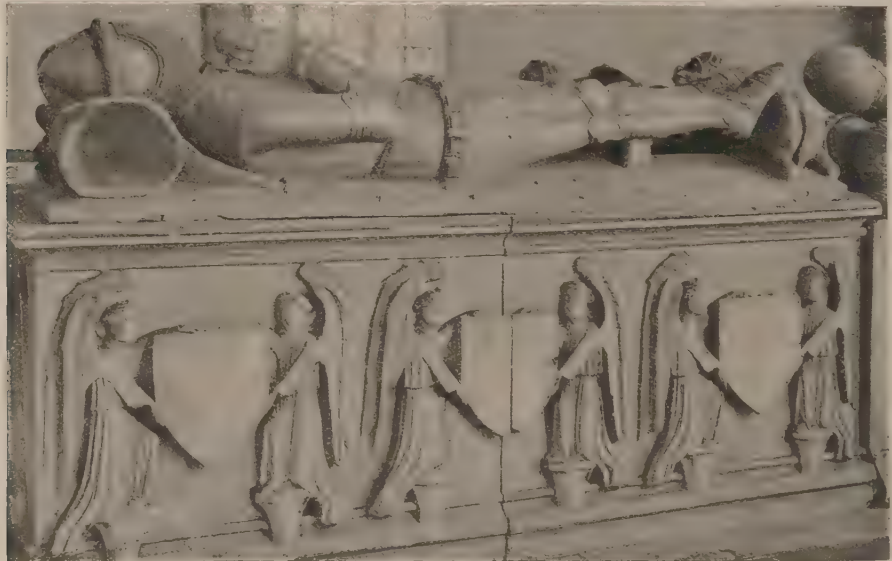


FIG. 518. Swine (Yorks). Alabaster tomb. c. 1400.

be dated c. 1400 to c. 1415, and these have the tomb-sides carved with kneeling angels who as supporters hold shields in high relief upon a plain ground. Now the drapery, faces, and hair, as handled in these angels, and especially the method of the feathered wings (we may perhaps add, too, the method of the shield-motive itself), are of a kind that may be credited to the northern masons. For the Swine treatments in all points seem to continue the decorative manner that was seen on the Percy tomb (see Fig. 394, p. 347), though that was some generations earlier. Also just as alabaster in block could be conveyed to London for the trade of the capital (the water-carriage being direct by way of the Trent and the Humber) so too it could be taken to York to be made tombs of. At that place, indeed, we have accounts of "alabaster men" as citizens in the fifteenth century, and the tomb of the "civilian" at Sheriff Hutton (see p. 697) has good claim to be by them.

If by the year 1400 alabaster tomb-making was going outside London style, the Swine tombs with their handling of angels¹ may well connect this departure with the recorded distribution of alabaster work from Nottingham. It must be remembered that Nottingham was in the York diocese—was in easy connection by water, and in the trade of block-alabaster of which we have records (see p. 468) might well be the depôt from which York masons got it.

Still, the local treatment of the tomb-chest, to be directly associated with Derbyshire by the Chellaston contract for the Lowick tomb, is somewhat different from the Swine method. The angels (see Fig. 91, p. 101) are placed singly, each holding a shield in front under cusped canopies that are modifications of the elaborate Purbeck-marble tabernacles of London make. This Lowick "Angel and Shield" is found as the set pattern for tomb-chests



FIG. 519. Dodford (Northants). Chellaston "Angels and Shields." c. 1450.

for many years. It is seen at Elford (see back, Fig. 515, p. 445) and with scarcely any variation from the Lowick type in the tomb of the Earl of Oxford at Colne Priory, close to London (as too in its almost exact replica at Barnstone, South Yorkshire), and was repeated for some thirty years after, as at Dodford, Northamptonshire (Fig. 519), in a tomb of c. 1450².

¹ The distinct character of the Swine handling, c. 1400, is to be studied in the methods of wing and feather representation. In northern style, as in the stone renderings at Hawton, c. 1320, at Newark, c. 1420, and Lanercost, c. 1480, the wings of angels have the *quills* of the feathers carved, but the feathering or *barbs* unexpressed. Also the *webs* are ended somewhat bluntly, both *primaries* and *coverts* being similarly treated. This is the handling of the angel-wings on the Swine tombs, as it had been on the Percy tomb at Beverley.

In the London representations, starting indeed far back with the Westminster angels of the thirteenth century, the *covert* feathers were pointed, while the *primaries* were usually slightly

turned so as to separate the tips. In the fourteenth and fifteenth century the *barbs* as well as the *quills* were as a rule distinctly outlined; see, for example, the stone-sculpture of angels at Westminster, Windsor, Warwick and Sall, Norfolk—for the London sculpture may be considered as dominant, all through the middle of England. The alabaster angel-wings of the Midlands simplify the surfaces, show no feather-marks on the *coverts*, but exhibit projecting points at first on the *outer* edge of the wing but afterwards only on the *inner*.

² A dozen other examples might be cited, as at Great Shefford in Berkshire, c. 1440, or at Ashbourne, Derbyshire, c. 1450.

This last example illustrates how, along with the "weeper" and "angel" motives on alabaster tomb-chests, other expressions of relief-sculpture began to be used c. 1425. Upon retables behind altars the relief carving of sacred scenes had specially developed in alabaster, and similar motives were sometimes considered suitable for tomb-chests. At Wells, for example, in the chapel of the south transept, a monument (called that of Dean Husse (d. 1306), but evidently of the fifteenth century) has, besides "weeper" figures of sur-



FIG. 520. Wells. "Annunciation" on tomb-chest. c. 1440.



FIG. 521. British Museum. "Annunciation."

pliced clergy (see Fig. 513, p. 444), the "Trinity" and "Annunciation" subjects (Fig. 520). The tomb-panels are in this case headed by a canopy or dais on the pattern of the niche-heads on the royal tombs at Westminster, but with the peculiar simplified forms of architectural detail which were in use, as we shall see, in the craft of alabaster-working. A slab (Fig. 521) of the same shape and size (about nine by six inches), and with similar "dais," is at the British Museum, and this—an "Annunciation" also—we may suppose a panel from a tomb, for the retable-panels were usually a larger make.

At Abergavenny, in Monmouthshire, is a tomb, at the end of which are "angels" carved (Fig. 522) on the same pattern as those at Swine, but in this case kneeling on either side of an "Annunciation," which in attitude and

drapery can be matched in one class of alabaster tables, c. 1430 (see Fig. 562, p. 489). The panel-heads with projecting canopies on this monument are much as on the Wells tomb, and the sides, as at Wells, have no shield-bearing angels, but in this case "*Apostles*," each holding a long scroll (Fig. 522)—a motive that was also much in use with the alabaster-carvers of retable-subjects. It had however been a trick of the York school in its fourteenth-century sculpture, and was also a commonplace of the brass-engraving.



FIG. 522. Abergavenny. Alabaster monument. c. 1440.

While these "*Annunciation*" and "*Saint*" subjects make a fresh motive on tomb-chests, and separate them, as to provenance, from the "*weeper*" and "*angel*" tomb-chests, it is difficult to point to the workshop responsible for it. The staging of the "*Annunciation*" subject was not that which can be best associated with Nottingham treatments, but is of the pictorial pattern that had appeared in the Grandisson ivories of a hundred years before. The triple-gabled canopy is of the London tomb-making: but on the other hand the modelling of the draperies may point to York (see pp. 476—479). In any case, however, by the middle of the fifteenth century the various motives of tomb-chest reliefs were common property for all makes. The Dodford tomb of c. 1450, which gives, as we have shown (see back, Fig. 519), the Chellaston pattern in its side angels, has at the end a version of the Swine pattern

(Fig. 525, opposite). Also at the date "weepers," "apostles," and "angels with shields," all appear together on the tomb-chest. But a peculiarity of this later angel-carving was that the wings lose the projecting feathers which were prominent in the Lowick tomb and its contemporaries. Instead of dove-like forms, they take those of the swallow, elongated and narrow, with pointed tips, as in the pretty fragment from Tong, Shropshire (Fig. 523). As there, too, they obtain a peculiar hook, curling inwards to represent the division between the *coverts* and the *primaries*—a feature that we find first in the Abergavenny tomb of c. 1440, and it will be held as indicating a date from 1440 to 1470 for the retable-subjects (see Fig. 561, p. 487). It is possible



FIG. 523. Tong (Salop). Fragment of alabaster. c. 1450.



FIG. 524. Norbury. "Weeper." c. 1470.

perhaps to consider the "angel and shield" motive as specially the design of the Derbyshire school, and its conventional use in tombs of the mid-fourteenth century may show the distribution of the stock Chellaston pattern. In many of these the heading of the panel which had projected in the Lowick type was sculptured into a flattened tracery. But also c. 1450 the triple gabled dais of the "Annunciation" subject is succeeded by a double-gabled angular projection, as in a fine alabaster tomb at Piddleton (Dorset), c. 1460 (where are "angels and shields"), and in the tomb of the Duchess of Suffolk (d. 1473), at Ewelme (Oxon) (Fig. 526), in which case the angels have albs and feathered tights alternately.

Finally, after 1475, at Abergavenny and at Bakewell we have seated saints, but usually in Henry VII.'s reign (as we have said) the "weeper" motive



FIG. 525. Dodford. End of tomb-chest. c. 1450.



FIG. 526. Ewelme (Oxon). Tomb of the Duchess of Suffolk. d. 1473.

returns to tomb-chests, and little standing figures of relations in characteristic costume occur at Norbury (Fig. 524), Tong, Windsor (see Fig. 802, p. 707), and in a specially well-carved example at Aldermaston.

A very florid type of tomb-chest also occurs in which figures of saints and apostles are introduced among the angels, as on one of the big monuments (c. 1470) at Tong, and on one at Elford close by, which is of exactly similar make, with peculiar traceries of an elaborate kind; also at Llandaff, and in a third alabaster monument at Abergavenny, works that must date after 1500. The successive particulars of tomb-chest sculpture have been detailed because they can be dated by the effigies that accompany them, and so afford patterns of alabaster workmanship by which we may classify and place the subject-reliefs found in the alabaster retables. The wide distribution which has been shown for the alabaster monuments in England—many almost similar in design—points to a shop-trade sending out a regular article to order, and the *Kervers* of the Chellaston document may be credited with at any rate one commercial pattern. But this being so, the simultaneous existence of two or three distinct patterns of tomb-chest side by side is good evidence for more than one centre of alabaster tomb-making. As regards the recumbent effigies in alabaster, a London centre for their sculpture must, when we treat of them in Book III., be assumed throughout the period of the alabaster trade. York, also, c. 1400, must, we think, have had its workshops easily supplied with block alabaster from the Tutbury quarries in Derbyshire, for the Trent and the Ouse form a direct water-way.

Elsewhere, however, in those parts of England which possessed established quarry-crafts, freestone tomb-makers could enter into competition with the alabaster trade, and supply monuments in imitation. As to "weeper"-sculpture many mid-fourteenth-century examples on freestone tombs have already been mentioned, p. 444. Little figures in Totternhoe stone appear in Buckinghamshire monuments, as on the Clifton Reynes tomb, c. 1370. There are priest "weepers" in cusped panels on the Beer-stone monument of Bishop Stratford (d. 1367) at Chichester, where the whole tomb seems a rather poor copy of the alabaster makes. Angels holding shields under triple canopies, of the Midland alabaster style, are to be seen carved in Cheltenham stone in the great chantry of Isabel, Countess of Warwick (d. 1439), at Tewkesbury. Saints and apostles in cusped panels appear on the stone tomb of Bishop Mayhew, at Hereford (see Fig. 815, p. 717), the whole tomb being very similar to the alabaster memorial of Bishop Stanbury (d. 1474) in the same cathedral. The above seem close copies of alabaster style: but in some tombs the masons were still exhibiting the architectural manner that belonged to an earlier stone-craft. For example, at Cogges, Oxfordshire, are figures set in large quatrefoils such as had been the fashion of the architectural sculptor since the beginning of the thirteenth century (see pp. 277 seq.). In northern England the sandstone monuments of Lanercost show great heraldic angels with spread wings such as can have no derivation

from alabaster motives. Here too the extraordinary heraldic degradation of religious motive is seen as at Guiseborough, Yorkshire, where on the Percy tomb-chest is the representation of the canons kneeling to the Virgin, who holds, in her lap, not the sacred "Child," but the shield of the Percies. The same decadent Yorkshire type appears at Hexham, and was mentioned in connection with the font-sculpture at Hart near Durham.

Other inspirations are clear in a Bath-stone monument in the cathedral of St David's, South Wales, that of Bishop Morgan (d. 1504), whose tomb-chest has reliefs of saints and apostles in panels bounded by intersecting mouldings, and on the end of the tomb a panel relief of the Resurrection

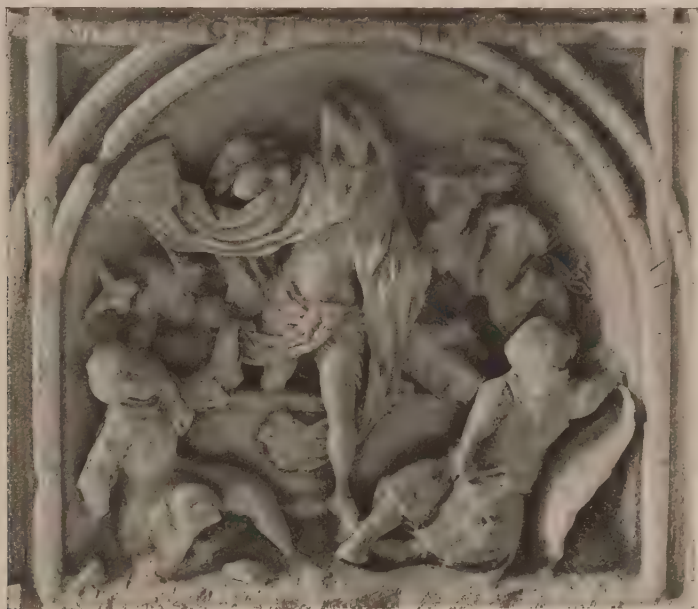


FIG. 527. St David's (South Wales). End of tomb-chest. c. 1500.

(Fig. 527). Such a work also goes outside the alabaster patterns: but its picturesque liveliness is that of the Flemish tomb-makers, who were shortly to bring Tournai marble into England and fashion on tombs the pilasters and arabesques of cinque-cento monuments.

So far the tomb-chests we have reviewed have been on the alabaster model, that is they were made free of the walls, though sometimes, as has been the case with the Lowick tomb, covered by an elaborate canopy. Monuments against the wall with arched canopies, such as were the common patterns with the stone-masons, are rare in alabaster. But we have pieces of alabaster-relief, such as those at Long Melford and Stonyhurst, for example (see Fig. 539, p. 470), that may have been at the back of tombs rather than of altars:

at any rate we give a late example *in situ* (Fig. 528) from Bishop Shirburne's memorial at Chichester¹. Of this kind were the reliefs of "saints" shown at the inn at Marshfield near Bristol. They represent "Our Lady," "St Margaret," and "St Catharine," and belonged to a chantry in the church, in the wall of which they were placed probably as a reredos. A set of "saint" panels of a somewhat similar kind is preserved at Evreux in France—but the Marshfield figures seem earlier, and indeed closely in touch with the Nottingham carvings, illustrated on pp. 358, 359. An alabaster panel, which is of a different shape—square with a roughly-rounded head—that may have

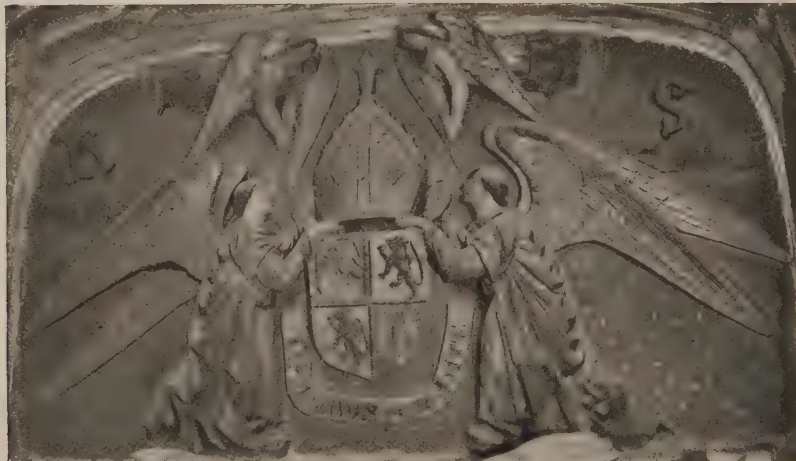


FIG. 528. Chichester. Alabaster tomb-panel. c. 1535. (Considerably restored.)

been made for an Easter Sepulchre, is in the Library at Wells. This is a framed tablet of the "Ascension," a stone example somewhat similar being seen inside the cathedral. At Holcombe Burnell, Devon, is a relief of the "Resurrection" seemingly of the same use, which by its costume we may think of the sixteenth century.

Another remarkable example of monumental wall-reliefs in stone is on the great tomb at Hingham (see Fig. 489, p. 411), to which the craft of the Norwich carvers has contributed more than one kind of figure-work. The "weepers" are represented kneeling at the back of the tomb, while in the gable above is a "Majesty" with the kneeling figures of the "knight" and "lady" (Fig. 529). Such kneeling attitudes can be recognised as a common motive upon the "Seven Sacraments" fonts of Norwich. In the West of England, as at Tewkesbury, Wells and Exeter, are examples in large chapel-like erections with architectural canopies and vaulted ceilings. Subject-panels

¹ An elaborate slab at Youlgreave, Derbyshire, with figures kneeling on either side of the "Madonna," is evidently part of a tomb.



FIG. 529. Hingham (Norfolk). Stone relief on tomb. c. 1450.

of relief-sculpture (as below) were not uncommon on the end walls inside at the head or feet of the monumental effigy or brass. On a tomb at Wells is



FIG. 530. Paignton (Devon). Tomb-relief. c. 1500.
P. & G.

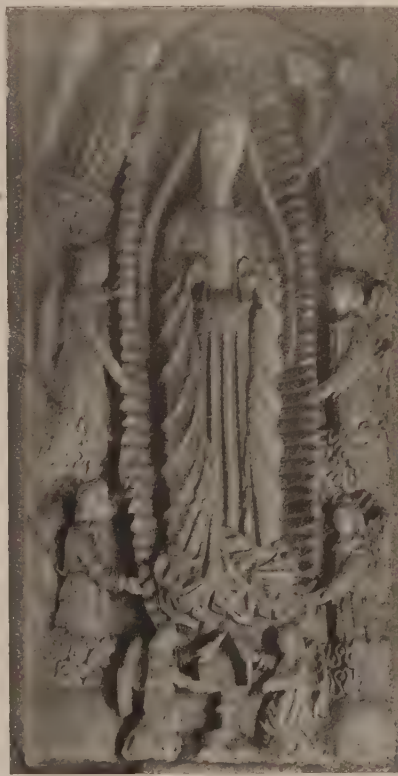


FIG. 531. Sandford (Oxon). Tomb-relief. c. 1450.

seen "Mary kneeling to the risen Saviour"; an "Annunciation" is similarly placed at Yatton, near Bristol, and the same scene in a chapel at Exeter, in which case the heads of the "Virgin" and "Gabriel," probably of metal, have been removed. Similar workmanship appears in a sumptuous work at Paignton, near Torquay, where two *chapel* tombs (Fig. 532) are combined in one great



FIG. 532. Paignton (Devon). "Kirkham" monument. c. 1500.

screen across the transept. The cresting pinnacles are long-winged angels carrying shields; at the feet of the knights are reliefs—in one case the

"Coronation of the Virgin," and in the other the "Mass of St Gregory" (Fig. 530, back, p. 457), while on the tomb-chests and in the structure of the monument are numerous niches with little figures. The style of all this sculpture, although the subjects are those of the alabaster tables, has an independence of the alabaster models. The London crafts of monumental furniture, while they used alabaster specially for figures, were prodigal in stone canopies, tabernacle work and angel cornices. At Paignton these particulars match almost exactly what was being done in Henry VII.'s chapel c. 1500, so that London masons seem here in evidence.

But apart from tomb-sculpture the architectural use of figure-relief had grown quite insignificant—niche statue-work had supplanted it. Thus, in the

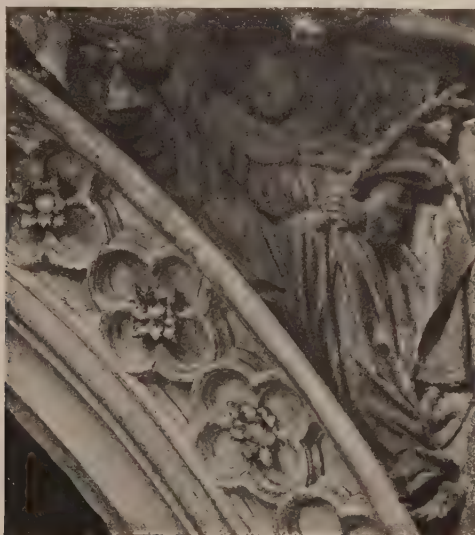


FIG. 533. Winchester. Spandrel reliefs in reredos. The "Annunciation." c. 1480.

great reredos of Winchester Cathedral, the two doorways on either side of the altar have spandrel-carvings of the "Annunciation" (Fig. 533) and the "Salutation" respectively of quite perfunctory pettiness. Religious subjects at this period were usually given but insignificant treatment, the shallow conventional rendering being much in contrast with the robuster fancies of the heraldic carver. Occasionally we have more important architectural reliefs, as the "Angel of the Resurrection" in the gate of All Souls, Oxford, and the "angels" in the spandrels of the west doorway of Sall (see Fig. 602, p. 517), in Norfolk, a work of strongly local style. Where figure-sculpture was applied in the body of the fabric it came more and more to limit itself to the conventionally religious themes—cornice-"angels" and gargoyle-"devilry."

CHAPTER XI

THE CITY-TRADE FURNITURE OF THE LAST MEDIEVAL PERIOD (*continued*)

THE ENGLISH SCULPTURE OF ALABASTER TABLES, 1350—1530

THE records of Windsor that W. St John Hope has published tell us that the city of Nottingham had a "Peter Maceon," who worked alabaster, and supplied a retable shortly after the middle of the fourteenth century. From him or his fellows came, we think, those statuettes of alabaster which our account of fourteenth-century images touched upon—the "Virgin" and "Apostles" (see Fig. 408, p. 359, and Fig. 60, p. 67) found at Flawford near Nottingham; the "Lady of Pity" (see Fig. 409, p. 359) at Breadsall in Derbyshire; the headless "Madonna" at Royston near Cambridge, and perhaps the "St Anne" that has been dug up in Kersey Church, Suffolk (see Figs. 406, 407, p. 358)¹. At any rate the Flawford "Madonna" and the seated "Virgin" figures at Breadsall and Royston have resemblances of handling which make them all of one school of sculpture; and it is to be noted that at Swine in Yorkshire a "Lady" effigy (c. 1375) shows similar workmanship (see Fig. 780, p. 693).

This school would seem to have left other evidences in two remarkable pieces of alabaster relief-sculpture in Derbyshire. One is at Bakewell Church (see Fig. 544, p. 474), the memorial of the Foljambes, c. 1375—a wall-slab about two feet high by twenty inches wide—carved with half-figures of "Knight" and "Lady" under a cusped panel-head which is surmounted by a canted and embattled cornice. The treatment takes its motive direct from the full round sculpture of recumbent figures, for there are tasselled cushions² beneath the heads of the "Foljambes," although they are represented upright. The "Knight's" head-piece and the chasing of the mail is just as on the recumbent military effigy at Swine by the side of the above-mentioned "Lady."

The second relief came from Beauchief Abbey, a destroyed Cistercian church near Sheffield, and is illustrated opposite: it has the same shields as at Bakewell, and the same knightly armour is in evidence. This, however, was a subject-scene, the slab, about two feet high by twenty inches wide, representing the "Murder of Becket" in very high relief, capped by an embattled cornice with a frill of tracery (Fig. 534, opposite). Such a combination of

¹ With the exception of the Breadsall "Pieta" and the Bakewell slab all the above were shown in the exhibition of alabaster work by the "Society of Antiquaries" at Burlington House in June 1910.

² The tasselling of the cushion follows the habit of the Gloucestershire and Hereford makers of effigy. In the case of the Westminster effigies the cushions have rose buttons (see pp. 471, 676).



FIG. 534. From Beauchief Abbey (Derby). Alabaster slab. The "Murder of Becket."
2 feet high. c. 1375.

ornaments—embattlement and frilling—occurs on the stone cornice of the Southwell quire-screen, a work of c. 1350, whose neighbourhood to Nottingham would imply that the stone-craft of that city supplied its furniture. All is evidence to the point that the masons of Nottingham, to whom the block alabaster from Tutbury came easily by water-carriage, had established a local

making of alabaster sculpture—supplying retables as to Windsor, memorial slabs as to Bakewell, and possibly, we think, some of the early recumbent effigies as to Swine (see p. 692). Though the Windsor retable has perished, one class of the alabaster tables has the battlemented cornice as at Bakewell: so we may think these the Nottingham make. Of course the method of retable-relief had been given early in the fourteenth century by the stone sculpture on the backs of wall-tombs and “Easter Sepulchres,” as for example those at Hawton (see Fig. 425, p. 371) and Heckington (see Fig. 53, p. 60). Such pieces made reredos reliefs at Mattersey near Retford (see Fig. 422, p. 370), and their arrangements as at Christchurch, Hants, became models for the workers of alabaster. But in its finer working the scenes of narrative sculpture got an expression and a stock of motives outside the monumental practice of stone-carving. The make-up of the retable favoured anecdotal rather than sculptural themes, and for this reason we think the pictorial storytelling of the ivory tablet (as in the Grandisson ivory illustrated on p. 375) lies at the back of the retable-carving of the alabaster men. Indeed we must admit that the instinct of great architectural sculpture which the alabaster carver had at first in the monumental compositions was before long banished from his work. These reliefs began in the screen-making of Southwell quire, but the imagers of London and York schooled alabaster style, giving that expression which on pp. 424, 425 we have defined as symptomatic of the English fifteenth-century development.

In England the works of the “alabaster men” (as is the misspelling usual in fifteenth-century records) have come down to us as isolated carvings, or often mere fragments of slabs. These are usually about two inches thick, and, where perfect, are somewhat under a foot wide and usually from fourteen to sixteen inches in height, though occasionally other proportions are found. The subjects represented were the usual sacred scenes taken from the Bible narrative; also the stock traditions of the saints and martyrs, or the symbolic presentations of religious dogma such as the “Assumption” and “Coronation of the Virgin,” the “Trinity,” the “Tree of Jesse,” etc. The compositions show as a rule many figures carved in a high relief, which has evidently been set off by a bright painting and much gilding. Perfect panels, as far as England is concerned, are now for the most part in museums or in private possession, and appear as single unconnected pictures with no record of their use or original destination. Still, since they are dug up frequently on the sites of English churches, their religious use has been clear. Abroad the perfect pieces exist in very much larger numbers—most perhaps in the museums of the provincial towns, but in not a few instances the panels are to be seen still *in situ* in the original churches to which apparently they were supplied in the fifteenth century. In England there exist no such sets, but as well as

the large numbers in France, whole retables are to be seen in Spain, Italy, Switzerland, Germany and Denmark, and even in Iceland. The examples abroad exhibit quite clearly (what might have seemed doubtful in the case of the fragmentary specimens at home) the method of treating these tables—how the relief slabs were set side by side, framed and forming screens with ranged panels of sculpture (Fig. 535) behind the altars.

Another thing also becomes clear—viz. that the subjects of the complete retables abroad are not haphazard selections of sacred scenes, but are made up as particular combinations, and that the sets of panels in connection most often illustrate the two separate religious cycles that were discussed in Book I., pp. 58, 59. Thus the "Passion" retable was composed with five scenes, or in more elaborate cases with seven; the first as a rule being the "Betrayal," the second the "Flagellation," followed by the "Crucifixion" (as the central



FIG. 535. Yssac-la-Tourette (Puy de Dôme). Alabaster "Passion retable of five scenes." c. 1470.

a. "St Peter." b. "Betrayal." c. "Flagellation." d. "Crucifixion."
e. "Burial." f. "Resurrection." g. "St Paul." Also twelve "Apostles."

This is a typical "Passion" retable, almost complete.

and somewhat higher panel), and then as the fourth and fifth the "Entombment" and the "Resurrection¹." Other scenes in this set were often the "Carrying of the Cross" and the "Taking down from the Cross²." In one case the "Agony in the Garden" and the "Appearance to Mary" are made additional flanking scenes, as in the complete set at Ecaquelon in Brittany. The "Last Supper" and the "Ascension" (though these scenes occur as subjects of alabaster reliefs) do not appear to have formed part of the stock "Passion" series as this was generally supplied in the fifteenth century. There remains, however, one great "Passion" reredos in two stages with ten scenes, and in these are represented, as well as the "Last Supper," the "Washing of the disciples' feet," the "Interrogation by Pilate," "Pilate washing his hands" and the "Mocking of Christ" (see Fig. 538, p. 467).

¹ As in the complete retable in Iceland and at Ferrara in Italy.

² See Fig. 554, p. 482.

The other customary set, that of Christmas, viz. the scenes in which the Virgin immediately appears, was made up of five or seven panels. In the set of five, as at Montréal (Fig. 536, opposite), the scenes most often are (1) the "Annunciation," (2) the "Adoration of the Magi," (3) the "Assumption of the Virgin," and (4) the "Coronation of the Virgin," while as the central and higher panel was most usually placed the "Resurrection." But often, too, the centre-piece is some symbolic representation of the "Faith," such as the "Trinity" or the "Mass of St Gregory," this latter being demonstrative of the Real Presence in the sacrifice of the Mass (see the stone panel at Paignton², Fig. 530, p. 457). The "Magi" subject is sometimes replaced by a "Nativity," and the "Assumption" by an "Ascension," or these are extra scenes, added to make up a seven-set table⁴. Also it would seem that in extended sets the "Salutation"⁵ and "Circumcision"⁶ may have been introduced. The "Birth of the Blessed Virgin" and her "Death" are also found separately, and may sometimes have been added to more especially honour her, but we have not seen complete examples of retables with these additions. In some churches we find collections of mixed panels that would seem parts of both the two above distinctive sets, made up as a single reredos⁷. However, this combination, where it now occurs, may be, we think, the putting together of scenes from a "Christmas" and an "Easter" reredos originally separate. Two or more alabaster retables in a single church were common enough: thus at Yssac la Tourette (Puy de Dôme), in addition to one complete reredos of the "Passion" (Fig. 535, back, p. 463), can be seen another giving the Bible-story of John the Baptist (see Fig. 13, p. 13). The scenes are (1) his "Preaching," (2) his "Rebuke of Herod," and then, following the main centre panel of (3), the "Crucifixion," are (4) the "Beheading of John," and (5) the "Dance of Salome." In the same way we have sets of tables devoted to St Catharine, four scenes of her martyrdom with a central piece, as at St Catharine's Church near Venice. The habit of combining figures or image-panels with the subjects can be seen in these made-up tables—also the arrangement of the alabaster pieces in framings of wood with hinged leaves to form a triptych. The examples we have given have retained this fitting, and also the painted inscription beneath.

The more elaborate altar-piece in two tiers appears to have been developed later, its two ranges of tables making a fixed retable with wooden doors painted with scenes. A nearly perfect example of this form still exists (Fig. 537, opposite) at La Celle near Evreux in Normandy, with scenes which

¹ The complete set at St Leonard has the Trinity as centre panel, that at Montréal the Mass of St Gregory.

² Also at Stoke Charity, Hants.

³ As at Châtelaudren.

⁴ As at Bordeaux in the Église St Michel, where the "Resurrection" makes the centre panel.

⁵ Occurs in a "Table" in Brittany.

⁶ *e.g.* in Stonyhurst Museum, also at La Celle.

⁷ As at Roscoff in Brittany.

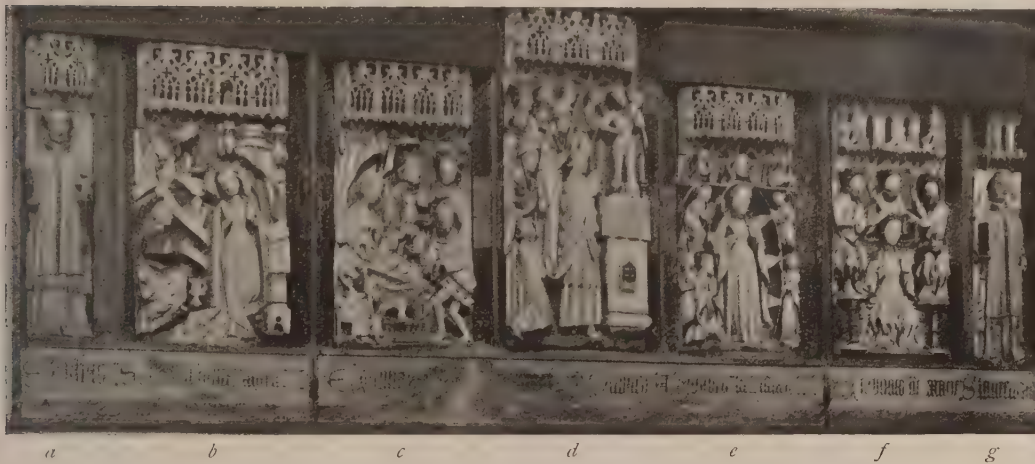


FIG. 536. Montréal (Yonne, France). Alabaster triptych of English make. c. 1460.

- a.* "St Stephen." *b.* The "Annunciation." *c.* The "Magi." *d.* The "Mass of St Gregory."
e. The "Assumption of the Virgin." *f.* The "Coronation of the Virgin." *g.* "St Lawrence."

This is a typical "Virgin" retable, almost in its original condition.

a *b* *c* *d* *e* *f* *g*



FIG. 537. La Celle (Normandy). Alabaster reredos of English make. c. 1490.

- a.* "Resurrection of St George." *b.* "St George armed by Virgin." *c.* "The Dragon."
d. "Assumption and Coronation of Virgin." *e.* "Baptisms, Princess and family."
f. "Before Dacian." *g.* "Beheaded." *h.* "Nativity of Virgin." *i.* "Presentation."
k. "Annunciation." *l.* Missing. *m.* "Nativity of Christ." *n.* "Magi." *o.* "Purification."

The original alabaster cresting is to be seen at the top. The doors of painted wood have also been preserved.

combine the legend of St George with the apocryphal history of the Virgin, the centre piece being a large "Assumption." At Génissac (Gironde) is a mixed series of "Passion" and "Virgin" scenes, with others from the story of St Martin. A full elaboration of the Easter cycle has come down to us in what is the largest example remaining substantially in its original form, that in the Museum at Compiègne near Paris (Fig. 538, opposite), it once having been the reredos in the Church of St Germain d'Auxerrois in Paris. Its ten scenes have been already mentioned (see p. 463); they are set in two ranges, the principal table in the centre being a large "Crucifixion." In this case there were added to the Easter subjects four image-panels, two on either side, while sixteen smaller figures are niched upon the styles between the scenic panels. It will be noticed how these largest forms of the alabaster retable were on the fashion of a fourteenth-century reredos of stone, such as remains nearly perfect at Christchurch (Hants), and in a more fragmentary state at St Cuthbert's, Wells. But whereas in the masoned erections the great panels were provided as canopied niches for standing images (stone statues at Wells, wood statues plated with silver as we hear of them at Christchurch), the alabaster and wood constructions had, instead of statues, reliefs in alabaster to make the body of the retable. In this distinction we recognise how the alabaster form is characteristic sculpture of the fifteenth century—the product of a picture-craft, not of statue-sculpture.

All, or nearly all, the above scenes, the combinations of which we see abroad, can be instanced in the detached English pieces, and their bits may be recognised in the broken fragments dug up in our churches; moreover the English tables exhibit them with just the same treatments,—being often almost facsimiles of what we see in the foreign retables. We may assume, therefore, that the panels and pieces of alabaster relief found in England have come from destroyed screens that were removed from the altars when they were cleansed of superstitious furniture in Edward VI.'s reign.

In this description of the foreign retables we have passed to the ultimate and most developed arrangement of alabaster tables. Simpler and more limited sets are indicated in the English pieces and fragments, and in them too are found a whole class of scenes and subjects which are found rarely or not at all abroad. Moreover, while the complete retables *in situ*, like that at La Celle, cannot date before the latter part of the fifteenth century, not a few of the tables recovered in England show by costume and armour an earlier date, often indeed one anterior to 1400. And then, as another distinction of these earlier reliefs, they exhibit distinct peculiarities of shape and finish—they are either flat pieces with finished edges all round, or when bulged in the middle of the slab, like the later pieces, they have that embattled

heading whose occurrence in alabaster has in the case of the Foljambe pieces (see p. 460) seemed local to Derbyshire. But on this head we must observe as to the present-day distribution of the tables that their frequent occurrence in certain localities or countries cannot be taken as evidence of origin, nor used to group them. The alabasters were portable church furniture, easy of conveyance all over England and of carriage over sea. Their classifications and assignments to originating centres must be made on the internal evidences of their material, the arrangements of their subjects and the various qualities of their sculpture.

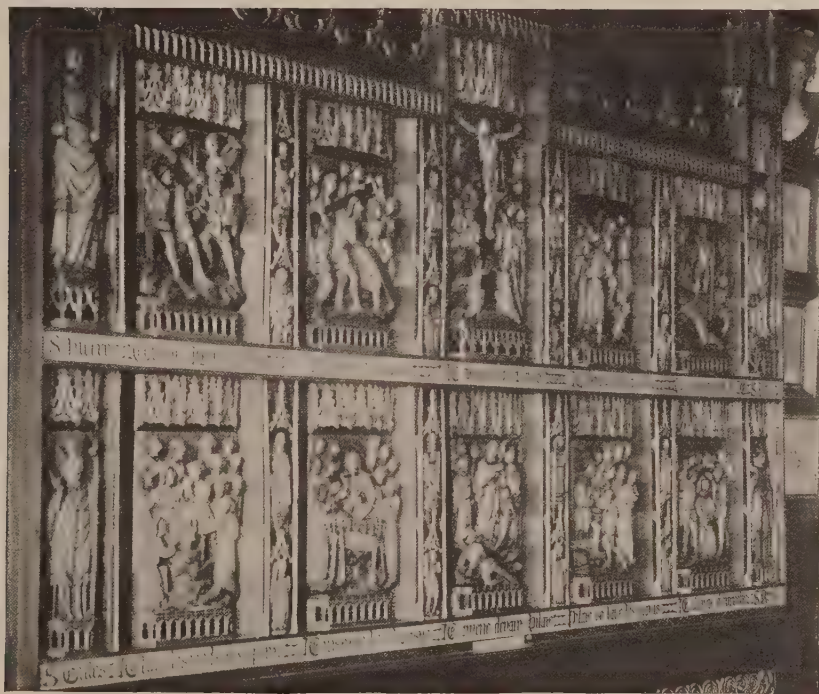


FIG. 538. The great alabaster reedos in the Compiègne Museum. c. 1480.

The names of the scenes are to be read in the original inscriptions.

On these grounds we divide the tables into at any rate two groups—an earlier make, in which the slab was complete in itself with heading and finished edge all one piece of alabaster: and then the later make, with unfinished edges and with separate heading-pieces; all framed up in wood, and with image-panels and other additions making up the great retables of the end of the fifteenth century. The armour and costumes of the first class give them dates from 1350 to 1420 approximately, and the great framed retables

can be placed by indications in the costume as usually after 1450. There is therefore a period to which an intermediate class might be assigned. A large number of slabs have lost their tops, and some can by their handling be recognised as belonging to the battlemented class, while others show the style of the latest tables: but between these a large class can be recognised which we may call transitional. We see pieces where an earlier costume is mixed up with later indications: in other cases we have the arrangements that seem preparatory to the later style. This intermediate division must be accepted as one of very varied character, and can easily be split up into half a dozen groups. However, neither of these three classes as a whole, nor any particular group of them can be assigned as a make or style of foreign workmanship. The material of all is the Derbyshire alabaster, and the handling of every detail can be matched by what has been dug up in English churches, and by what is found *in situ* in the English alabaster tombs, which are clearly native work¹.

The reputation of English alabaster and its source in Derbyshire are curiously attested by a record. An account has been found which sets forth how the Abbot of Fécamp², in Normandy, sent his master-of-the-work (or "factor" as we might now call him) to Chellaston in Derbyshire to confer with Thomas Prentys there and purchase alabaster (1414), this same Thomas Prentys being one of the *kervers* who (as we fortunately know, see p. 101) made the "Green" monument at Lowick, 1419. Before this date images of alabaster had been forwarded to the Pope by order of Edward I. in 1382, (see note, p. 675), and in 1408 there had been sent to Nantes the alabaster tomb made for John, Duke of Brittany, this last being on the pattern of the royal tombs at Westminster, as a drawing of it shows. We can accordingly conclude that not only the separate panels or tables, but whole retables came direct from makers in England: that in fact the London and Chellaston firms established connections abroad, so that in the fifteenth century the reredos of English alabaster had become a common piece of furniture in French churches.

It should be mentioned, however, that as well as such immediate export from manufacturers there took place a conveyance abroad of English alabasters at a later date. The occurrence in France of some of the earlier forms—which are, as we have said, fragmentary and rare abroad—may be due to the religious dissolutions and removals when in the second quarter of the sixteenth century altar furniture was broken up in England. The religious

¹ There are, however, at Bordeaux certain tables in which the reliefs are of different material apparently, and at any rate show a different handling and treatment. It would seem as if these may be local productions made in copy of the English,

when, in the later years of the sixteenth century, the English trades could no longer supply religious furniture for churches.

² J. Bilson, "A French Purchase of English Alabaster in 1414," *Archaeological Journal*, LXIV. 32.

pieces were sometimes sold, as we may read in an entry among the accounts of St Andrew's Church, Lewes¹, to the effect that in 1548 altars of alabaster were purchased by Frenchmen. We have also an inscription on an alabaster retable at Grandcourt (Orne) saying that it was presented to the church in 1551, when, we may be sure, no alabaster religious sculpture was being made in England; in this case the occurrence of the retable may be explained as the purchase of an altar-piece turned out of an English church². Thus the Carcassonne tables (see Fig. 546, p. 474), which are by their style of the earliest make, may have been in use in some English church, and conveyed abroad in this later dispersion.

The alabaster tables in England itself must have been very numerous at the time of the dissolution, for we have constant reference to them in parish accounts, and in the lists of church furniture: as, for example, the record that six "retables" and sets of alabaster slabs remained as late as 1567 at Ripon. The finds of these fragments, moreover (as in the case of those from Preston, Yorkshire, or from Whittlesford, Cambridgeshire), indicate them as parts of several combinations—pointing to many of these alabaster retables in a single church.

In recapitulation we may observe that the alabaster tables, as they are to be seen in England, are mere pieces and fragments whose connections and datings have made a perplexing and intricate subject. A classification in three broad divisions would best express the views that we have taken in the above sketch of the English alabaster trade. Our first group comprises those finished pieces which, though no doubt often supplied in sets of three (as far as we can conjecture), could apparently be hung singly as separate pictures or tablets, or, as the alabaster statuettes, be placed on a ledge or shelf. Then, at the other end, we can separate groups of pieces whose definite and ordinary combination into a screen or reredos is vouched for by the framed examples in France and elsewhere, so that they can be identified as always made up in this way. Then between these two distinct classes intermediate sets are formed, whose subjects grow out of the few scenes of the first group while their treatments expand in the direction of the last. A continued succession from beginning to end may appear in the handling; but many of these intermediate pieces, in subject and treatment, are of different style from what is found in either of the outside groups, so that we have reason to think them in some cases local or special developments of the alabaster trade.

¹ *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, XLV. p. 51. ships laden with alabaster being wrecked on the

² W. H. St John Hope has found an entry as to way to France, c. 1570.

(a) The Flat Slabs with Finished Edgings.

The primary distinction of what we think the earliest alabaster tables is that they are slabs of flat sculpture, not bayed forward in the centre as afterwards. In some cases their carefully worked borders show them to have been used as separate pieces, and all the evidence is that this form preceded the elaborate framing of wood and alabaster which developed into the big combined reredos. It may have been that at first the panels were prepared, like the figures we dealt with on pp. 358, 359, to be set on a stone ledge in the ordinary way of statue presentation, or they may have at first been built into walls like a stone relief. So we have at Long Melford, Suffolk,



FIG. 539. Long Melford (Suffolk). The "Adoration of the Magi." Alabaster slab. c. 1350.

a broad slab about two feet long and eighteen inches high, with a finely modelled relief of the "Magi" scene (Fig. 539). Another of the same scene and shape is at Stonyhurst College, Lancashire, and may also have been a wall-piece either at the back of a tomb or in a retable: this is more crowded with figures and seems a later work. Afterwards the ordinary form of the alabaster table is seen in a slab about twelve inches wide and fourteen or fifteen inches high, with edges hollowed or chamfered¹. When thus finished all round it was intended, we think, not to be fixed in a wall, but to hang like a picture, most of our first class being of this kind.

¹ In the Alabaster Exhibition there was shown a half-finished "Crucifixion," which was found in Kent—proof that alabaster slabs were exported for carving elsewhere.

Some of these oblong pieces can be immediately connected with the broad slabs by the likeness of the draperies. The same handling as in the "damsel" at the back of the "Virgin's" bed, and also similar head-features as in "Joseph" and the "three kings" can be recognised in a panel that was shown in the Alabaster Exhibition—an "Ascension" with kneeling figures and flatly modelled drapery (see Fig. 540, below).

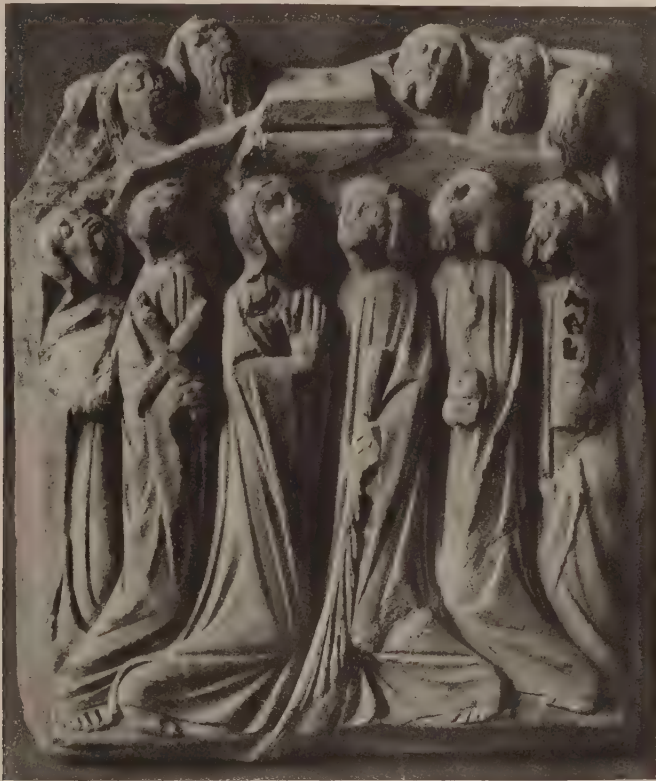


FIG. 540. Alabaster Exhibition. No. 3. The "Ascension." c. 1350.

In the Melford illustration opposite there can be seen rose buttons at the corners of the cushion behind the "Virgin's" head. Now since the same appear, too, in the Westminster effigies of c. 1350 (see Fig. 754, p. 673) the source of these slabs seems indicated. It is certainly likely that alabaster picture-tables would come into existence by the side of the tomb-making in alabaster which had developed at Westminster; and, like the monuments, these slabs would go out to customers in all parts of England.

When, for example, we hear of images of alabaster given to Durham by Prior Fossor, c. 1345, and read how in 1372 Lord Nevill had marble and alabaster works brought to the same cathedral, we may take both as from London, since it is definitely recorded in 1382 that the reredos was delivered from that place. We read, too, that alabaster pictures of "Our Lady," "St Cuthbert" and "St Oswald" were part of this work. London was therefore, in the latter part of the fourteenth century, distributing images and other sculptured works of alabaster as distinctly as Nottingham, the two centres having no doubt connections, such as will be found as to the alabaster recumbent effigies of which we treat in Book III, (see pp. 695, 696).



FIG. 541. British Museum. Kettlebaston slab. The "Coronation." c. 1350.

But also, we think, this London work shows a difference of handling from what we saw in the Flawford figures at Nottingham (illustrated on page 359), a difference best seen in what are our finest examples of alabaster sculpture, the broken tables taken out of the walls of Kettlebaston Church in Suffolk and now in the British Museum. A combination of scenes as if for a reredos is indicated, the subjects being the "Magi," the "Ascension" and the "Coronation of the Virgin" (Fig. 541), all three being usual themes in medieval sculpture. The treatments of motive as well as the modelling have the traditional grace of representation that points to an art anterior to 1350; and indeed the draperies resemble those of the "weepers" on the alabaster tomb of John of Eltham (see Fig. 435, p. 379) at Westminster (1334). Identical subjects and very similar attitudes (as for example the "Virgin" kneeling

to the "Christ" instead of seated beside him), appear upon pieces of a white-stone reredos in the Lady Chapel at Christchurch, Hants (Fig. 542, below), where the handling of the draperies is that of the Rochester doorway (see Fig. 414, p. 362) and the date may therefore seem c. 1340. That in Suffolk and Hampshire retables so similar should be worked in these two materials respectively, alabaster and Caen stone, must assign their art to the London workshops, which before 1350 were using stone, marble and alabaster all together for tomb-making.

The Christchurch pieces have their two other scenes, the "Ascension" and "Adoration of the Magi," staged just as the Kettlebaston alabasters have



FIG. 542. Christchurch (Hants). Fragments of stone reredos in Lady Chapel. c. 1340.

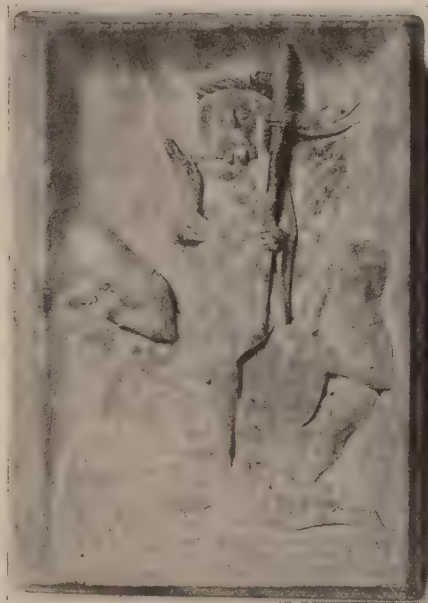


FIG. 543. Alabaster Exhibition. No. 2. The "Resurrection."

them; for example, in the latter the figure of "Joseph" is seated to the right at the foot of the "Virgin's" bed, as he is to be seen at Melford (Fig. 539, back, p. 470). And in another point the handling connects with the "Ascension" table (Fig. 540, back, p. 471); the "Virgin" above shows the eyeballs drilled. This has not been done at Melford, but occurs in a "Resurrection" (Fig. 543, above) which is an alabaster slab of sunk relief with a finished edging, and having draperies and faces similar to those at Melford. Only three soldiers appear in this piece; in the later "Resurrections" there are always four.



FIG. 544. Bakewell (Derbyshire). Foljambe monument. c. 1375.



FIG. 545. British Museum. "Resurrection" table. c. 1375.



(1) "Flagellation."



(2) "Crucifixion."



(3) "Limbo."

FIG. 546. Carcassonne Museum. c. 1375.

But while in the "Resurrection" just noticed the arm of "Christ" is held close to His side, which was to be the pose in all the latest alabaster versions, we have to note a whole set of "Resurrections" which have it differently. In the British Museum is an example that would seem one of the earliest of this type. Its representation (Fig. 545) shows the "Christ" with outstretched arm stepping from the tomb, with the guard of four soldiers sleeping around. They have the pointed "bascinet," "cmail," "jupon" and "bawdric" just as in the knightly representation on the slabs in Derbyshire (Fig. 544, opposite, and Fig. 534, p. 461) and the Swine effigy (see Fig. 780, p. 693). The handling of the mail, too, is the same as in those monuments, though the representation of the plate-armour is more summary: as a general rule the indications of armour in the alabaster reliefs must be accounted as pictorial, and the sculptural accuracy that belongs to effigy-sculpture cannot be expected. The likeness of the "Christ" here and in the Breadsall Pieta can assign this piece as an example of the Nottingham craft in alabaster, c. 1375. But it keeps the distinction of the early London slabs, in that it is a flat panel designed to be hung behind an altar as a picture.

(b) *The Canted Tables with Embattled Headings.*

The group of alabaster tables which makes the body of the first class, has, in the embattled cornice that heads the subject, a parallelism with the Bakewell slab (Fig. 544, opposite). A peculiarity of shape accompanies the cornice, the slabs being thickest in the middle and canted at the sides, this cant being especially conspicuous in the base. In what we think was the earliest make, the embattled heading shows a full projection, as at Bakewell, with three notches on each side. It is this form of cornice that heads the early slabs we have mentioned in the museum at Carcassonne (Fig. 546) in southern France, representing the "Flagellation," "Crucifixion" and the "Descent of Christ into Limbo," and since the three scenes would seem those of a combined set, we probably have in them the kind of pieces out of which the great Windsor reredos was constituted. The few characters appearing in the scenes, and the traditionary attitudes (which may be those founded on ivory models), point to a period close upon the Mid-Gothic sculpture. In costume the caps of the soldiers and the head-dresses of the ladies fix a date in the second part of the fourteenth century—for they can be matched in the carvings of the Worcester misericords and the Elford weepers (see Fig. 515, p. 445), works of c. 1390. At Whittlesford (Cambs) has been found a broken table of the "Coronation of the Virgin" with a base as in the Bakewell slab and drapery of the same early class. Still, even in these early pieces, shallow pictorialism of alabaster technique, replacing the traditional masonic interpretations, already heralds the fifteenth-century decadence.

These slabs we take as the earlier examples of the embattled sort. But the number of pieces similarly headed make a large class which advance the peculiarities of alabaster sculpture. Simplifications of the battlemented canting appear: its sides show less projection, and instead of three notches, two and then only one is cut in them. At Hopton Hall, Derbyshire, in the immediate neighbourhood of the alabaster quarries, is preserved a "Resurrection" which would seem in immediate succession to the already described British Museum table, but the addition of censing angels as well as the embattlement suggests its later make. Another is in the Cluny Museum at Paris, and a third in the possession of Count P. Biver, while a fourth is to be seen in the Museum at Toulouse and another at Beauvais—all very

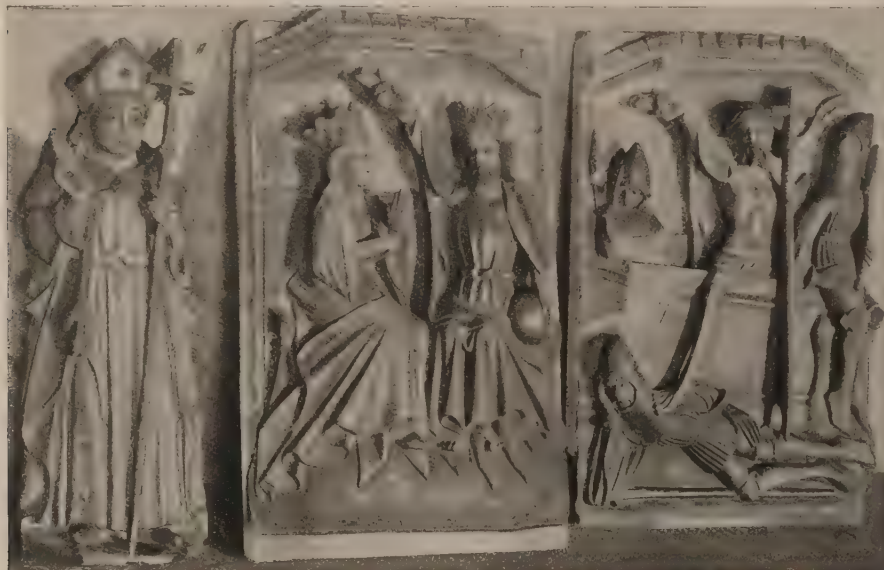


FIG. 547. Ripon. Statuette and tables in vestry. "Coronation" and "Resurrection." c. 1400.

similar, as if from the same workshops. Two "Resurrections" in nearly the same form, but broken at the top (so that no indication of the cornice is left), were among the finds at Preston in Yorkshire, a place to which water-carriage from Nottingham or from York was easy. An eighth "Resurrection" at Ripon (Fig. 547) retains its embattled heading, but must be late in the series.

The Ripon table (Fig. 547) is accompanied by a "Coronation of the Virgin," of the same workmanship¹, and if we compare this latter slab with the Kettlebaston "Coronation" (see Fig. 541, p. 472) we can judge how in the fifty or sixty years which we may conjecture separated the two, exaggerations and affected poses have come into the scheme of alabaster sculpture. The

¹ Fragments of a similar coronation from Scarborough were in the Alabaster Exhibition.

Ripon panels have been, no doubt, from one of "the VI great tables of alabaster full of images" which, as already said, the visitation of Archbishop Young in 1567 describes as "remaining reserved in a vawte of the said church." The "Resurrection" here, as at Preston, gives padded jerkins to the soldiers, and since a carving in York quire of c. 1390 has the same costume we may conjecture that these panels came from York. An "Ascension" (No. 8 in the Alabaster Exhibition of 1910) is well vouched for as found in the neighbourhood of York, for an inscription tells us how it was "procured and beautified by William Richardson of Northbierley, 1689." As its draperies resemble those of the Ripon figures a local style is indicated.



FIG. 548. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.
"St Bartholomew."



FIG. 549. British Museum. The "Nativity."

Still, Nottingham, we think, was the head-quarters of the make with the embattled heading, although the slabs were supplied far and wide, and various scenes were added to the regular "Resurrections" and "Coronations." The "St Bartholomew" (Fig. 548, above) is another embattled scene that shows this class enlarging its subjects. As in the Carcassonne set, we have at Yarnton in Oxfordshire indications of a "Passion" series. The "Betrayal" with an embattled heading has been part of an early retablo with "St Peter" cutting off the ear of "Malchus," not sheathing his sword as the later versions put it.

Also as indication of a "Virgin" series we have the "Nativity" at the British Museum, a quite different rendering from what afterwards was common.

A distinguished piece with characters which we think specially distinctive of the first period of the alabaster relief accompanies the "Resurrection" at Beauvais (Fig. 550). It is the only "Annunciation" table with the embattled heading that has been found. The Virgin here stands on the left, while Gabriel on the right is a stately serious figure, with long feathered wings. Such a sculptural representation has certainly an expression far removed from the picture-conception of the subject that was seen in the tomb-sculpture



FIG. 550. Beauvais Museum. The "Annunciation." c. 1400.

(see Fig. 520, p. 450) and in the later alabaster tables (see Fig. 555, p. 483). A comparison may be made both as to costume and wing-sculpture with the carvings on the Elford monument (see Fig. 515, p. 445) (one of the first examples of the motive of angels carrying shields), and we think the same carvers have been at work at the Beauvais figures—so that the date can be fixed by the effigies on that monument as c. 1400.

The latest style is best represented in certain panels that have been dug up at Preston in Yorkshire. There are here the fragments of possibly several retables, though how the scenes have been combined is not very clear. The two "Resurrections" have already been mentioned—but we have also the "Adoration of the Magi," the "Ascension" and the "Coronation." The combination of these three scenes was found also in the Kettlebaston and Christchurch pieces, so we may think this set was a stock form of early reredos. There is also the "Mass of St Gregory," but this may have belonged to a later retable, since its style differs somewhat. Three



FIG. 551. New York Museum. The "Entombment," "Crucifixion," and "Ascension." c. 1430.

tables in the New York Museum are in close connection of style with the Preston slabs and seem to have belonged to a single "Passion" retable, though the centre piece only has preserved its cornice. Two special tricks in the handling of drapery can be noted in the above (1) the fluting of the tunics above the tight waist-belts, and (2) the angular fall or twist of the skirts over the feet. A connection is thus established with the sepulchral monuments, for the same kind of thing appears in the angels on the Swine and Abergaveenny tombs—as conspicuously too in the British Museum "Annunciation," which we have taken as a tomb-panel (see Figs. 520, 521, 522, pp. 450, 451). A date c. 1430 may therefore be indicated for the Preston and New York tables, and we shall again notice indications of the same trick of drapery in the recumbent figures (see Fig. 781, p. 693).

Abroad tables with the embattled heading occur, as in England, mostly singly. In Périgueux Museum is a "Crucifixion," which in comparison with the Carcassonne scene, displays an increase of the attendant figures as well as a more pictorial handling. We illustrate (Fig. 552) a very similar piece that has however lost its heading¹. In the same way the embattled "Flagellation" at Douai (Fig. 553), with its four rough-visaged soldiers in long-sleeved jerkins, is an evident development from the simpler treatment at Carcassonne. In both cases the alabaster treatment has gone in the direction of what will characterise



FIG. 552. "Crucifixion." Alab. Exhib. No. 6. FIG. 553. Douai Museum. "Flagellation." c. 1420.

our second division of tables. Still, the drapery and hair treatments of the "Crucifixions," and the outstretched arm of the flagellant soldier at Douai (as well as the embattled heading) label these pieces as of the earlier type.

Indeed the embattled class can be accurately grouped by the handlings peculiar to it. A very evident mannerism is the stiff outstretched arm,

¹ With this may be placed the fragment of an "Ascension" in the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology. The curly head of the Apostle John

is characteristic. Of the same type is the "Beheading of St John Baptist" in the British Museum—in both however the headings are gone.

conspicuous in the "Resurrection" (see Figs. 545, 556, pp. 474, 484), and in the "Coronation of the Virgin" (see Fig. 547, p. 476), as also in the "Flagellation" (Fig. 553, opposite). All the embattled tables give the "Christ" this action of the raised arm, whereas the carvers of what are certainly the later tables are consistent in staging "Christ" with the bent arm in the benediction attitude. Also the soldiers accompanying the outstretched gesture have consistently a sharp-pointed "bascinet," but where the bent arm occurs a knobbed salade of the fifteenth century is most usually given the soldiers, an indication of the order in time in which the respective gestures of Christ were adopted in alabaster treatment. The long maintenance of such tricks of style exemplifies the monotony of shop production.

The painting of the tables was also indicative of workshop recipe. The earliest have backgrounds decorated with gilt knobs, at first thickly placed (see Figs. on pages 474, 477 and 478), afterwards more sparsely, and sometimes irregularly. This treatment of background is of course just that which appears in the manuscripts of the fourteenth century, as in "Queen Mary's Psalter." The foregrounds were, from the first apparently, painted with a green ground diapered with "daisies" (see Fig. 553, opposite). Here again manuscript painting has made the models for the decorators of alabaster. The "Hours" of John, Duke of Bedford, c. 1430, has exactly this decoration in many of its vignetted scenes—that is, there is a powdering of red dots round each of which is a ring of white dots.

The characteristics of the first group of alabaster tables are (1) their finished shapes, (2) their embattled headings and (3) the above peculiar handlings of detail. These particulars can in a general way be assigned to a date between 1350 and 1430 by the accompanying fashions of armour and costume, though the details are much summarised, with conventional rather than imitative renderings. Still, the soldiers never appear in these embattled tables except as belonging to the "cmail and jupon" period, which was specially distinguished by its use of the pointed bascinet. In civilian costume (see Fig. 546, p. 474), too, tight belts at the waist, tunics with tight sleeves, and turbaned caps indicate the same period, the figures opposite showing the later habits (compare the "Weepers," pp. 445 seq.). The hair curled round the ears of the men suggests a date before 1400, while the ladies lack the projecting cauls which took such extravagant forms after 1410.

As to the locale of the trade, we think we are right in assigning the flat Kettlebaston class that has the distinct borders and finished edges to London, and to the same craftsmen who were making the "John of Eltham" monument and the alabaster tombs that followed. On the other hand, the general manufacture of the embattled tables may most reasonably be attributed to the Nottingham worker in alabaster, for the Windsor entry seems conclusive that

in that city retables were being produced. Still, this trade would very likely branch to a place like York, as easily supplied with blocks of alabaster as Nottingham, which is what the tomb-chests in alabaster make us suspect. Also, since we have considerable indication in the case of the alabaster monuments that there was a joint make, or at any rate a close connection, between the Chellaston and London carvers, there must, we think, have been a London making of alabaster tables c. 1400 as well as that of Nottingham, though, owing to the dispersion of evidence, we may be in doubt as to its distinctive style.

While the embattled and canted heading has been taken as distinctive of Class I, it is unlikely that we have noticed all the examples of this make. A large number of slabs are found (as in Figs. 551 and 552) broken at the top, where the alabaster was much cut away so as to give full relief to the heads of the subjects, and thus the absence of heading is often a matter of conjecture. In such cases we go by the handling of the sculpture and the tricks of painting to establish connection. But as in the examples below and opposite, a fresh style in both these matters becomes marked in a whole group of tables, which we therefore suspect of being made with no heading.

(c) *The Second Class of Alabaster Tables. Retable Sets c. 1400—c. 1460. The Stock "Passion" and "Virgin" Sets.*



No. 30. Milton (Cambs). "Entombment."



No. 14. Blunham (Beds). "Carrying the Cross."

FIG. 554. Fragments in Alabaster Exhibition.

We have mentioned certain fixed scenes as appearing constantly in combination in the retables of latest date that are to be seen behind the altars abroad, and we may call these the stock "Passion" and "Virgin" sets. Some of the separate scenes had appeared under the embattled heading, but not in such set combinations, nor in the peculiar rendering which we now notice.

The new ideas can be well instanced by two well-preserved tables, an

"Annunciation" and "Coronation" in the Museum at Douai (Fig. 555, below) that have belonged to a "Virgin" retable. The draperies and heads with large crowns are much as in the embattled Ripon tables (see Fig. 547, p. 476): but the "Annunciation" here is not the juxtaposition of two standing figures as the Beauvais table showed it (see Fig. 550, p. 478); it is a scenic presentation with the Virgin kneeling to a desk in prayer, and the angel Gabriel kneeling to her, while between them is set an exaggerated "lily-pot" with roll inscribed



FIG. 555. Douai Museum. The "Annunciation" and "Coronation of the Virgin."

with the "Ave Maria," and above is carved the head of the "Father" breathing the "Spirit" upon the Virgin. In the same way with the "Coronation of the Virgin" at Douai (Fig. 555), the traditional double composition of Christ and His Mother has been replaced by a new conception of this ideal event. The Virgin sits as the central figure crowned by the "Trinity" seated above, the "Spirit" being in this case represented by a dove. The broad mannered handling and peculiar painting of the three-lobed flower or spray are marks of special style appearing also in "Passion" scenes (Fig. 554, opposite).

Such particulars are distinctive of workshop habit, and we note their occurrence in a very perfect set of tables in the Museum at Louviers (Fig. 556). This is a "Passion" with the five-set scenes, the "Betrayal," the "Flagellation," the "Crucifixion," the "Entombment" and the "Resurrection." It is to be noted how the arm of Christ is still outstretched as the fashion of the embattled tables had it, and the helmets of the soldiers are still the peaked bascinets of the fourteenth century. Accordingly the Louviers set of tables and the two at Douai (Fig. 555, back, p. 483) must be



FIG. 556. Louviers Museum. The "Entombment" and "Resurrection." c. 1400.

dated as contemporary with the Beauvais "Annunciation" and Ripon "Resurrection." But this being so, they are not from the same workshop. This new kind of reredos with its distinct "Passion" and "Virgin" sets and fresh habits of representation must mean a new centre of the craft.

This new style was what became afterwards the popular form of the English reredos. The Passion series with its "Crucifixion" centre piece selected six scenes, two of which we show above, two on Figs. 557, 558, p. 486, and two on the fragments on page 482, Fig. 554. Though

fresh figures were introduced, the expression and staging of these scenes remained unaltered. The "Virgin" series was more elaborated, the "Annunciation" developed the scenic effects of the "Immaculate Conception" (see Fig. 563, p. 490): the "Adoration of the Magi" was staged anew as compared with its earlier representation (see Fig. 563, p. 490): in place of the "Ascension" of the embattled tables we are given the "Assumption of the Virgin" (Fig. 560, next page): also we have the developed "Coronation" with Our Lady attended by harping angels, and kneeling (see Fig. 561, p. 487) to be crowned, with all the three "Persons of the Trinity," crowned figures also, seated above her—in fact, the subject might be called rather the "Glory of the Virgin" than her "Coronation." This, as the angel-wings with the spine indicate, is of date c. 1450, and its method was constantly repeated. We note an example in private possession at Cambridge, another in the British Museum, and several tables in the Cluny and Rouen Museums showing the simpler motive quite displaced.

It would be interesting to discover the source of these fresh sculptural interpretations that here in the alabaster carving of the fifteenth century depart from the traditional renderings which had been stereotyped through the long course of antecedent medieval art. As far as we know, the ivory carvings that immediately preceded the development of the alabaster trade conservatively kept to the two-figure staging of the "Coronation of the Virgin." It has been suggested since Flanders developed c. 1400 a great trade in wooden retables, lavishly gilded and painted with panels of sacred subjects, that they were the source from which our alabaster-workers acquired new pictorial designs. Many of these Flemish erections are to be seen now in Belgian, German and French museums, and to them in a general way the English alabasters have more similarity in their system of anecdotal representation than to the French ivories. But English architectural carving had already in the fourteenth century been experimenting in these new versions of the old motives. The pictorial Virgin of the "Annunciation" is represented not only on the Grandisson ivory c. 1350 (see Fig. 405, p. 357) but also on a stone boss at Patrington (see Fig. 593, p. 511), though the latter was perhaps a fifteenth-century insertion. The "Enthronement and Crowning of the Virgin" had been a motive on the sedilia of c. 1330 at Hawton, and the whole presentation appears on a boss in the Worcester cloister of 1390 (see Fig. 592, p. 511). There is no necessity for looking for the source of such motives beyond the habit of English painting. The "Annunciation" and "Coronation" constantly appeared in picture representations which were being executed for manuscripts and also on the walls of churches. The "alabaster man" would copy, just as the ivory-worker did for the Grandisson diptych in the "Annunciation" scene (see Fig. 405, p. 357), though on the

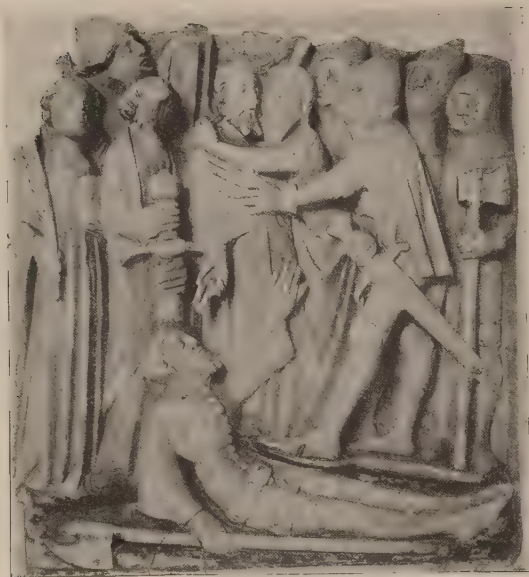


FIG. 557. Reading Museum. "Betrayal." c. 1420.



FIG. 559. British Museum. "Magi." c. 1480.



FIG. 558. Gisors Museum. "Flagellation." c. 1450.

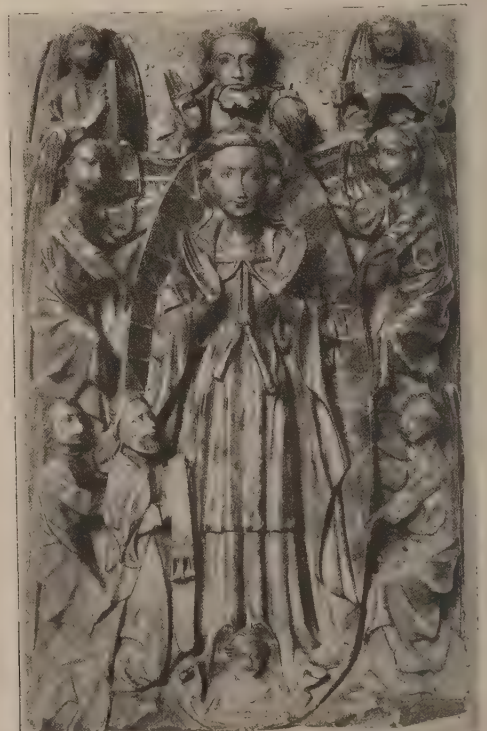


FIG. 560. Al. Ex. No. 54. "Assumption." c. 1480.

accompanying leaf he keeps the "Coronation" to the ancient style, staged with the two seated figures of Christ and the Virgin alone.

The number of detached tables in churches and museums in England and abroad is a very large one, including parts of "Passion" and "Virgin" sets on the lines which the Louviers and Douai examples initiated, and we bring together here a few representative examples to illustrate the stock treatment and the successions of style to be noted in the handling. In soldier and civilian costume comparatively broad belts distinguish the earlier



FIG. 561. Douai Museum. "St John Baptist." "Coronation of Virgin." "St John Evangelist." c. 1450.

makes (as in Fig. 557, opposite); later the belts are shown narrow and string-like as in the "Flagellation" (Fig. 558, opposite). The female costume shows itself late when (as in Fig. 559, opposite) the Virgin is markedly *décolletée*, or when (as in Fig. 560, opposite) she wears a fashionable costume with tasselled mantle: the puckered handling of the angel-drapery in this "Assumption" is exactly what is seen in a lady-effigy at Stourton Caundle in Dorset, in which also the dress is just similarly arranged.

The second "Coronation" at Douai (Fig. 561), which is of the fully developed type with all the three "Persons of the Trinity," can be dated by the dress-treatments to the mid-century: and this may be verified by comparing the angels with those on the tomb-chest at Tong (see Fig. 523, p. 452), where the date must be also c. 1450. There are in Douai Museum two image-panels that have been framed in connection, as can be seen in the complete retables (pp. 463 seq.). Such panel statues are to be distinguished from the detached alabaster images which were illustrated on pp. 358, 359, and it is possible that the coming in of the great framed reredos extinguished the demand for the separate standing figures, examples of which appear to belong almost entirely to the fourteenth century, when the edged alabaster panels of our first class were also separate pieces.

The framed alabaster reredos as an erection complete in itself would accordingly be the fifteenth-century development introducing a new style of table, and coming as we have supposed from new workshops. Two sets that show this development are (1) a "Virgin" retable at St Leonard (Haute Vienne), and (2) a "Passion" retable in the Orleans Museum. In these the transitional features that had marked the Douai and Louviers examples are absent, but we may note the perfunctory character of a commercial sculpture with handlings of detail that become more and more those of the latest types. Of this apparently latest make were two "Passion" tables in the Musée St Raymond at Toulouse which are well preserved and have a good deal of the original colour. They are the mixed pieces of two sets—one earlier, with lanky figures, as if making an effort at elegance, the other later in style, with all those exaggerations of action and crowdings of characters which are the mark of the latest framed retables.

Reviewing such stock sets of mid-alabaster style, we may observe how their several arrangements as "Passion" and "Virgin" retables were suited to their placing respectively for the "Jesus" and "Lady" altars, which in the fifteenth century were the distinct centres of devotion in many churches. Such retables evidently met a popular demand, and this marks them as the continued production of a regular trade in church furniture. Some of them, as we have seen, have early indications, as if the making started early in the fifteenth century, and others seem in touch with the latest style of medieval representation. Thus they seem to have come from an established factory continuing business for a long period of years. But it seems to us unlikely that Nottingham could have sent out these tables in succession to those of the embattled class, although we may think that city the original workshop of "Resurrection" and "Coronation" slabs that were edged for hanging and were supplied along with the detached alabaster statues. Still, the supply of these latter from Nottingham may have continued by the side of the new screen-forms of altar furniture well on into the fifteenth century.

(d) *Sets of Varied Treatment and Unusual Subject.*

In a pond close to the great abbey church of Selby were found three broken slabs now in the British Museum, the "Adoration of the Magi," the "Ascension" (Fig. 562, below) and the "Assumption." A distinct and finer handling of drapery distinguishes them from the Louviers group, and the rendering of scenes differs from that of the Douai examples. There is at Leeds an "Assumption" (Fig. 564, p. 491) and at Chessington, in Surrey, an "Annunciation" and an "Adoration of the Magi," the latter much restored, which can be thought of this kind. They all have a flat rendering of the



FIG. 562. British Museum. Alabaster pieces found at Selby, Yorkshire.

alabaster, and finely modelled draperies, while in the heads the small chins, and tightly curled rolls of the hair distinguish them. In all this they show the habit of the latest of the embattled class such as the New York tables (see Fig. 551, p. 479), with those twists of the skirts that we saw in the "Annunciations" on the Wells and Abergavenny tombs (see pp. 450, 451).

In the Selby "Adoration of the Magi" the placing of the Virgin on the right instead of on the left of the picture is peculiar. The dispositions of the sacred scenes were so fixed in mediæval representation that the reversal is of consequence, and may mark the trick of a special workshop¹.

¹ Similar reversals are found in some of the "Passion" scenes—for example in "Entombments" the grave of Christ slopes occasionally to the left instead of to the usual right, and in a "Resurrec-

tion" in the Victoria and Albert Museum Christ is represented stepping from the tomb with the left leg instead of the right as universally in other slabs.

In the "Assumption" from Selby we have a scene that occurred as part of the Douai sets. But the Selby handling has a different style though in this and in the Leeds "Assumption" (Fig. 564) the angels are represented with a peculiar spine defining the covert feathers—a detail that had appeared in the Douai "Coronation" (see Fig. 561, p. 487) and can be dated by its appearance on the alabaster sepulchral monuments from c. 1430 to 1470.

The "Nativity," in which the Virgin and the midwives kneel to the newborn Infant, may be taken as a special scene in the tables of this group as at West Horsley, in Surrey, and in a characteristic piece in the possession of Count Paul Biver at Paris. But we find the same subject in one of the slabs dug up at Fountains Abbey, in Yorkshire, and in this case the "Coronation" and "Assumption" which accompany it cannot with any distinctness be separated in their treatment from the Douai pieces.



FIG. 563. Bordeaux, St Michel. Retable. c. 1470. The bases, canopies and framings are restorations.

There is, however, one elaborate though no doubt later composition, which includes the "Nativity" as an extra scene and has, like the Selby group, the reversal of the "Adoration of the Magi," as well as other distinctive peculiarities. It is in the church of St Michel, Bordeaux (Fig. 563)—a seven-panelled "Virgin" retable, with a "Resurrection" in the centre and with two image-panels at the sides. The "Annunciation" is arranged in curious form with two feather-bodied censing angels in place of Gabriel, so that it is rather the "Immaculate Conception." Such feather tights were conspicuous on the tomb of the Duchess of Suffolk at Ewelme (d. 1475), and the diadem of her effigy is of the pattern put here on the head of the Virgin.

It is likely that the workshops in which the above peculiar "Virgin" scenes were devised would also have a make of "Passion" scenes with distinctive methods of handling. "Resurrections" in the Bordeaux Museum

and elsewhere, and the tables in the British Museum (Fig. 565), said to have been brought from Italy, show much the same kind of figures as the "Virgin" set opposite. There occurs a coarsely carved flower—a knob set upon stalks—which must be the trick of a special make which may identify as from the same source the perfect seven-panelled "Passion" retable which is to be seen at Ferrara, in Italy, and also the three "St Edmund" scenes (see Fig. 578, p. 500) that were shown in the Alabaster Exhibition. With these last panels appeared, however, separate pieces of traceried alabaster,



FIG. 564. Leeds Philosophical Society. "Assumption" of Selby type. Compare Fig. 520, p. 450 for attitude and draperies of "Virgin." c. 1440.



FIG. 565. British Museum. "Resurrection." c. 1460.

which we have thought distinctive of the late framed class of retables. But indeed all the above examples may be dated after 1450.

Other peculiarities of style are to be seen in tables at St Mary's Church at Shrewsbury: the panels seem fragments of a "John Baptist" retable representing the "Preaching in the Wilderness" and the "Baptism of Christ," while as a centre-piece was put a combined "Trinity" and "Madonna and Child," an unusual device, with St Thomas kneeling below and taking "Our

Lady's" girdle (Fig. 566(a)) as in the Leeds "Assumption." The use of long ribbons, and the fine handling of drapery are marks of style as in the "apostles" on the side of the tomb-chest (c. 1440) at Abergavenny (see Fig. 522, p. 451), which therefore seems of similar date and source. Another example, shown in the Alabaster Exhibition (Fig. 566(b)), is a combination of "Annunciation" and "Conception" as peculiar as the St Mary's "Assump-



FIG. 566. (a) Shrewsbury "Assumption." (b) Alabaster Exhibition, No. 57. "Conception." c. 1440.

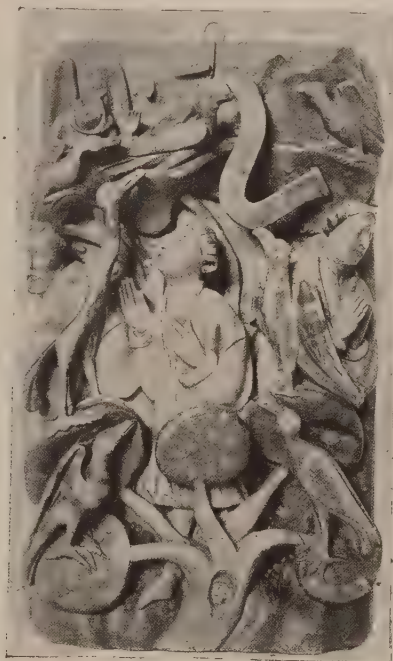
tion." At Shrewsbury a strange form of stalked flower-pad had occurred—broad, flat, and painted with leaves to represent trees and shrubs. Similar features appeared in three scenes in the Alabaster Exhibition (Fig. 567), identified by Dr M. R. James as probably representing the "Signs that go before the Judgment," according to the Golden Legend. The large slab showing costumes of c. 1450 (Fig. 567 (a)) was a centre-piece and is distinguished by a triple-gabled canopy, which perhaps gives a clue to this make, since a similar heading occurs on an alabaster tomb-chest at Sheriff Hutton,

in Yorkshire, above a "Trinity." The civilian effigy of this tomb has the peculiar tight-waisted cloak and the broad bawdrick which determine the date as c. 1440. But also this foliage treatment, and the particulars of the little animals hiding in hollows of the ground, have resemblances in a wood-carving at York (see Fig. 628, p. 532) which is to be dated perhaps c. 1400. What



(a) No. 36. "The Tenth Sign." c. 1440.

FIG. 567. Alabaster Exhibition.



(b) No. 37. "The Fifth Sign."



(c) No. 71. Whittlesford (Cambs). c. 1440.

seems another of the "Signs" in the British Museum can be recognised as a piece from the same source—as we think also may be the peculiar subject (Fig. 567 (c)).

Stalked foliage occurs significantly in another type representing dogmatic subjects, for example on some large specimens of alabaster tables on which the genealogy of Christ (see Fig. 568, Vernon, below) is represented as a branching tree headed by the "Madonna." Such slabs may be the centre-pieces of special sets¹.



FIG. 568. Vernon (Eure). "Jesse."

¹ e.g. a "General Resurrection" in the Cluny Museum, with the Pope heading a company and received by two tall angels on either side of a branching tree.



FIG. 569. Alabaster Exhibition, No. 39. "Becket."

Another important group of tables have resemblances to these both in head-handling and drapery, but without introductions of animals and tree-pads. A "Becket" scene (Fig. 569, above) was shown in the Alabaster Exhibition, and another representing an ordination is in Norwich Castle Museum. The great distinction of what we shall call the Norwich panels lies in the way the figures, usually all faced one way, cover the whole field of the panel. In one table are nine "Martyrs" and "Prophets," in another

nine female "Saints" (Fig. 570 (b)), in a third the "Nine Orders of Angels." A fourth, evidently of the same make, was shown in the alabaster exhibition, and has the orders of the earthly hierarchy (Fig. 570 (a)), "pope," "cardinal," "king," "bishop," etc. These panels have not come from a single retable, for they are not all of the same size and other pieces of the same kind show them a stock pattern. It is supposed that the centre-piece, to which the



FIG. 570. (a) Alabaster Exhibition. No. 34. "Te Deum." (b) St Peter, Mancroft, Norwich. "Te Deum."

figures have turned, represented the "Majesty of Christ"—a rare subject in alabaster, but of which one example is said to exist in Norfolk. So the motive presents itself as a "Te Deum," and a boss in the west cloister of Norwich has "Christ in Majesty" adored by groups of saints. We are warranted in crediting the capital of East Anglia, to which alabaster, like all its stone, could be easily imported, with an alabaster workshop—especially when it can be seen that these saint-heads match those of "apostles" in the roof of the church at March (see Fig. 605, p. 519), a work certainly from the Norwich craft.

A distinct class of tables whose making must have continued side by

side with that of the other groups may be called the "Martyrdom Tables," since they specially represent the stories of SS. Catharine, John the Baptist, and other martyrs, having specially as one scene the "Beheading" or "Martyrdom." In the case of three examples in the British Museum, the "Beheading of John Baptist" and two panels of the "Martyrdom of St Catharine," the characters wear a broad belt (bawdric), low down on the hips, as with the Clifton Reynes weepers of the last quarter of the fourteenth century. But there are also shown the big-sleeved cloaks, the horned head-dresses of the ladies and turban-like chaperons that belong to Henry IV.'s and Henry V.'s reigns, while the tails of the skirts are treated as in the Preston and Selby tables, so the date seems c. 1420. The "Lady of Pity" (Fig. 571, below) seems a work of the same date and style.



FIG. 571. (a) Alabaster Exhibition, No. 16. "Our Lady of Pity." (b) No. 23. "Martyrdom of St Erasmus."

On the other hand the two panels of "St Catharine" at the Society of Antiquaries, London (Fig. 572), have figures with the narrow straplike belts of the later cloaks, though the same vigorous workmanship is evident. At Lydiate Hall, in Lancashire, are other scenes of St Catharine, which, with those of the Antiquaries, would make up a complete set dedicated to this saint, and with them are detached pieces of gabled tracery (see Fig. 577, p. 500). The rich filling of the ground, the deep undercutting, and the rugged forcible technique, with its strong presentation of action and expression, distinguish these "Martyrdom" tables as some of the most genuine achievements of fifteenth-century style. Very similar qualities and costumes occur,

though with less distinction, in other "St Catharine" tables as in the Venice retable, and in a tall narrow panel, shown in the Alabaster Exhibition, the centre piece of a set (Fig. 575, next page). The St Catharine tables were evidently popular for a long time, as fragments of two wheel subjects were among the Preston find, pointing to a date c. 1400, and at Carcassonne, in South France, an alabaster table of the "wheel-breaking" has fitted for it a traceried heading that would indicate a date c. 1480. But also the same shop-

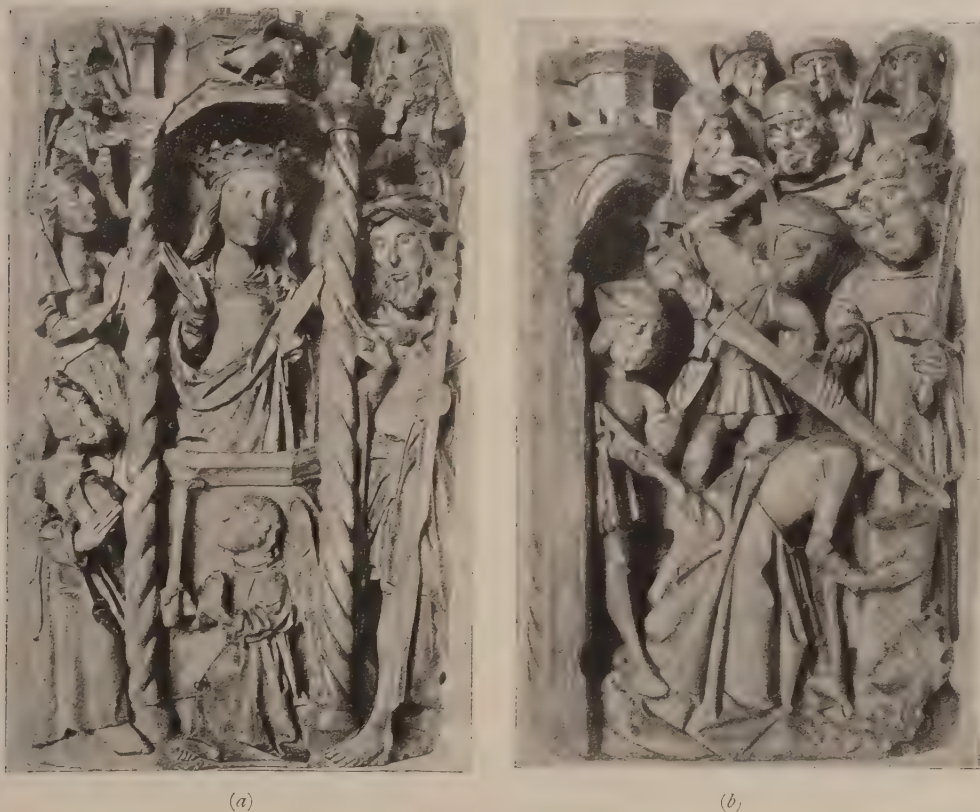


FIG. 572. Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House. "St Catharine," (a) in prison, (b) martyrdom.

style occurs in other "Martyrdom" scenes, such as those of St Erasmus (Fig. 571) in the Alabaster Exhibition, where appear the rough faces darkly painted for the executioners, the dramatic gestures, and broad puckered draperies.

As regards general characteristics, though much in these tables seems to come in direct descent from the Louviers handlings (see Fig. 556, p. 484 and Fig. 574, next page), the "Martyrdom" pieces develop a style and character of their own. All through this series the angular modelling, the sharp-cut



FIG. 573. Arch. Mus. Westminster. "St Catharine."



FIG. 575. Al. Ex., No. 62. "St Catharine."



FIG. 574. Yarnton (Oxon). "St Catharine."

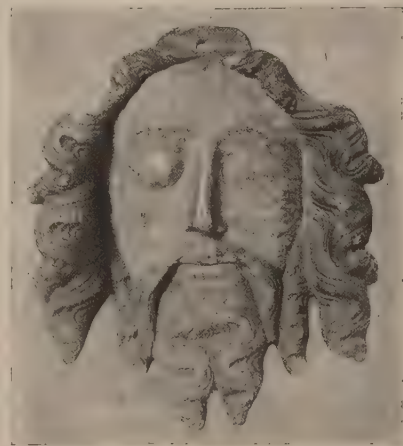


FIG. 576. Ashmolean Mus., Oxford.
"Head of St John the Baptist."

features, and the groovings of the hair in parallel lines make a shop-practice sufficiently distinct. And on this ground we can connect some other alabasters, especially a finely-cut "Christ in Limbo," which is in the Louvre, an image-panel in the possession of M. C. Enlart, and a large head of "John the Baptist" at Rouen: we illustrate opposite (Fig. 576) one somewhat similar at Oxford. The image of the "Trinity" in the British Museum (see Fig. 586, p. 506), and some of the earliest "St John's Heads," to be presently mentioned, have also this handling. Now peculiarly incised detail, especially in the hair, is conspicuous in the stone heads from St Cuthbert's reredos at Wells (see Fig. 478, p. 402), as well as in monuments in that cathedral and also at Bristol. We should like, in view of this, to suggest a Bristol or Gloucester source for the "Martyrdom" tables, but must admit that on our present knowledge this is pure conjecture.

At any rate, four kinds of retable-subject emerge from the medley of obscurely connected examples which we have grouped as our second class of alabaster tables. The regular stock of "Passion" and "Virgin" scenes seem different things from the "Apocalyptic" representations of the Shrewsbury types, and both again differ from the Norwich "Te Deums" or the "Martyrdoms." It may not be possible to assign these separate groups to their several shop-centres, but we have hoped to establish that they were being executed side by side. Their separate makes appear to begin early in the fifteenth century, and to go on till they were contemporary with, or formed part of, the great reredos-erections, in which the headings were supplied as detached pieces of pierced tracery and the whole was set in wooden frames.

We think, too, that we have shown distinct varieties of handling in various groups: a bold, rather coarse treatment in the Louviers and Douai pieces, a finer, flatter treatment in the Selby class, and mannerisms severally distinct in the Shrewsbury, Norwich, and "Martyrdom" tables. Yet in a sense all seem to take style from the original Nottingham pieces, as if the manufacture in that city stimulated a production in other places. In this way York, Norwich, Shrewsbury, Bristol as well as London may have had their schools of alabaster-carving: the "alabaster men" in each city worked to establish patterns, but had specialities of their own.

In a general way we can see that many of these slabs are transitional, in that they show intermediate forms between the embattled headings which were cut directly in the slab, and the final usage of separate pieces for headings. The rounded late form of embattlement occurs as part of a slab at Nottingham and we see this used as a separate piece for the "Passion of St Catharine" (Fig. 575, opposite). Again, a "St Catharine" scene at Tufton Street Museum (Fig. 573, opposite) has on the slab indications of having been headed by a four-gabled cornice, in the place of the embattled heading. Finally, the set at Lydiat Hall has this four-gabled cornice as a separate piece.

(e) The Framed Retables.

We have already illustrated (pp. 463 seq.) how in the foreign churches the tables of latest style, when complete, show each relief headed by a detached piece of alabaster tracery that is fitted with it into a wooden framing. These pieces, which for distinction we will call dais-pieces, take a different form from the triple canopy which we have seen heading tomb-chest panels (see Figs. 520, 521, p. 450) and carved as part of some tables of the mid-alabaster period. A peculiar form of undercut tracery in two planes appears in them, and the skeleton method of it, as far as we know, has no counterpart in the stonework canopies of the architectural masons. What we think were the earliest forms have four gablets only, as in the "St Catharine" tables of Lydiate Hall

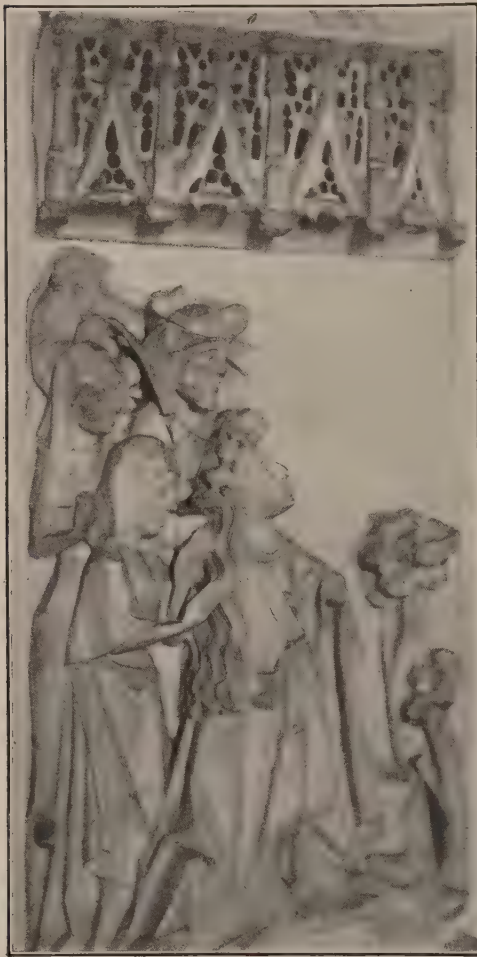


FIG. 577. Lydiate Hall (Lancs). "St Catharine."



FIG. 578. Al. Ex., No. 26. "St Edmund."

(Fig. 577), and in a well-preserved example of a "Passion" retable in Iceland. Then we see between the gablets little windows of tracery, at first two-light, and afterwards three- and four-light. But we also find the gablets omitted and the tracery slip is made a row of four little windows (Fig. 578, opposite). It is curious that these lacelike forms were held sacred to the retable, while all the time the alabaster men were heading the panels of their tomb-chests in various forms, but never with this pierced tracery.

These dais-pieces have been found in England along with the other fragments, so there can be no doubt of their original supply to fit up the reredoses, just as the framed French examples commonly show them. Of course they have often got detached and the tables have been refitted in another way. At Kermaria (Calvados) the retable is to be seen with the pieces (Fig. 579) now put upside down. At Châtelaudren (Côtes du Nord)

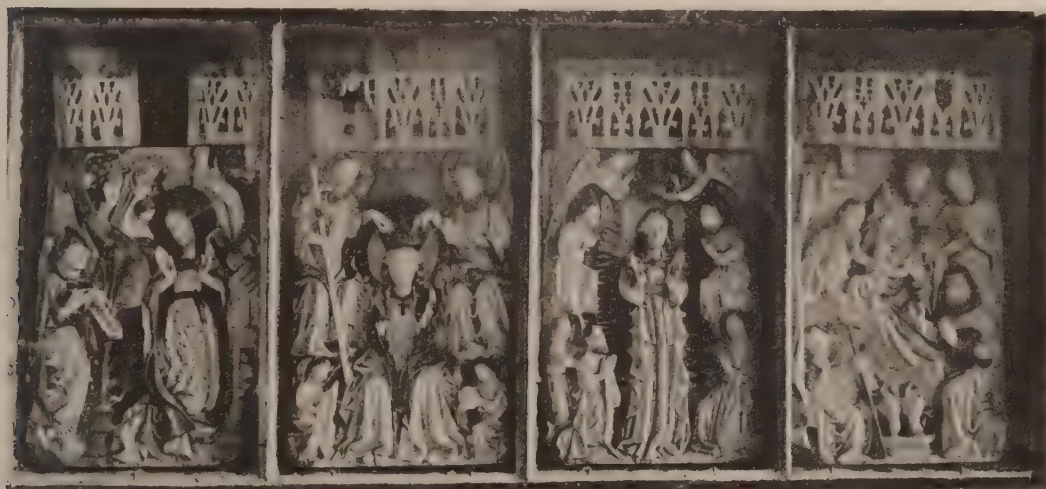


FIG. 579. Kermaria (Calvados). The four tables of a "Virgin" retable. c. 1460.

the church possesses a complete retable, each panel perfect with its tracery-pieces composed of gablets and little windows, the latter two-lighted. Both these sets, which seem of the same date, are "Blessed Virgin" series, but there are distinct differences of handling, and so the patterns of two separate shops seem indicated. In the Châtelaudren case a "Nativity" takes the place of the "Magi" scene, and there are flanking image-panels of "St Michael" and "St Christopher," and in the "Resurrection" centre-piece the knobbed flower occurs that was noted in the British Museum panels from Italy (see Fig. 565, p. 491), and in the "Martyrdoms" opposite. On the other hand the puckered draperies of the Kermaria piece show a peculiar style, observed also in an "Adoration of the Magi" in the British Museum and in an effigy at Stourton Caundle, Dorset, mentioned on page 487.

The foregoing retables were arranged as triptychs: the more elaborate erections at Génissac (Gironde), at La Celle (Eure), and that to be seen in the Museum at Compiègne were fixed as screens, and their richer form of dais has three-light windows between the gablets. The relief-panels are ranged in double rows, ten at Génissac and Compiègne, fourteen at La Celle, besides image-panels (see Fig. 561, p. 487) and little saint-images on the styles (Fig. 580, opposite). They have developments in the combinations of scenes: at Génissac we see the "Annunciation," the "Adoration of the Magi," with the "Ascension" and also the "Crucifixion," "Burial," and "Resurrection," three scenes of St Martin, and the "Mass of St Gregory," but in this case the panels may not be in their original placing, as the frame is destroyed. At Compiègne the frame remains, and the ten scenes are all those of the "Passion," as has been already described on p. 463 (see Fig. 538, p. 467). The La Celle retable has been composed with fourteen tables (see Fig. 537, p. 465) in honour of the "Blessed Virgin," there being as well as her "Birth" and "Presentation," and the usual four Christmas scenes, the "Nativity" and "Circumcision," and then in addition six scenes of the "St George" legend, in which the Virgin is represented as actively engaged raising St George from his tomb and arming him for the encounter with the dragon.

At Roscoff is seen a set of seven tables, partly of the "Passion" and partly of the "Blessed Virgin" series, and one scene represents "Christ in Majesty among the Apostles," but in this case none of the dais-heads have survived, so we cannot be sure they have come from a single retable. Many pieces, parts of sets in museums at Cluny, Rouen, etc., can be recognised by their handling as probably belonging to retables similar to the complete examples. Some, too, of our English pieces that have been singly preserved are of the same make. For example, at Drayton in Berkshire, in the "Annunciation," the "Magi" and "Assumption" scenes, and at Stonyhurst in the "Magi" and "Circumcision" (Fig. 581), the heads have the same broad firm chins as in the La Celle retable (p. 465). Also the "Carrying of the Cross" at Yarnton, Oxfordshire, and the "Betrayal" (Fig. 582, opposite) have the same paintings and handlings as in the Compiègne retable (p. 467).

Connecting the above in one class, we must date them late, as we have said on p. 487, when the bawdrick of the soldiers becomes narrower—corresponding to the change in the sword-belt which knight-effigies show in the middle of the fifteenth century (Fig. 582). Also, in what may be thought the later examples, the Virgin appears as unbelted and with her cloak unfastened—indications of that change in ladies' costume when the cote was cut close to the figure and began to be a gown (Fig. 581, opposite). The retable at La Celle, the best preserved and most genuine example of the alabaster compositions that have come down to us, can be dated as close upon 1480 by



FIG. 580. The statuettes of an alabaster retable. c. 1450.

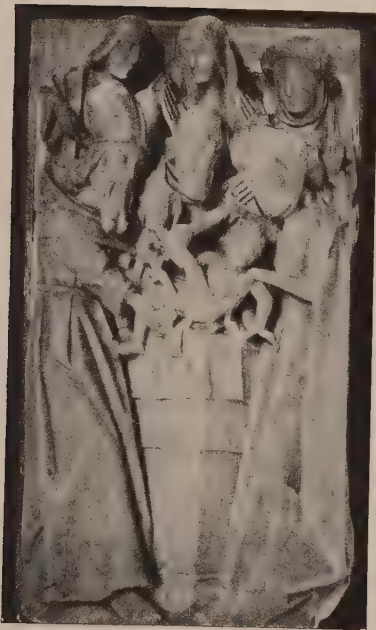


FIG 581. Stonyhurst Mus. 'Circumcision.'

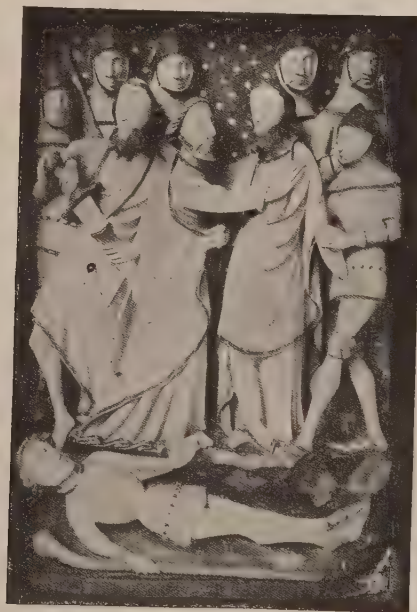


FIG. 582. Alabaster Exhibition. "Betrayal."

the armour represented. The original mountings and traceries are complete and untouched, except for a few abstractions, and it retains still a piece of the alabaster cresting which was, no doubt, always supplied to run along the tops of the combined compositions. We may take it accordingly as a late making of the dais-head when the interpolated little windows between the gables have an increased number of lights—becoming at last four-lighted instead of two, and also when the miniature embattled top, which had originally been combined with tracery as the finish of the heading, becomes replaced by a carved cresting as at La Celle and Compiègne.

As a class the dais-headed tables show, in the handling of the draperies and the sentiment of the sculpture, unmistakable signs of an execution on all fours with that of other works of latest medieval style in England, such as fonts (see pp. 436 seq.) or boss-sculpture (see pp. 508 seq.). A very mannered and summary treatment of detail appears; forced gestures, as in the crooked knees of the tormentors, and the sprawling attitudes of the fainting Virgin, are frequent; but especially the protuberant anatomies of the male nude, and the big busts of the female saints, mark an extraordinary decline of artistic sense. A set of "Passion" scenes nearly perfect in the Museum at Amiens may illustrate the depths that the alabaster shop-work sunk to in triviality of conception and vulgarity of execution, and we give as an example of banality the "Crucifixion" in the Ashmolean Museum (Fig. 583, opposite). The loss of power in Gothic composition is not perhaps so conspicuous, for the alabaster retable keeps a picturesque decorative quality to the end.

The poor execution shown by these latest sculptors of religious relief is curious by the side of the work of the same men or their fellows in tomb-making. We shall see in Book III. how the late fifteenth-century monuments grow stale in style, but the execution of their sculpture keeps often at a high level, especially in the effigy-figure. For example, the "Duchess of Suffolk," who died in 1473, is represented in a memorial as fine in taste and as masterly in execution as any of our alabaster works (see pp. 453, 704). In the table-sculpture the degradations were those natural to a method of hawkers. The records of "alabaster men" exist in many cities; we hear of their travelling about to obtain custom, and, as we have suggested, their performances have become those of provincial trade. If in London the monumental making of alabaster tombs retained the traditions of a capital art, the chapmen of cheap retables aspired to nothing beyond the manufacture of a religious token.

A forcible illustration lies in those slabs of alabaster called "St John's Heads," which represent the saint's head, as if lying in a charger, at first simply rendered and with, as we have said, the vigorous, if mannered technique of the "Martyrdom" tables. Soon supplementary figures appear (Fig. 584) in place of the "Lamb" as first shown. The nude "Christ" is exhibited as

nakedly as the latest tables of the "Coronation of the Virgin" exhibit Him. Saints and angels are crowded in on all sides, and the execution becomes more and more careless and inexpert, until, as we think, some of these St John Heads may illustrate the worst performance that sculpture reached in medieval practice. W. H. St John Hope has shown that the late fifteenth-century accounts of Nottingham mention these heads, and gives other evidences of



FIG. 583. Ashmolean Mus. "Crucifixion."



FIG. 584. Al. Ex. "St John's Heads."

their being worked in that city. They were made up like a small retable with a framing of wood and folding doors painted in the fashion of that at La Celle, so we may think the latest tables also from Nottingham.

We started this chapter with a reference to the alabaster figures which were not framed in wood like the later relief-panels, but were detached

images, and in the second half of the fourteenth century retained an expressive sense of fine sculpture. However, most of the figures remaining from the fifteenth century have been of the panel kind, like the fine series of "saints" at Evreux, some in the Cathedral and others in the Museum (Fig. 585), though perhaps all made for a single framework—in fact a retable with figures instead of scenes. But other alabaster statues were certainly unframed, though their style has all the technique of the relief-slabs. The most remarkable of these are the "Trinity" subjects, such as those in the Victoria and



FIG. 585. Evreux. Image-panels.



FIG. 586. British Museum.

Albert Museum, the British Museum (Fig. 586), and the Cluny Museum at Paris. These are considerably larger than the retable-panels, being nearly three feet high, and would seem designed to be placed separately. They represent the "Father" holding the crucified "Son" between His knees, while the "Spirit" as a dove rests on the top of the Cross. In some cases this last representation may have been in metal, as there are holes showing the attachment of a plate. In a general way the handling of the "Trinity" images connects them with the "Martyrdom" tables, and the earlier St John heads.

CHAPTER XII

THE ARCHITECTURAL SCULPTURE OF THE THIRD PERIOD, 1360—1520

SECTION I. THE BOSS-SCULPTURE OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

IN the last style of our medieval building-art the architectural uses of figure-sculpture, confined as we have said to special positions, developed separate motives and a peculiar expression for each particular purpose. The figure-bosses of the fifteenth century are characteristic examples. In one form of the elaborate stone ceilings that became common in the last medieval building of England each rib-junction was made the occasion of a large carved boss. And especially the cloister-walks, built or renewed in the last Gothic period for most of the cathedral establishments as well as for many collegiate and monastic foundations, provided good opportunities for an intricate and varied subject-carving. The bosses of a cloister-vault could make a good picture-gallery and, just as picture-subjects were the staple of the alabaster carvers, so they dominated the types and methods of the boss-carvers, who had their invention directed to anecdote and to the crowding of characters into tiny fields, the skill of which was peculiarly suggestive of fifteenth-century style.

We have said that at Norwich the cloisters were rebuilt in the fourteenth century, the east and south walks being finished probably before 1350 (see p. 388) and the west and north walks proceeding from about 1380 to 1430. In this succession the bays of the vaulting exhibit boss-carving in constantly increasing profusion. In the cathedral church also the high nave had new vaultings executed 1450—1460, and the boss-sculpture develops each set of rib-intersections into a composition of scenes. Finally, in the last years of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth, the presbytery and transepts were ceiled in with elaborately ornamented vaults, with similar boss-carvings. We have thus at Norwich continuous sets of little scenes upon bosses, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, to the number in all of some eight or nine hundred pieces. It would be impossible here to illustrate such a series adequately, and indeed those of the high nave are at a height at which detail is difficult to photograph¹.

¹ A large number were photographed from a scaffolding by Dean Goulburn and published in 1876.

Of the cloister-bosses, early fourteenth-century examples from the east walk have been given (see Figs. 459, 460, p. 388) and two others from the south walk (see Figs. 79, 80, p. 83) later in the century have been instanced in Book I. as illustrating the Apocalyptic Vision. The "Majesty" boss, to which we have referred in connection with the alabaster tables of Norwich, is figured here (Fig. 587 (a)) as a specimen of the bosses in the west walk, which come next in date (c. 1390) and show less romantic but more crowded compositions.

The fifteenth-century bosses, c. 1420, may be illustrated by that in the north walk, which gives "Herod's Feast," with Salome dancing in the foreground (Fig. 589, opposite). This is a characteristic example of the story-telling in small compass that seemed specially the boss-carver's ambition.



FIG. 587. Norwich. (a) West walk of cloister.
c. 1390.



(b) North walk of cloister. c. 1420.

Another example (Fig. 587 (b), above) from the same walk (perhaps the "Birth of the Virgin") has been useful for comparison with the font-sculpture (see p. 434), for the peculiar foliage here and on the fonts is alike, as if the architectural carving of the Norwich mason was a branch of his shop-production. It is to be noted, too, that the subjects which made the stock scenes of the alabaster retables were adapted for boss-sculpture. In the nave of the cathedral we see the "Nativity," "Murder of the Innocents," etc., a set of Christmas scenes, the incidents of which were multiplied to supply the many bosses of the vaulting required (Fig. 588). Similarly the "Passion" scenes that we know so well in the alabaster tables were elaborated in another bay of the nave.

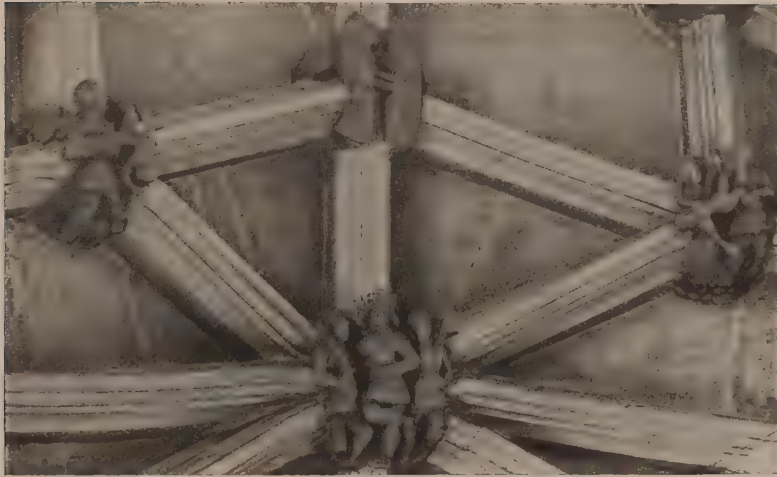


FIG. 588. Norwich. Nave. "Massacre of Innocents." c. 1450.

A different sense of style had appeared in the West of England boss-carvings of c. 1350 at Gloucester (see Fig. 84, p. 87) and Tewkesbury, where we see angels carrying the "Instruments of the Passion"; later, too, in subject-figures and scenes (see Fig. 462, p. 389), some almost as crowded with characters as at Norwich. A "Crucifixion" from the out-of-door pulpit at Shrewsbury (Fig. 590) may represent the type of the mid-fourteenth-century carving in the West of England. Its mixture of little figure-work with leaf-motives matches what we see in the latest bosses and the corbel-sculpture of Exeter nave (see Fig. 454, p. 386). In the Worcester cloister, which



FIG. 589. Norwich. Cloister. "Herod's Feast." c. 1420.



FIG. 590. Shrewsbury. Boss of pulpit. c. 1350.

was building at the end of the fourteenth century, the bosses of figure-sculpture are vigorously carved. In the north walk are conventional angels holding shields, a motive founded on the Gloucester angel-bosses (see Fig. 84, p. 87), or perhaps growing out of the York heraldry (see Fig. 25, p. 34), but developing everywhere as the commonplace of the fifteenth-century architectural carver. In another bay of the Worcester walk we have sets of bosses in the same kind of composition as at Norwich: in the centre (Fig. 591) is the "Virgin and Child" (curiously archaic in the portrayal of the



FIG. 591. Worcester. Bosses of north walk of cloister. c. 1390.

"Child" standing between the knees of His "Mother"); while round about are the attendant angels and also the symbols of the Evangelists. The scheme of this arrangement has the appearance of direct transference from a manuscript-painting of the eleventh century. In tracing the origin of motives in medieval carving it is always to be remembered that the painted subject was at hand in manuscripts to prompt the invention of the sculptor.

So also in the south walk of the cloister we have a "Tree of Jesse," and the well-worn subject is on the conventional lines—a set of seated figures carved on the central bosses all down the cloister-vault. In this series, however,

the "Coronation of the Virgin" (Fig. 592) has left the traditional two-figured version (the "Christ" seated by the "Virgin," as it had been shown in the Lincoln and Exeter bosses of c. 1300): we see her "Enthronement" by the "Three Persons of the Trinity," such as has been described as the subject of the fifteenth-century alabaster tables. Is this indication that the south walk at Worcester was vaulted after the time when the works of the retable-carvers in alabaster had become an influence on stone-carving? It may be rather that stone-masons and "alabaster men" were independently following some new and popular manuscript representation.

Another boss-sculpture, the connection of which with alabaster style seems close (so that accordingly a later date than that assigned to its



FIG. 592. Worcester. Boss in south walk of cloister. c. 1390.

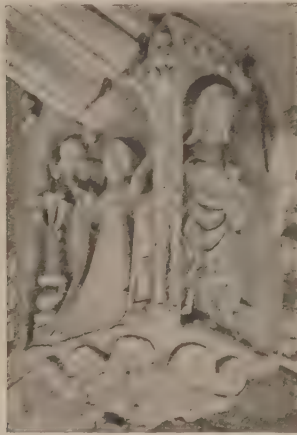


FIG. 593. Patrington. Boss in south transept. c. 1400.



FIG. 594. Oxford, Divinity School. Hanging boss. c. 1452.

immediate architectural environment may be thought probable), is hanging from the vault in the chapel of the south transept at Patrington, Yorkshire (Fig. 593). This boss is a pendant in the form of a box or monstrance with a hollow at the back, apparently for a relic. The relief-carving on one of the faces is an "Annunciation" scene, with the same representation as on the alabaster panel of the Wells tomb (see Fig. 520, p. 450). On the other two faces are reliefs of "St Catharine" and "St John Baptist," both subjects common in the alabaster works. The costume of the Virgin in this stone-carving is what we have used in support of the idea of York provenance for some of the alabaster tables. But such hanging bosses were the products of that elaborate vault development which was so consequential in the progress of the latest English Gothic, as we may see in the Divinity School, Oxford (Fig. 594). It was a masonic invention dispensing with figure-sculpture except in the prescribed statues of the niche, which the shop-carver was called

on to fill. How all the items of construction lost sculptural expression, and became one by one "beniched," as we may call it, is shown in Perpendicular style. In the Divinity School (Fig. 596, opposite) pendants with niches for little figures are used along with the other niche and figure compositions, and, as we have pointed out, we must credit the Oxford imager with the little statue-pieces (see Fig. 493) made for them.

The above boss-sculpture had, at any rate, obtained from the architectural mason the intention of figure-work. In most instances, however, the fifteenth-century vaults have received only a decorative carving, such figure-motives as occur being treated with little beyond the value of foliage. It is not, perhaps, necessary to give more than a sample or two of the conventional expressions which from 1350 onwards were the frequent decoration of vaults.

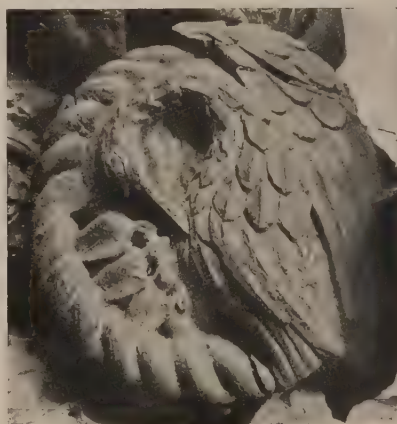


FIG. 595. (a) Sall (Norfolk). Stone boss. c. 1450.

(b) Southwark. Wooden boss.

The symbols of Christian doctrine—the pelican (Fig. 595 (b)), the dove, the crown of thorns, etc., as conforming to the established usage of religious representations, are frequently exhibited on bosses. The commonest carving was that of angels, as at Tewkesbury (see Fig. 598 (b), p. 515)—angels with harpsichords (Fig. 595 (a)), with trumpets, with shields, alternate with lion-heads, roses, lilies, and faces with stalks growing from their cheeks. We may call this the heraldry of religion; used as little more than an ecclesiastical pattern sanctioned by established use. After 1400 the stone representations were, as a rule, much inferior to the work of the wood-carvers, whose better work will be illustrated in the last section of this chapter.

The other small uses of figure-work by the building-mason die away in the last phase of Gothic style: we miss now all the abundant expression of a sculptor's fancy that in the early fourteenth century (as at Exeter, Heckington, or Patrington) had made every corbel and every label-stop lively with

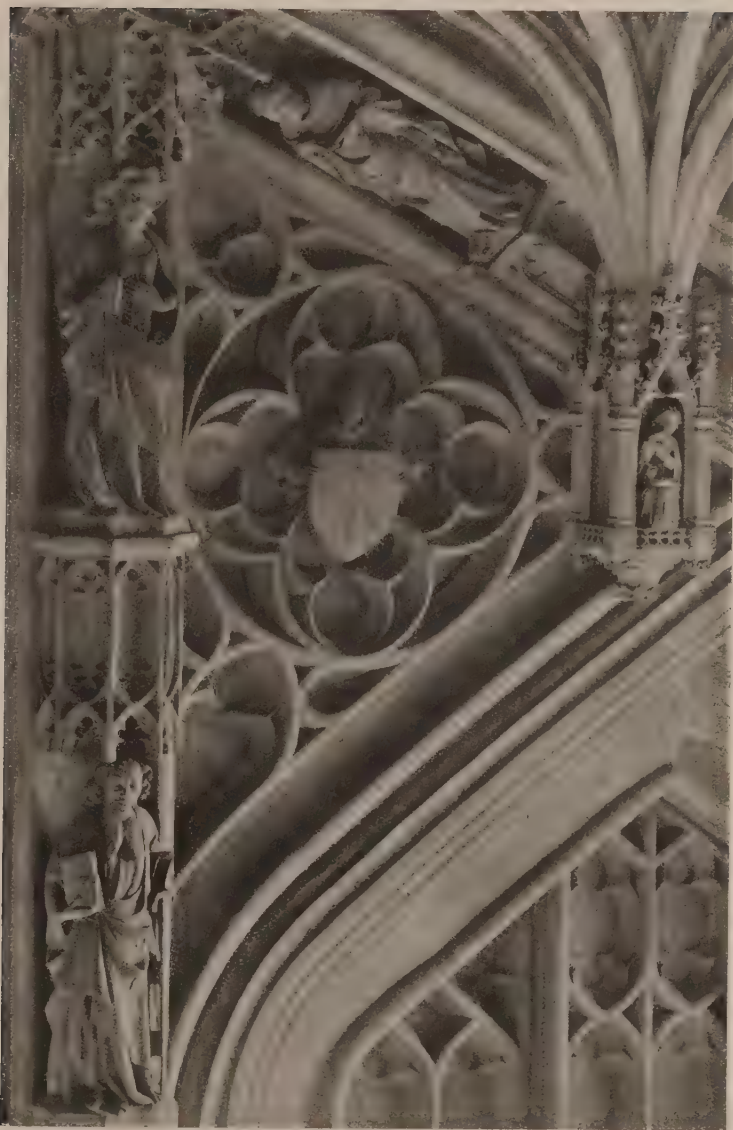


FIG. 596. Oxford. Divinity School. Panel showing "niche and figure" work. c. 1452.

sculptural interest. Towards 1350 head-sculpture had developed a kind of *genre* interest by the representation of current costume and fashions of hair-dressing (we give the latest types on page 515, Fig. 598 (a) and (c)), and in certain localities this faculty remained to the masons till the end of the century. In Winchester nave there are head-corbels carrying the gallery under the

clearstory windows, carved probably from c. 1360—1400. York quire, building 1361 to 1380, has some fanciful sculpture, as below, Fig. 597. But such motives in the fifteenth century disappear; the head-corbel, and the head label-stop, whose earlier Gothic use had made a peculiar distinction of English art, occur only where the works of the furniture-makers have occasion for them. The decorative monotony of constructional items is broken only by certain special conventions—"angels" and the grotesque and heraldic animals which may be summarised as "devils." In the West of England the robust carvings of the oolite masons have expression when, as in the great barn at



FIG. 597. York Minster. South side of quire. c. 1375.

Glastonbury, they put the traditional symbols of the four Evangelists at the angles. But in a general way, "angels" now were considered adequate for inside edification, and "devils" for external picturesqueness; and such make the whole equipment of sculptural representation which the fabric of the fifteenth-century church provided.

As we have already insisted, the main or human element of sculpture—the story of man's actions and man's feelings—was in Last Gothic style made over by the masons to the imagers and furniture-makers. In the structure of the fifteenth-century church the wood-carvers rather than the masons were

figure-sculptors. They, at any rate, presented "saints" and "apostles" in ceilings, as well as scenes and subjects in the decoration of the stalls and bench-ends. Only the badge-motives of figure-sculpture remained to the building-masons: first in what we have called above "the heraldry of religion," representations of the angelic and demonic hosts, and then in that "heraldry of pride" whose depiction of monsters and achievement-fancies was continued on monuments and chantries. In either case such sculpture expressed a phase of architecture from which the nobility of the human interest had been banished.

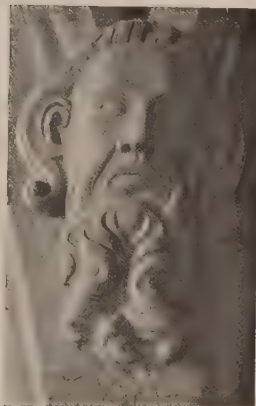


FIG. 598. (a) Tewkesbury. c. 1350.

(b) Tewkesbury. c. 1350.

(c) Cley (Norfolk). c. 1350.

SECTION II. THE ANGEL-SCULPTURE OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY*

In the thirteenth century the sculpture of angels had been mostly for the dramatic scenes of angelic interposition that are described in the Bible: we have the "Gabriel of the Annunciation" (Fig. 356, p. 321) or the "Michael of the Doom" (see Fig. 271, p. 253). There had also been generalisations like the censuring angels in attendance on the "Majesty" (see Fig. 316, p. 287), and especially as holding the "Instruments of the Passion" in the "Doom" (see Fig. 315, p. 286). At Lincoln and Salisbury (see pp. 260 seq.) the motive of a "choir of angels" had been exhibited, and in the fourteenth century the concert of angels in the music of the services was habitually the subject of architectural carvers:—for example, in the minstrels' gallery at Exeter (see Fig. 429, p. 374); on the bosses of the nave at Tewkesbury (Fig. 598 (b)); and in the quire of Gloucester (see Fig. 84, p. 87). The latter case has angels dramatically represented as hanging in a cluster from the vault above the altar and turning towards it from the walls on either side. It had become the custom to show them as playing all kinds of musical instruments, and also as bearing scrolls with texts. Then, as we saw in the alabaster tombs, angels were used as conventional supporters for every kind

of symbol or accessory badge, but especially to carry shields. Indeed, the shield-bearing angel (Fig. 599 (a)) was the architectural figure-expression most in favour alike with the fifteenth-century mason (see also Fig. 612, p. 523) and with the fifteenth-century carpenter (Fig. 599 (b)). An ordinary form, too, of the sculptured cornice on screens has a series of "angels," set side by side and holding various attributes of religious or heraldic signification. On the altar-screen at St Saviour's, Southwark (which is however a much restored sculpture), they are curiously crowded close together, as if to get in as many as possible. Some on this screen, and also at Winchester, carry shields between them like milkmaids carrying pails. In Henry VII.'s Chapel at Westminster crowns are carried in similar fashion (see Fig. 496, p. 419). The "angels" on a cornice at Hillesden, Bucks, present ribbon-scrolls to the spectator, painted no doubt with texts; and at Windsor, in St George's Chapel, a company of angels hold a long stretched scroll (see Fig. 85, p. 87).



FIG. 599. (a) Worcester cloister.
Stone boss. c. 1390.



(b) Canterbury. Henry IV.'s tomb.
Wooden angel. c. 1440.

Though the traditional surplice or alb appears as the ordinary dress on "angels" in the fifteenth century, sometimes a peculiar garment feathered all over fits close to the limbs (Figs. 600, 601, 602), giving the appearance of feathered tights. It may be that the angelic host was regarded as a sort of heavenly bird, but rather we think such a dress had been devised for the mystery plays of the fifteenth century. Both habits appear together at Sall on the spandrels of the west doorway in reliefs of censuring angels on a scale that is a rarity in fifteenth-century sculpture (Fig. 602, opposite). Other examples have been shown from an alabaster tomb (see Fig. 526, p. 453).



FIG. 600. Wells. Sugar's chantry. c. 1450.



FIG. 601. Warwick angel. c. 1450.

In wing-sculpture the style of the London carvers can be recognised at Warwick (Fig. 601), Windsor (see Fig. 85, p. 87) and Westminster (see Fig. 496, p. 419). It represented the angel pinioned like a dove or eagle, with close tight coverts and long evenly disposed primaries. The western side of England, as at Exeter c. 1350 (see Fig. 398, p. 353), at Worcester c. 1400 (Fig. 599, opposite), and Wells c. 1450 (Fig. 600, above), has a glorified or extravagant



FIG. 602. Sall (Norfolk). West doorway.
c. 1475.



FIG. 603. Cawston. Nave ceiling.
c. 1475.

representation of the angel's wing as if of a fabulous bird, some phoenix or harpy, with the feathers deeply lined and the tips curving in all directions.

But the most notable developments of angel-carving were undoubtedly those of the fifteenth-century carpenters in their splendid wooden ceilings, particularly in the hammer-beam roofs of the eastern counties. The small wooden angel, hanging like a bat between the flower-bosses under a cresting was an architectural commonplace throughout a large part of England; but the east-country carpenters carved in their oak-ceilings great angel-figures.

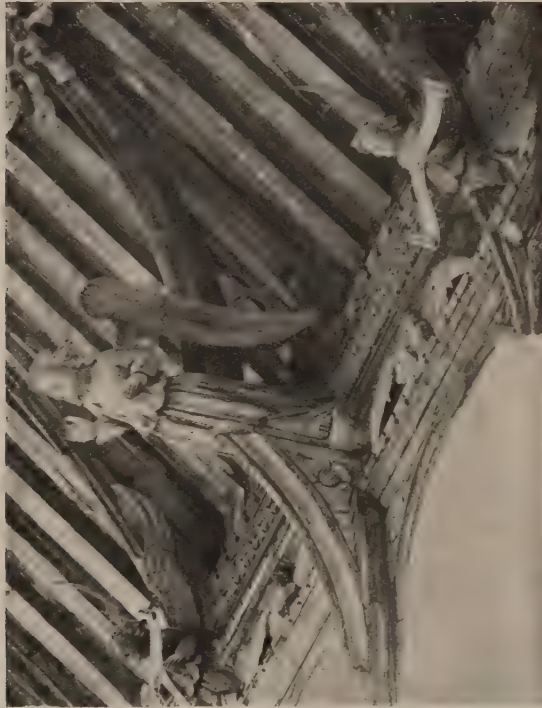


FIG. 604. Wymondham (Norfolk). Nave ceiling. c. 1450.

At Cawston (Fig. 603, back, p. 517) they stand upright on the beam principals; at Wymondham (Fig. 604, above) there are archangels leaning forward from the intermediate trusses, while others, carved as the hammer-beam principals, stretch nine or ten feet out across the nave. At Knapton, Swaffham and March (Fig. 605, opposite) the angels are in tiers thrice repeated, with

¹ The various handlings of feather and wing representations have been fully discussed on page 449. See also on pp. 452 and 490.

fluttering wings so far outstretched that, almost touching from principal to principal, they seem an encompassing army of the celestial host hiding the sky.

The multiplication of angelic representation in the Norfolk roofs is often extraordinary. In March nave there must be above a hundred angels on the principals and cornices, hovering on all the ceiling surface, and putting



FIG. 605. March (Norfolk). Ceiling of nave. c. 1450.

in the background the statues of apostles and saints in the niches (Fig. 605, above). On the chancel roof of Sall, which is canted and panelled, at each intersection of the ribs which surround the carved bosses are little angel-carvings (see Fig. 621, p. 528), making some hundreds. We shall speak of other wooden figures later, but these angels of the roof-wright were certainly some of the most expressive creations of late English style¹.

¹ Other examples of angel representations can be seen on pp. 84 seq., Book 1.

SECTION III. THE "DEVIL" AND "MONSTER" SCULPTURE OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

As redundant as the angel-sculpture and as conventional in its motive was the representation of grotesque and monstrous animals in the last two centuries of medieval carving. The gargoyle monster belching out roof-water was an early Gothic conception immediately that parapets developed in the construction of the church-fabric. Gothic sculpture expanded on such a theme, as in the examples from Ely and Chichester (see Fig. 254, p. 242). In the fourteenth century the Ancaster masons were prolific in the invention of figure-motives for gargoyle use, as we have illustrated from Heckington (see Fig. 439, p. 381). At Over (Figs. 606, 608 (*b*)) c. 1350, at Adderbury (Fig. 607) c. 1400 and, later in the century, at Newark (Fig. 608 (*a*), opposite),



FIG. 606. Over (Cambs). Gargoyle of nave.
c. 1350.



FIG. 607. Adderbury (Oxon).
Gargoyle of chancel. c. 1400.

we may see the tendencies of sculpture. So, too, in the York building of the quire from 1361 to 1400, every angle of the string-courses and parapets was accentuated by a projecting figure, so that there must be many hundreds of gargoyles of all kinds—monsters human and bestial, birds, dragons and reptiles. Outside our cathedrals, as at York and Lincoln, modern restorations have spoilt this gargoyle-sculpture, and what we now see is for the most part very poor modern stuff, more or less copied, but quite unrepresentative of medieval feeling. This is a pity, for the devil-sculpture of the fifteenth century was a peculiar manifestation of English art.

The gargoyle-figure was perhaps most often conventionalised as a flying dragon, as in the Newark example and at Adderbury (Fig. 607, above) in Oxfordshire, in which county there are many gargoyle-carvings. The faces of the monsters have, however, been caricatured from local humanity, and indeed the country-side mason was usually capable of vigorous improvisation on the

current types of alehouse concourse. Heads and faces of exaggerated feature, leering and belching, with monstrous mouths and ears, show his powers in most fifteenth-century churches, or have done so until the destructions of our day. Particularly the oolite freestone of the West of England lent itself to this art of monster-making. From the battlemented parapets of



FIG. 608. (a) Newark. Gargoyle of chancel. c. 1450.

(b) Over. Gargoyle of porch. c. 1350.



FIG. 609. Croscombe (Somerset). Gargoyles. South side. c. 1450.

the Somerset and Dorset aisles and towers fine collections of strange and hobgoblin fancies could be made, as for example at Chard, Somerset; Dorchester, Dorset; or Croscombe, near Wells (Fig. 609). If our latest Gothic church-building in England had only hackneyed conventions for its statues of "saints" and representations of the "sacred scenes," its angels

and devils at any rate were expressed in popular terms, and attested the fifteenth-century capacity for spiritual emotions.

The other branch of fifteenth-century sculpture that was undoubtedly alive was, as we have said, that of heraldry. The animal representations which the heralds devised, appear in fifteenth-century buildings with all the vigour of the gargoyle sculpture. The finely modelled dragons and dogs (Figs. 610, 612) were no doubt the works of picked sculptors at King's College Chapel, Cambridge; as also the swans and eagles that appear on the chantry of Henry V. at Westminster (see Fig. 482, p. 406).



FIG. 610. King's College, Cambridge. Internal heraldic sculpture. c. 1480.

Always where the badges or heraldic conventions introduce the motives of animal life there comes a spirit into the latest works and often an execution lacking in the regular sculpture of sacred themes. The heraldic animal, in company with "angel" and gargoyle—"devil," held a lien on the capacity of the stone-carver. Still, in the practice of remote and local crafts here and there some fancy of homely interest gave new motives, as of ocean mystery in the "sailing ships" of Tiverton (Fig. 611, opposite), or of romantic chivalry in the "tilting knights" of Launceston.

However, in the most conspicuous examples of fifteenth-century masoncraft, such as the chapels in royal buildings, the statues in niches alone can

pretend to the inspiration of a religious sculpture. The latest style of Gothic building has occupied itself in the mechanism of structure, leaving

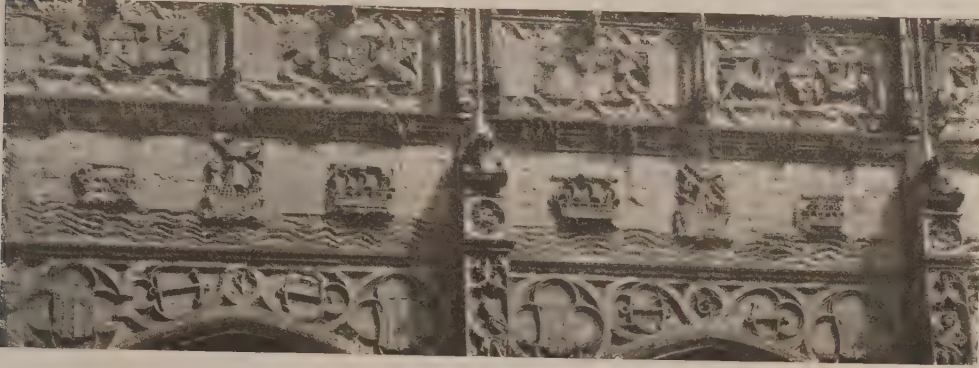
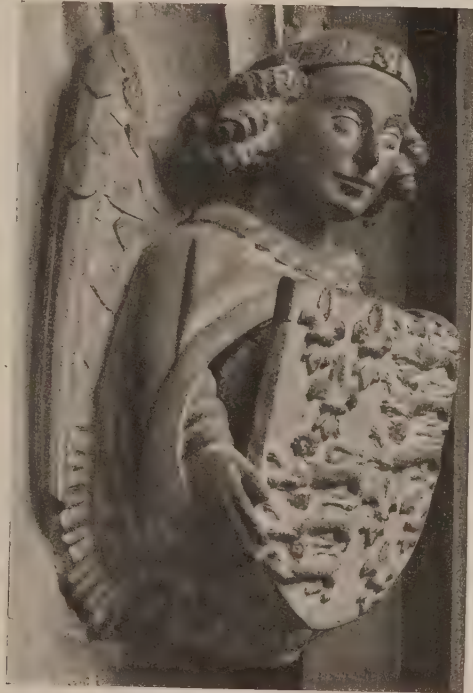


FIG. 611. Tiverton (Devon). Granite sculpture of front. c. 1500.



FIG. 612. King's College Chapel. Heraldic dragon. c. 1480.



Heraldic angel. c. 1480.

the speech of the faith to the stained glass and the wall-painting almost as completely as church-building does this to-day.

SECTION IV. THE FIGURE-SCULPTURE OF WOOD-CARVING

The other chief craft of the church-wright, that of carpentry, had a less mechanical expression for its latest Gothic phases. The wood-carver had throughout in his trade of imagery a practice in figure-work, though scarcely any of this has come down to our day, since the destruction of wooden images in England has been practically complete. The great Rood or "Crucifixion"-figure, once conspicuous, with its attendant images, the "Mary" and the "John," in every church, remains in a solitary survivor—the mutilated



FIG. 613. Victoria and Albert Museum. "Coronation" and "Apostle" figures. c. 1350.

"Christ" at Cartmel Fell (see Fig. 8, p. 9). The earlier wooden images that were on every altar, "Christ and the Virgin" with the "Apostles," are also lost, save a chance survival (Fig. 613, above), probably English work, lately acquired by the Victoria and Albert Museum¹. These may date c. 1350 and of a generation later we have a "Pieta" at Battlefield, near Shrewsbury (see Fig. 9, p. 9); then a "Madonna" in the York Museum (Fig. 614, opposite), which may possibly date c. 1450, since the peculiar handling of the hair corresponds with what is seen in the alabaster "Assumption" found at Selby (see p. 489).

¹ The style of these figures may be compared with that of the Rochester statuettes. The "St Anne

with the Madonna" in the same museum, said to be from Bude, is not of English style in our opinion.

These pieces we believe to be English works, but there are more authentic examples of English craft adherent here and there to sepulchral monuments, such as the beautiful angel above the tomb of the Duchess of Suffolk in Ewelme Church (Fig. 615, below). Such wood-sculpture seems more expressive than the contemporary stone "Madonnas" and "Saints" in the niches of fifteenth-century gables and towers that were illustrated in Chapter ix.



FIG. 614. York. St Mary's Museum. Wooden image. c. 1450.



FIG. 615. Ewelme. Angel on tomb of Duchess of Suffolk. c. 1480.

We have already shown the great oak angels (pp. 517 seq.) of the Norfolk hammer-beam ceilings as the most significant productions of "angel"-carving, but in all the crafts of the wood-carver we think fifteenth-century style retained in England something of the vigour and luxuriance of the earlier work. The trusses of the Perpendicular wooden-ceilings were continually ornamented with statues and a bold figure-work set off with painting and gilding. We may

instance the relief-spandrels at Elm, Cambridgeshire; a vigorous carving of bosses at St Neot's, Huntingdonshire; and at Bere Regis, Devon, the "Apostles" that are ranged along the ceiling like the figure-heads of galleys. We give below from Romsey (Fig. 616) what seems to have been a ceiling-piece like some other examples in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

The wood-sculpture of the last two centuries of medieval style has been specially preserved in some of its minor applications. The tabernacled stalls, that from the fourteenth century onwards were the necessary furniture of all important quires, were enriched with various bits of small figure-work by the



FIG. 616. Romsey. Wooden image. c. 1450.

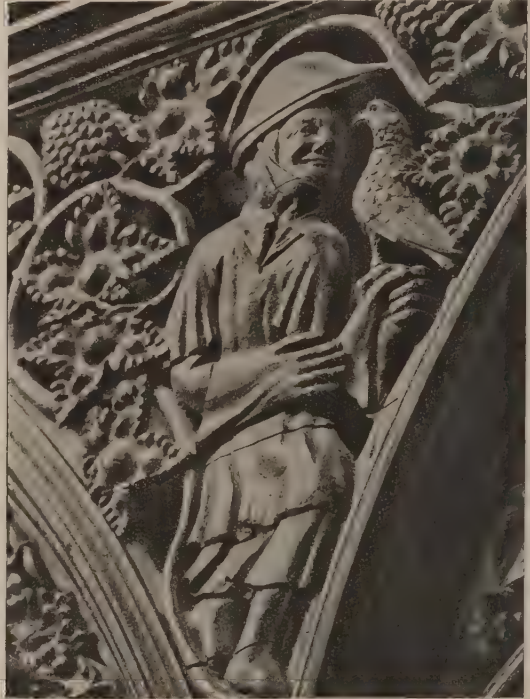


FIG. 617. Winchester. Stalls of quire. c. 1300.

wood-carvers. We shall give a final section of this chapter to the misericords whose sculptures were of a peculiar kind all through the medieval period, but the panels at the back of the seats, the stall-arms (see Fig. 620, opposite), the poppy-heads (see over page), and often the projections of the tabernacle-work, were used by carpenters for figure-carving. At Winchester the stalls were executed c. 1300, and have panel-carvings such as we show here (Fig. 617): half a century later at Lincoln the reliefs are on the fronts of the stalls (Fig. 618, opposite), a series of "minstrel angels."

In the elaborate tabernacles of the later centuries, as in the royal chapels of Windsor and Westminster, little wooden statuettes in niches were



FIG. 618. Lincoln. Possibly re-carved. c. 1370.



FIG. 619. Windsor. Statuettes on stall-screens. c. 1520.

common (Fig. 619), and often, too, on the wooden screens, little figures are common as on that of the Lady Chapel at Manchester.



FIG. 620. Boston (Lincs). Arm of stall. c. 1400.

The carpentry of the eastern counties was especially conspicuous in the extraordinary dexterity of its little pieces of wood-sculpture. We illustrate two plaques (Fig. 621) from a series of bosses in the already-mentioned canted ceiling of the chancel at Sall, Norfolk. A useful comparison may be made with the wooden bosses of 1300 at Lincoln (see Fig. 461, p. 389) to see how the miniature genius of the later wood-carver has replaced the sculpturesque handling of the earlier artist. Similar little subject-reliefs were commonly



FIG. 621. Sall (Norfolk). Ceiling of chancel. c. 1450.

introduced in the carving of the ears of fifteenth-century misericords, as we shall illustrate further on. Circular reliefs of the kind occur also on some of the bench-ends of east-country workmanship (Fig. 622). The East Anglian churches have often in their screens and fragments, not yet carted away by the restorer, a delicate relief-carving of birds and animals, very spirited on some of the fragments left us in the neighbourhood of Framlingham for example.

In the eastern counties, too, the oak-carving of figure-work in the round for the arms of stall divisions was especially minute. The bench-ends and poppy-heads were modelled with head-subjects, as at Walpole St Peter (Fig.



FIG. 622. King's Lynn. St Nicholas.
"Poppy-head." c. 1415.



FIG. 623. Walpole St Peter (Norfolk).
"Poppy-head." c. 1450.



FIG. 624. Sall. Stall-arm carvings. c. 1450.

623) or Sall (Fig. 624), or with animal grotesques, all with vivacity and variety of design, and much delicacy of execution as at Boston (Fig. 620, back, p. 527).

At St Nicholas, King's Lynn, some of the little animal-carvings of mice, frogs, and other caprices, on the stall-arms, are as natural and complete as in a Japanese ivory button (*netsuke*) such as connoisseurs collect. A somewhat similar sculpture of *poppy-heads* was in execution in many parts of England, but not with the exact and finished performance of the Norfolk art, which we may suppose the speciality of Norwich carpenters.

Flat carving on bench-ends, however, was practised in the midland



FIG. 625. Warkworth (Northants). Bench-end. c. 1480.

wood-crafts: we see the upper halves carved with subject-reliefs, as for example the "St George and Dragon" in the Victoria and Albert Museum. At Warkworth, Northamptonshire, is an example of an "Annunciation," c. 1480 (Fig. 625). But the West of England had its bench-end sculpture of a bolder style. The fine specimen (Fig. 626, opposite) of "St Michael," clad in feathered dress, fighting the "Dragon," is from the church of Haverfordwest in Pembrokeshire—Henry VII.'s arms may date this as c. 1490. In

Devon and Cornish churches the ancient bench-ends often remain, treated in high relief, with symbols and figures: those at St Ives, Cornwall (Fig. 627) are strongly handled with standing figures of the Apostles. The wood-carver's art in our western counties outlived the mutilation of churches, and though

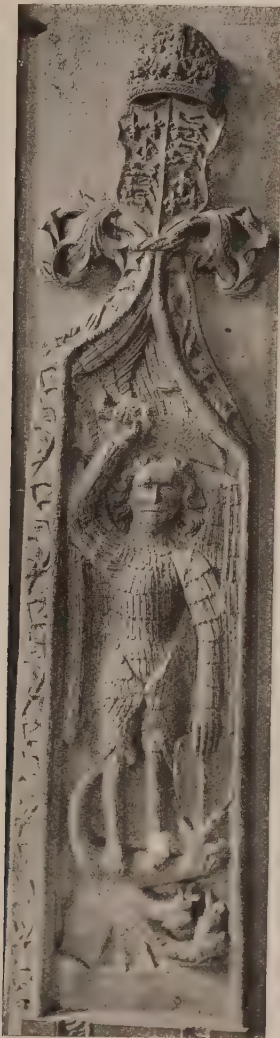


FIG. 626. Haverfordwest (Pembroke). c. 1490.



FIG. 627. St Ives (Cornwall). c. 1520.

growing coarse and with its motives gradually transformed into mere traditional pattern-sculpture, we see it as one of the latest survivals of the Gothic crafts. For example, at Mullion, Cornwall, there is bench-end figure-work of the traditional style though with Renaissance detail of c. 1600.

The carving of chests with figure-reliefs can be connected with that of bench-ends. In the furniture of domestic use subjects taken from romance were as usual as the scenes of religious art. It is possible there was a shop of such things at York, for a carved chest, whose handling has some connection with one kind of alabaster relief (see p. 493), remains in the vestry of the Minster: its front, an elaborately pictured scene, shows the deliverance of fair ladies from dragons by knights (Fig. 628), the costume and armour pointing to c. 1400. A similar panel is in the Victoria and Albert Museum, said to have come from Rufford Abbey in Nottinghamshire, and therefore in the York district, while another chest with a traceried panel in front, but at



FIG. 628. York. Carved chest in vestry. c. 1400.

The square shields of the knights are those carried by angels on the Elford (see Fig. 515, p. 445) and Earls Colne tombs, c. 1400, where also can be seen the ladies' cloaks and head-dress. The little animals hiding in holes and the tree-pads are those of the tables illustrated on p. 493.

the sides reliefs of dragons and hunting scenes, may be seen at Wath, Yorkshire. A rather different sculpture of boxwood is in private possession at Kirkheaton in Yorkshire, but this we take to be a Flemish work. The connections of our latest decorative styles with those of the Low Countries, which in the fifteenth century were in the zenith of their medieval prosperity, are continually visible. The above pieces may be accepted as influenced by the production abroad; but at the same time this is no reason for rejecting the evidence that a York trade of furniture-makers provided the executants of such a piece as the above.

SECTION V. THE FIGURE-SUBJECTS UPON MISERICORDS

We have left to the last those works of the wood-sculptors which have come down to us in the greatest abundance, and which perhaps of all fifteenth-century carving may be called the most indicative of its style and explanatory of its motives. The wooden seats in quires called the "stalls" were a church-furniture necessary for the services of monks and canons; and, as the orders of clerics multiplied, seats of similar pattern were placed in the chancels of parish churches also. The peculiarity of the medieval quire-seat was its hinged flap which, when let down gave a seat, and when up provided a bracket or projecting perch, to ease the weariness of long standing which accompanied the protracted services. This bracket was given the name of "misericord" ("*patience*" in French), and from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century was elaborately carved, most often with a figure-subject. In this position these



FIG. 629. Christchurch (Hants). c. 1220.

carvings have been somewhat hidden from the eye of mischief, and, as a class, have more generally escaped destruction than any other of the special forms of medieval sculpture. There are remaining in England and Wales perhaps 2000 of these carvings¹, nearly all presenting forms of figure-subject. The progression of figure-sculpture in this special and limited field is an epitome of the course of it elsewhere. At first, as in the earliest sculptured bracket that we have at Christchurch (Fig. 629), there has been a transcript in wood of the "zodiacal" motives in Romanesque style. Following this we can trace a gradual shift of expression—misericord-carving at Wells c. 1300 becomes an imitation of nature in wood, but still with architectural expression: a century later at Worcester it is a pictorial art: at Westminster c. 1500 the anecdotal carving finds in its material its whole significance (see Figs. 638, 639, p. 538).

¹ Miss Phipson, in her *Choir Stalls and their Carving*, tabulates about 1200, without including the Worcester, Ripon and Gloucester examples.

F. Bond reviews a larger number in *Wood Carvings in English Churches*, I., and on his data we give the above as an approximate figure.

In the thirteenth-century treatments of Exeter, the corbel-subject under the bracket perch is simply treated, deeply cut with a spray of foliage, an animal, a pair of birds or fishes, or, as in the example (Fig. 631, opposite), a single figure: the "ears" (as we may call the right and left attachments of the bracket which can be seen in the illustrations) were undeveloped at Christchurch (Fig. 629, back, p. 533) but at Exeter (opposite) are curled into small foliage-scrolls or dragon-heads; and the type so created remained the model till the end. In this work of c. 1260 the stone-carver's stops and bosses have been before the wood-carver as his models: but by the end of



"Popinjays." c. 1300.

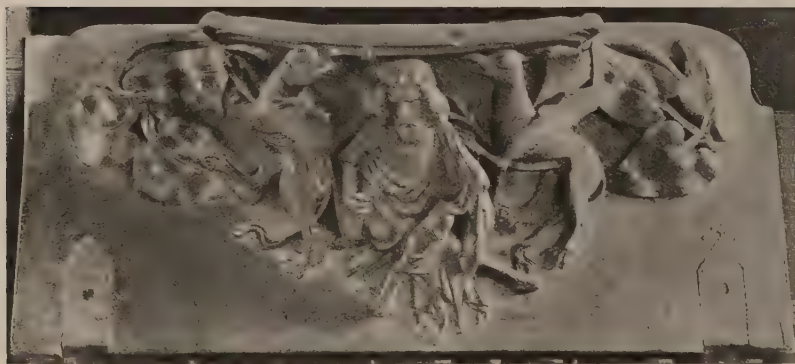


FIG. 630. Wells. "Alexander's flight." c. 1300.

the thirteenth century the technique of wood-cutting has asserted itself, and we get the shallower, softer modelling that is suited for oak, as in the misericords at Winchester and at Wells (Fig. 630): still, the initial sculptural simplicity that had been born in stone-carving controls the motive. In the fourteenth-century examples as at Chichester (Fig. 632, opposite) the action and expression of the sculpture have become more lively, not to say extreme,

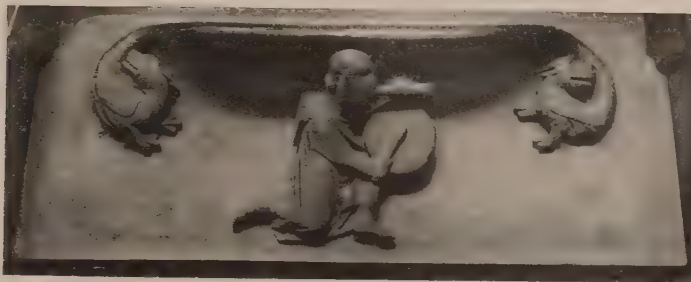


FIG. 631. Exeter. "Orpheus." c. 1260.



FIG. 632. Chichester. "David and the Lion." c. 1320.

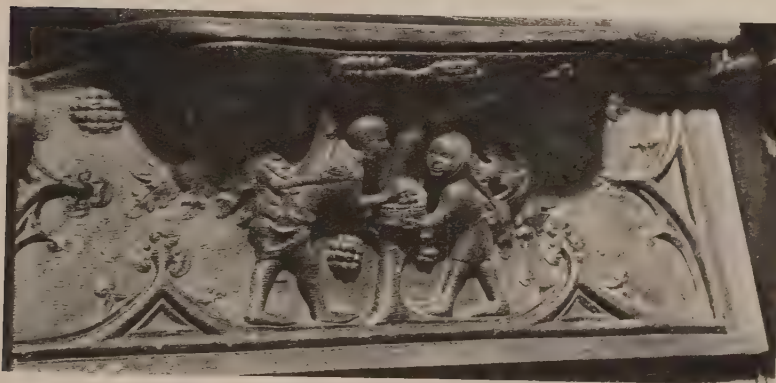


FIG. 633. Gloucester. "The Vintage." c. 1360.

and at Ely the "ears" of the misericord can be seen curled into big rosettes, which become separate compositions with elaborate subjects (see Fig. 42, p. 51).

After 1350 the fourteenth-century carvings of misericords, as at Gloucester (Fig. 633, back, p. 535), Lincoln and Worcester (Fig. 634), cover the whole field of the flap with figure-groups and exhibit the art at its greatest luxuriance and variety. Most often the subjects are composed with two or three figures, while the story sculptured on the ears is as elaborate as that of the central bracket-carving.



FIG. 634. Worcester. "Knights in combat." c. 1390.



FIG. 635. Carlisle. "Fox and goose." c. 1400.

At Chester (see Fig. 20, p. 30) and at Carlisle (Fig. 635, above) the carving of winged monsters has an imaginative facility and a freedom of execution that are unsurpassed. At this summit of the wood-carver's style the vivacity of his representations, the well-arranged compositions, and his firm touch in his expressive and summary details, compress into a couple of feet or so the work of a master. By the side of such performance the reliefs of the contemporary "alabaster man," such as we showed them in Chapter XI., seem a little tame and commonplace.

There is to be noticed, however, in the Ely, Lincoln and Worcester misericords, the habit of curling the "ears" into extravagant shapes, with twisted volutes and grotesque tangles. In these fripperies the style of the wood-carver of the fifteenth century loses its freshness. Still, while many

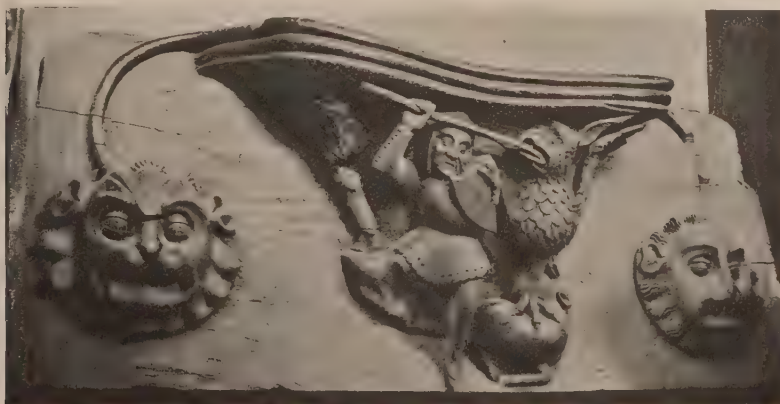


FIG. 636. Norwich. "St George and Dragon." c. 1400.



FIG. 637. Oxford. New College. "The Seven Deadly Sins." c. 1480.

of the later brackets are coarsely executed, not a few of them, as far as the dexterity and expression of the centre-piece go, are little behind those of a hundred years earlier. From the many well-carved sets which can be assigned to the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries we may pick out those of Norwich (Fig. 636, above); of St George's Chapel, Windsor; of New College, Oxford, c. 1480 (Fig. 637, above); those at Ripon, 1490 (see Fig. 43,

p. 51), at Manchester, 1508, and in Beverley Minster, 1520 (see Fig. 22, p. 31), the three last being of very similar handling as if from the same shop; and finally those in Henry VII.'s Chapel at Westminster (Figs. 638, 639), as keeping up for a hundred years the prestige of the wood-carver in these special exercises of his faculty. Trenchant expression and consummate



FIG. 638. Westminster. Henry VII.'s Chapel. "David and Goliath." c. 1520.



FIG. 639. Westminster. Henry VII.'s Chapel. "The Scolding Wife." c. 1520.

representation made the essential merits of this art to the end of Gothic carving. The scenes in the latest misericords were, indeed, more condensed than in those of the fourteenth century. The ear tendrils are crisply relieved upon the ground, while the bracket-sculpture is now tightly bound in to form a conical corbel for the perch. And the habit and pattern of bracket-carving flourished in not a few instances right through the sixteenth century and on even into the seventeenth; though after 1530 its figure-work, as that in all the Tudor crafts of building, turns coarse and childish.

Not only are the skill and lively treatment of the misericords something apart in medieval sculpture, but a special significance attaches to their carving owing to their choice of subjects. These are very often of a kind almost peculiar to them, and outside the general range in which the great sculpture of the Middle Ages moved. It is true that the sacred scenes which had been motives in all the crafts of building for all the figure-sculpture in churches are not entirely absent, but they are rare. For example, the "Easter" and "Christmas" scenes, which make up the bulk of the alabaster subjects, are used in scarcely a dozen¹ cases among the two thousand bracket-carvings which have come down to us. But where Bible scenes were attempted, such as "Adam and Eve," "Abraham and Isaac," the "Moses and the Serpent" or the "Judgment of Solomon" at Worcester, or in the "Noah's Ark" at Ely (see Fig. 42, p. 51), "Samson with the gates of Gaza" and "Jonah with the Whale" at Ripon (see Fig. 43, p. 51), the motive was that of anecdotal *genre*, not religious instruction. And the vast majority of the figure-subjects upon stalls may be taken out of all intention as religious, and put into two large categories that we may call respectively "the Comedies of Human Life" and "the Moralities of Natural History."

The misericords offer us in fact a record of medieval society, much as as the terra-cotta figures do of that of ancient Greece. They make interest for their themes out of the everyday life, whereas the great sculpture had ideal ambitions and dealt with gods and heroes. So in literature the Greek epigrams are able to tell us of much simple humanity that remains unrecorded in the epics and tragedies, and in this way glimpses at all kinds of domestic intimacies can be obtained in the misericords of the fifteenth century. The whole acts of the human drama are played before us: we see the crying baby; the romping child; the schoolmaster and his scholar; the freshman at the University; the archer at the butts; the knight and his lady-love; the old merchant and his wife; the doctor and his patient; the sexton digging the grave. Domestic games and occupations commonly appear; ball-playing, blind-man's buff, quoits, wrestling, tumbling, spinning, weaving, hunting, hawking, drinking, feasting. The scenes of farm and country life are abundant—ploughing, sowing, hay-making, reaping, carrying, stacking, threshing, milking, shearing, swine-herding, swan-upping².

It would be outside our purpose to illustrate all this lively representation of social manners. Fig. 28, p. 35, Fig. 639 opposite, and Fig. 640 over-leaf can

¹ One "Virgin and Child" occurs at Chester. The stock scenes of the retables hardly occur. No "Nativity" or "Crucifixion" is to be found. One "Annunciation," one "Magi," one "Resurrection," one "Ascension" and one "Assumption of the Virgin," all four at Lincoln, with three

"Coronations of the Virgin" at Lincoln, Gloucester and Chester respectively, are the total that we have found.

² Francis Bond, *Wood Carvings in English Churches* (1) has illustrated many fascinating little pictures of all kinds.

give an idea of how the bread and butter of medieval existence was treated. The most remarkable thing, however, is that numerous as are the common-places of daily life, they are not by any means the whole stock. The majority of seat-carvings have, as it were, a special mission: they very often omit the above domestic pictures, just as much as they do the scenes of the sacred writings. Indeed, the largest class of motives which appear carved upon stalls present that peculiar order of medieval thought which is roughly spoken of as symbolism, but which can be better understood as medieval moralities.

As we have pointed out in Book I., pp. 24 seq., the conduct of life was supposed to be accurately taught to man by the history of the world, viz. a legendary account of events with which the wonders of a spurious natural history were all spun together in one tissue of romantic falsity. The exposition of this morality had appeared in a popular compilation called the



FIG. 640. Norwich. "The Schoolmaster." c. 1420.

"Physiologus" assigned to an Alexandrian Greek c. 400, but translated into all the languages of western Europe. The Bestiaries were illuminated versions which through the Middle Ages supplied painters and sculptors with fables and legends shaped (not to say wrested) to inculcate the maxims of the Christian faith. In what way the supposed characters of animal and natural life were made parables of religious expression was explained in Book I. (see pp. 27 seq.), and we need not repeat. The strangely imagined habits that the ancients assigned to animals such as the lion and her cubs (see p. 30), to the tiger (see Fig. 20, p. 30), the stag (Fig. 641, opposite), to the pelican, or adder, as well as to the truly fabulous mermaid (Fig. 642, opposite), unicorn, phoenix, amphibæna and basilisk, were the stock from which the stall-carver devised his pictures: and of the same kind were notions taken from popular fables or folk-lore, such as the story of Reynard the Fox (which can be seen at Bristol), the Romance of Alexander (see Fig. 630, p. 534), and other medieval allegories whose currency was avowedly didactic.

But the parabolic method of the animal tale was similarly applied all round—*e.g.* to the appreciation of monks and clergy. We have in misericords a wolf confessing the lambs, or a fox preaching to the geese (see Fig. 22,

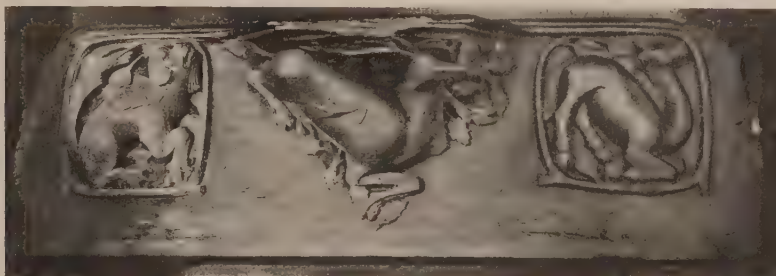


FIG. 641. Boston. "Stag, Camel, and Monsters." c. 1400.



FIG. 642. Ludlow. "Mermaid and Looking-glass." c. 1440.



FIG. 643. Boston. "Fox and Hens." c. 1400.

p. 31); here the devil is leading astray or carrying off the clergy, there alewives and other loose characters, with impartial justice.

It might be thought from such a description of its "moralities" that misericord-sculpture was never exactly serious. But while to modern eyes it might seem as if the wood-carver, in his monsters and absurdities (see Fig. 632, p. 535); in his strange and often humorous applications of religious tenet (Fig. 637, p. 537); in his satiric cuts at priests and nuns (see Fig. 22, p. 31); in his naïve exhibitions of Bible stories (Figs. 42, 43, p. 51), always had his tongue in his cheek, this does not seem the true explanation. The deliberate invention of a fabulist or satirist cannot really be claimed for these performances of the wood-carver. The peculiarity of his style did not lie in himself, but in the conditions of his handicraft. It can be shown quite clearly that his representation of scenes and characters, and every detail of his presentment of them have been taken direct from the medieval book, so that his inspiration as a satirist or a moralist was second-hand. The manuscripts produced in the *scriptoria* of the monks and clergy themselves were put before wood-sculptors, and were taken as the models of composition.

It is for this reason that we find their work continued on a different plane from that of the stone-carvers. The mason was, as we have seen him, a builder who had made the great art of Gothic sculpture out of building, and did not entirely lose this prerogative in his latest works. The expression of medieval architecture had been so strong that it lifted the thirteenth-century mason clear above the thralldom of literary suggestion. Though the specifications and titles of Gothic statues may have been those of canon and creed, their treatment was untrammelled, and established the mason as an independent creator of types and representations. Then in the last century of his work the power of this creation passed away from him, because the architectural impulse which had inspired it dwindled. But then, too, the wood-carver of misericords and bench-ends stood outside this decline—his work had not depended on the necessities of construction, but was conditioned only by its material. The small field of his wood-carving could respond immediately to literary suggestion, and could be stocked from the invention of the scribe. These inventions of a book-art gave a peculiar freshness and audacity to the last two centuries of Gothic wood-sculpture. The misericords were in effect woodcuts in the round—solid illustrations of contemporary literature.

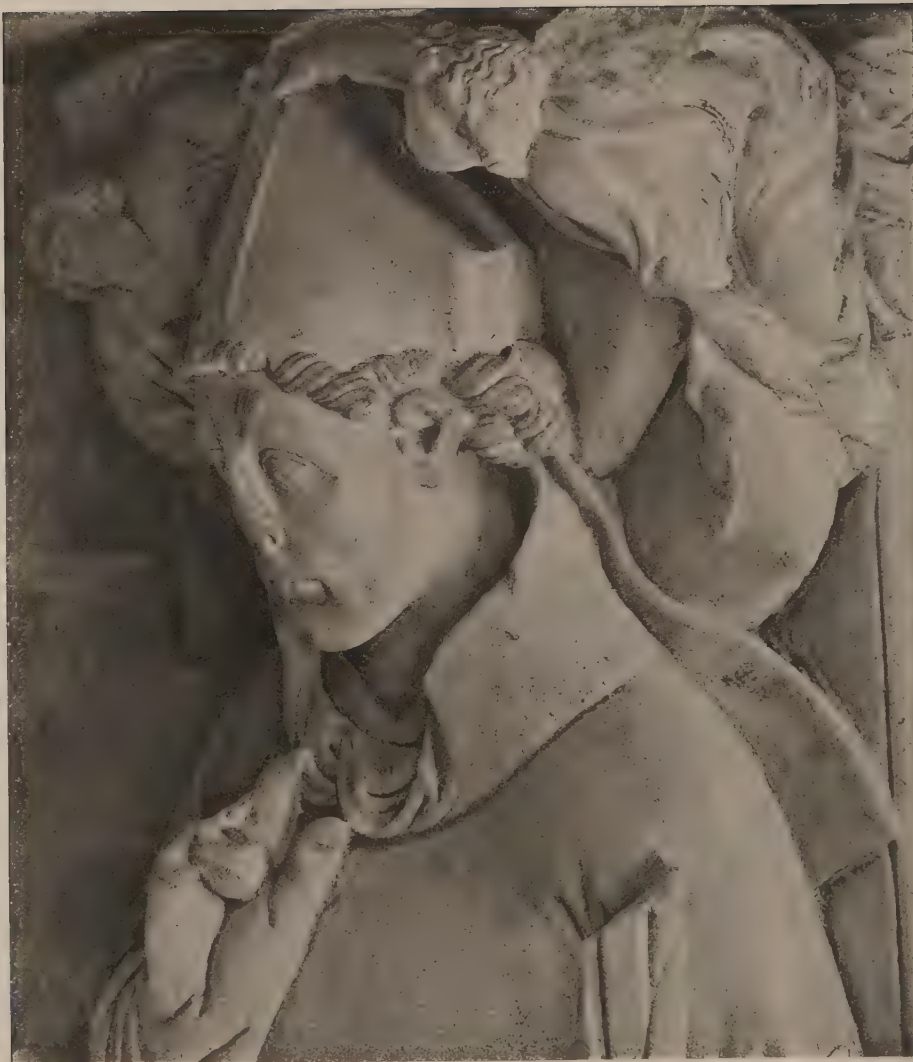


FIG. 644. Wells Cathedral. "Bishop de la Marcia," 1293—1302.

BOOK III

THE SEPULCHRAL EFFIGY

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

THERE have survived from the Middle Ages nearly two thousand of the life-size recumbent figures which were sculptured in England and Wales from c. 1100 to c. 1550. In many respects we must think them the most important monuments of English art that are left. As our Bibliography has shown, they have had considerable attention from genealogists, and have been more discussed and described than the other examples of English sculpture. They have not, however, been systematically classified, and in attempting to do this in the following pages we have set up principles of arrangement and distinction, some preliminary account of which will be useful to the reader.

The personality of the effigy-subject is no doubt the most immediate ground for interest, and it might be thought that since the recumbent figure was always memorial, identification would give us all we want for dating and placing it in a scheme of classification. The foundation of chronology in effigy-style is no doubt laid on what are the accepted representations of well-known personages. The commemorative figure was that of a specific person, and must therefore be immediately connected with him. But in one direction this must not be pressed too far: we cannot properly take the effigy as a portrait of the deceased—for the conditions of medieval sculpture would seem to make such portraiture difficult. In fact we think that for cast of gesture shop-habit was responsible in most memorial sculpture, and that there was little selection of individual traits or efforts at a likeness. Portraiture no doubt can be found—for example, as to the Kings¹ of England, whose outward semblance was rendered familiar to their subjects by their coins and seals, and who indeed (as is not unknown in our day) may have set a fashion of countenance which appears in their portrait-effigies. Bishops, too, who

¹ Of the Queens, "Philippa" at Westminster has the best claim to be a reasonable portrait: neither "Eleanor" nor "Anne of Bohemia" can be recognised as other than "Madonna" idealisms.

seem often to have provided their monuments in their lifetime, may have taken care that their likenesses were more or less presented upon their tombs. But as to the great body of figures, who were neither "kings" nor "bishops," we must accept what wills and contracts tell us—they were *images* attired according to the fashion of the day, and featured with the same conventional commonplace.

Still, apart from portraiture, the fact and place of monumental representation should as a rule give us material for chronological classification. And this is, no doubt, the case with a number of figures. Certainty of ascription can be assumed as to the royal and princely effigies, for their tombs are vouched for by entries in the public accounts as well as by long-established repute; and also we can certify to the identity of one or two other figures, such as those of the "Greens" at Lowick, or of "Earl Beauchamp" at Warwick, for in these cases the indentures or contracts for the making have chanced to survive, and there can be little question that they refer to the figures as we see them. But they are the exceptions: in the majority of tombs no direct record of the making of the figures is left.

Nor do inscriptions on the slab itself, as a rule, help us. In the main period of mediæval art, in which artists were anonymous, the sculptor of effigies too was chary of adding any lettering to his memorial¹. Henry III. and Queen Eleanor have on their tomb-chests memorial sentences: but not as a rule till after 1400 were they put, as in the example opposite (Fig. 645), to identify and date the effigy. Badges and initials sometimes occur, and these, with coats of arms where they can be deciphered, are a valuable guide in the hands of genealogists. But the destruction of painted evidence has been usually complete, and all the above direct grounds for the naming of effigies are most often wanting. So that as regards the thousand and odd figures left to us we have, at any rate as to nearly all the earlier examples, to fall back (1) on the surmises of *repute*, or (2) on archaeological research and acumen, to determine the subject and date of the memorial representation.

By *repute* we mean the opinion expressed by certain old writers, such as Leland, Weever, or by the topographical and county historians who have preserved the gossip attributions current in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The collation and systematic application of such gossip to the body of effigies was begun in Gough's *Monumental Remains*, and was continued by Stothard and the brothers Hollis, who table their examples in a series with but slight critical reference to the internal evidence of the effigy itself. How such gossip fails for the purpose of classification can be seen continually in Gough's magnificent folios, for he assigns figures in the costume of the fifteenth century to c. 1150, and monuments of the thirteenth century, such as that of

¹ A few exist, such as the "Bishop of St David's" Derbyshire, and the slab-carved "Knight" at Staunton, Nottinghamshire, both figured by Stothard.

"Bishop Bridport" at Salisbury, to c. 1450. Stothard and Hollis also, though avoiding such glaring anachronisms, seriously misplace many figures.

Valuable corrections have, of course, been made by later archaeologists¹, yet the identification of our memorial figures is still in an unsatisfactory state. The figures themselves have been so long the victims of every kind of degradation and neglect, and have been so often moved from their original positions², that records of burial and current attributions are mere guesswork under present circumstances. We have therefore in these pages, while not in the least despising the researches of genealogists, been constrained very often to place and date examples outside the usual ascriptions. For convenience' sake

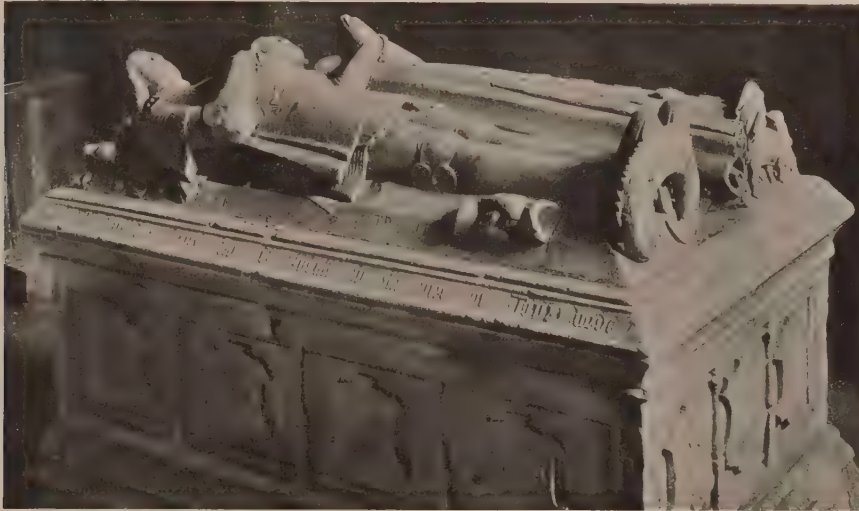


FIG. 645. Lambourne. Sir Thomas Essex and Lady. d. 1558 (but tomb probably earlier).

we may make use of accepted titles, only we must not be considered as endorsing them. There is no doubt that the reputed designation is often quite accurate, as in the case of the bishop-effigies, that have lain in memorial chapels apparently undisturbed since their erection, *e.g.* "Archbishop Gray" at York, "Bishop Hatfield" at Durham, or "William of Wykeham" at Winchester. Since the ecclesiastical dignitaries may in a general way share with royalties the distinction of having their sculptured representations sufficiently authenticated, we feel authorised to use them in many cases as fixed points from which to build up the general scheme of classification and the dating of "styles."

¹ M. H. Bloxam, A. Hartshorne, W. H. St John Hope and others have examined and identified a large number of figures; see list of authorities in Book I.

² The craze for shifting monuments seems to

break out like an epidemic every decade or so among those in charge of our cathedrals and churches. It has displaced at one time or another nearly every monument in Chichester Cathedral.

The identifications available, and the documentary evidence of deaths and burials, are the grounds of our chronology. But cautious use of them may be needed even if we take, for example, our best-credited figures, those of the English Kings. It is recorded that Henry III. was buried at Westminster in 1272, and that Richard II. was brought there in 1414. But we know from other records that have been preserved that the bronze representations of these two kings are not to be placed at the above interval of 142 years, but respectively in 1292 and in 1395; in Henry III.'s case his figure was made some twenty years after his death, in Richard II.'s some twenty years before his interment at Westminster. In the usual custom, however, the great man, whether prince, bishop, or noble, left a will, like that of the Black Prince, enjoining his executors to erect his monument, which therefore may be accepted, if nothing else interferes, as made shortly after his decease.

A source of difficulty may sometimes arise from the fashion of commemorating two or more people, most usually husband and wife, in one monument (as in Fig. 645, back, p. 547). The genealogies may disclose dates far apart for the respective deaths, and the effigies, though lying together, may illustrate different styles, or if made at one time may have their date from either of the deceases. There are instances of "Knights" and "Ladies," now placed side by side, but of different materials and therefore likely to have come from different sources—a wooden figure is to be seen by the side of two stone ones at Laxton, Nottinghamshire, or, as at Bedale, Yorkshire, the "Knight" and his "Lady" have been executed in different varieties of stone.

After 1350, however, we get good evidence for dating in the habits of costume, which can be well checked by inscriptions that determine them for every ten years or so. Especially the memorial brasses date the changes of armour in the case of knights, and the fashions of *coiffure* in the case of ladies, and on these grounds the carved images of the fifteenth century can be placed in order and assigned with some confidence.

It must be understood that the tables which follow are summaries intended to direct attention to the broad aspects only. They base classification (1) upon the subject of the effigy-sculpture; (2) on the material used; (3) on the costume shown; (4) on the attitude or pose; and (5) on the accessories or accidentals of arrangement or construction of the tomb. But in the various parts of England there were various makes of effigy, and the map on p. 551, with the lists which follow, will explain the districts of style, as we broadly interpret them, together with the distinctions we emphasize. In all this we undoubtedly lay ourselves open to criticism and, we can well believe, to much correction from future research. But we hope that at any rate our principles will commend themselves as a basis on which may be made that complete classification which English recumbent figures deserve.

TABLE OF SUBJECTS OF EFFIGY-MAKING.

Effigies can be divided as :

- A. *Ecclesiastic*, to be called in a general way "Bishop."
- B. *Military*, " " " " "Knight."
- C. *Female*, " " " " "Lady."
- D. *Civilian*, defined as being without the distinctive personality of

the A, B and C representations, that is to say, with neither the priestly vestments of the "Bishop," nor the armour of the "Knight," nor the long skirt covering the feet that distinguishes the "Lady." The foremost figure in this class of effigies was that of the "King." The cloaked figures of "Franklins," "Merchants," and the very similar effigies of "Doctors," make up the bulk of the *civilian* class, which belongs mostly to the later styles. It is to be noted that in some cases a mixture of class has occurred, as when a "Knight" is represented habited in the cowl of a monk, as at Conington and Shrewsbury, or a "civilian" exhibits a certain amount of armour, as at Sandwich. Such mixtures are, however, rare.

TABLE OF MATERIALS OF EFFIGY-MAKING.

General Descriptions of Periods		Extension of Periods indicated by brackets	
1100		{ a. foreign	1100
1150	Purbeck with polish finishing.	{ b. local	1150
1200		{ c. Purbeck	1200
1250		{ a. coarse	1250
1300	Freestone with gesso and paint finishing.	{ b. fine	1300
1350		C. Wood	1350
1400		D. Bronze	1400
1450	Alabaster with gilt and jewel finishing.	E. Alabaster	1450
1500		F. <i>Clunch</i>	1500
1550		G. <i>Touch</i> (Black Flemish Marble)	1550
1600			1600

Only the native schools and their materials are tabulated above; the marble figure of Queen Philippa and Torrigiano's bronzes of the Countess of Richmond, Henry VII. and his Queen are not included, as being outside the English sculpture.

The map opposite shows the position of the quarries of various stones employed in effigy-sculpture by crosses. Pu=the quarry of the Purbeck marble—a freshwater shell-stone. Al=the Chellaston and Tutbury sites where alabaster was got in large blocks. Caen in Normandy, from which all through the medieval period freestone was shipped to England, is also indicated. The wider districts of stone-production are entitled “Oolite,” “Sandstone,” “Grit-stone,” “Chalk-stone.” Initials indicate other sites from which the stones for the sculpture of figures were specially obtained, viz. :

- An = Ancaster—a fine oolite.
- Ba = Barnack—a coarse oolite.
- Be = Beer-stone—a hard chalky limestone.
- Ch = Chilmark—a fine shell-limestone.
- Cl = Clunch—a softer chalk-stone.
- Do = Doultling—a coarse oolite.
- Du = Dundry Hill—a fine oolite.
- Ha = Ham Hill—a coarse yellow oolite.
- Re = Reigate—a green sandstone.
- Ta = Tadcaster—a fine magnesian limestone.
- To = Totternhoe—a hard chalk-stone.

It will be seen that chronologically there have been *three* general periods :

- (I) c. 1160—c. 1280, when effigies were either of *Purbeck* marble or in imitation.
- (II) c. 1280—c. 1360, when *freestone* effigies supplanted those of Purbeck marble, and were imitated also in wood, in bronze, and in the first alabaster figures.
- (III) c. 1360—c. 1630, when the *alabaster* effigies set the model to bronze, stone, and wooden figures.

The importance of the material as an index to the place of sculpture and as determining its style will be insisted on all through. The first discussion of a figure must be on the point whether it has been carved locally or is an introduction from a workshop elsewhere. For, since the recumbent figure was a portable commodity, the special make of one district could be easily conveyed to another, as we know was the case with the *Purbeck* and *alabaster* effigies. Allowing however for the mixtures produced by trade, and by the overlapping of boundaries as from time to time the commerce in some popular form of monumental figure spread it far and wide, we still find that a sufficient and continuous distinction belongs to recumbent figures in certain districts, so that groups of quarries appear as centres of style. In a general way we can point to three wide provinces as preserving such characteristics more or less continuously throughout the whole period of effigy-making, and also to subdivisions of these provinces of style in which the peculiar local character subsisted at certain periods.



A. THE LONDON PROVINCE OF EFFIGY-MAKING.

London, as the commercial capital, and most usually the centre of political influence during the centuries of medieval sculpture, must be placed first as a centre of style in effigy-making. The conditions governing the production here were (1) the varieties of material in use for figures, and (2) the connections which the political capital had with continental (especially French) fashions of image-making. The particulars given below offer the more distinctive characters that can be used to determine London style.

TABLE A.

(1) LONDON CENTRE

MATERIAL		CHARACTERISTIC PARTICULARS	DISTRIBUTION	EXAMPLES
Clunch, Caen, and other imported stone	Purbeck marble	1200 "Ecclesiastics" (marble), fully modelled under canopies.	London and north	Fig. 649, p. 575
		1225 "Knights" (marble), fully modelled, straight-legged.	" " "	Fig. 663, p. 588
		1250 "Ecclesiastics" (marble), with deep undercutting and elaborate canopy work.	All over England	Fig. 660, p. 583
		1275 "Knights" (marble), cross-legged, <i>composed</i> type on flat slab.	North of London	Fig. 666, p. 590
	Wood	"Knights" (stone and wood), sword-sheathing, <i>composed London</i> type.	All over England	Fig. 743, p. 665
		"Knights" (stone), sword-drawing and dancing, <i>vigorous London</i> type.	Home counties ...	Fig. 726, p. 649
		1300 "Knights" (stone and wood), folded hands, <i>Westminster</i> type (1).	All over England	Fig. 729, p. 652
		"Ecclesiastics" (stone), large heads, deep cutting.	South of England	Fig. 716, p. 641
		1325 "Ladies" (stone and wood), <i>Westminster</i> type (1).	All over England	Fig. 720, p. 645
		"Knights" and "Ladies" (stone, wood and alabaster), <i>Westminster</i> type (2).	" "	Fig. 754, p. 673
		1350 "Ecclesiastics" (alabaster and stone), fully modelled on panelled tomb-chests.	" "	Fig. 758, p. 675
		1375 "Kings" and "Nobles" (bronze and alabaster), on <i>weeper</i> tombs.	" "	Fig. 767, p. 682
		"Knights" (bronze and alabaster), on <i>weeper</i> tombs.	" "	Fig. 765, p. 680
		1400 "Ladies" (alabaster), on <i>weeper</i> tombs	" "	Fig. 777, p. 691
		1425 "Ecclesiastics" (stone), smoothly modelled, richly painted.	South of England	Fig. 812, p. 714
		1450 "Knights" (alabaster and bronze), bare-headed, or helmeted, with or without tabard, on Purbeck-marble panelled tombs.	" "	Fig. 796, p. 703
		1475 "Knights" and "Ladies" (alabaster), with inscriptions on edge of slab; <i>weeper</i> tombs.	All over England	Fig. 802, p. 707
		1500 "Ladies" }		
		1525 Renaissance influence	London and south	Fig. 818, p. 719
	Alabaster			

The essential character of London style in effigy lay in its shop-production. The types of figure-work will be fully described further on, but some short explanations may be useful here. The *composed* "knight" of the marblers was the first conventional representation of recumbency and showed the warrior quietly reclined, cross-legged, with hand on sword-hilt, with a single bolster cushion.

The *composed London* type was the freestone copy of this, and this model is found too in many wooden effigies (see p. 665). It was developed in freestone versions all over England, owing, we think, to the commerce in the wooden figures, which, carried into all parts, gave the type to the local sculptors. Often the double cushions and angels of the Westminster habit are taken into it. The *vigorous London* type was a more excited representation indicating the knight as about to spring from the ground and draw his sword.

The *Westminster* type (1) is shown in the "ladies" by the inclined attitude of the head with slightly bent knee, which we saw in the Eleanor statues: in the "knights" by a corresponding sideways representation with the hands folded in prayer. The wooden examples of this model, both "knight" and "lady," are found in most parts of England (see pp. 666, 667) so much alike that we must think them from a single workshop. Still, the freestone works of the Westminster carvers must be considered the original types, and in them the double cushions attended by angels reclining at the side make their earliest appearance; as also the use of gesso for the rendering of the details of mail and fine ornament upon stone and wood. No doubt a painted representation had preceded this use of gesso, as instanced by the "knight"-at Rampton, Cambridgeshire (which may be dated 1250): very probably the earliest Purbeck-marble figures were given the details of costume by a painting and gilding upon the smooth surfaces of the marble.

A later *Westminster* type (2) came into existence with the changes of costume c. 1325. It preserved the expression of the first style, but towards 1350 poses the knight often with straight instead of crossed legs, anticipating the representations of the last period. All through we see the peculiar attitudes and accessories of the *Westminster* models being copied with more or less success by the freestone workers of the provinces, with a gradual modification of the types that at the earlier date the local sculptors had evolved in copying the Purbeck figures and the *London* sword-drawing knights. The use of gesso, necessary as the ground for the painting in the finishing of wooden figures, would recommend itself to the stone-carvers also, especially where the local stone available for effigy-sculpture was of coarse texture unsuited for fine surface detail.

TABLE A—(*continued*)
(2) LICHFIELD CENTRE

MATERIAL		CHARACTERISTIC PARTICULARS	DISTRIBUTION	EXAMPLES
The sandstone of Lichfield and Worcester building; sometimes the Northamptonshire freestone	1250			
	1300	"Knights" as <i>London</i> types but coarser; often with gablets at the heads	Midland counties	Fig. 723, p. 647
	1350	"Ladies" fully modelled, with long folds	„ „	Fig. 721, p. 647

(3) ABINGDON (?) CENTRE

Local Oxfordshire and Bath stones, also Totternhoe stone	1300	"Knights," with a natural and dramatic representation of recumbent attitude	See below ...	Fig. 727, p. 649
	1325?			
	1350	"Ladies" and "Knights" } as <i>Westminster</i> type (2), but livelier in representation	Oxford district...	Knight and ladies at Aldworth

The representations from this conjectural centre continue the *vigorous London* type, in marked contrast with the contemporary *Westminster* type: thus the "knight" is shown leaning over on his arm at Aldworth (hard yellow stone) and Chew Magna (wood): as reclining on his shield at Minster, Kent: with arms crossed, and as if ready to spring from a rock bed, at Ingham and Reepham, Norfolk. The distribution of these figures might point to London as their workshop, but the hard yellow stone used at Aldworth is that of Abingdon building, brought from the east side of Gloucestershire.

B. SOUTH-WESTERN PROVINCE.

The character of the memorial effigy in the South-West of England appears in the conditions of its making by a quarry-craft exercised in the sculpture of buildings. Its fashions were, however, influenced and often initiated by the shop-work styles of London effigy-making (p. 624). But the Purbeck-marble "ecclesiastics" and "knights" of southern England, while at first following the London types, diverge from them after 1260. Except, however, in the immediate neighbourhood of the Purbeck quarries¹, the south-western district can show only a few Purbeck-marble figures, and these chiefly "ecclesiastics" anterior to 1250. It would seem that after 1250 in the West of England the freestone figure had driven the marble one out of the market. The vogue of the Bristol effigy seems also to have had effect in making the wooden figures rare in the West: finally in this province also, especially in the parts that drew from the Exeter and Bristol centres, the freestone figure competed successfully with the alabaster during the fifteenth century. The thirteenth-century representations of body armour in the South-West have the peculiarity that the bands of mail are shown from shoulder to wrist, and not in rings round the arm as in the London types. Other particulars useful for distinction are given in the table opposite.

¹ We know of no marble "knight" or "lady" in Dorset, west of Blandford.

TABLE B.

(1) PURBECK AND SALISBURY CENTRE

MATERIAL	CHARACTERISTIC PARTICULARS	DISTRIBUTION	EXAMPLES
Purbeck marble Chilmark	1200 "Ecclesiastics," flat slab modelling ...	West of England	Fig. 648, p. 574
	1225 "Ecclesiastics," round modelling, lion at feet See also the Worcester "King John" ...	" , & Wales	Fig. 652, p. 579 Fig. 655, p. 580
	1250 "Ecclesiastics," silky folds with canopies (less elaborate than in the <i>London</i> slabs)	South of England	Fig. 672, p. 597
	1275 "Knights," crossed-legged, and holding sword	" "	Fig. 670, p. 595
	"Civilians," straight, with folded hands	" "	Fig. 674, p. 599
	"Ladies," with straight narrow folds ...	" "	Fig. 673, p. 598
	1300 "Ladies" (stone), with full draperies (in close connection with <i>Westminster</i> type).	" "	Fig. 719, p. 643
	1315 "Knights" (marble and stone), flatly modelled	" "	Fig. 724, p. 647
	coped bases		

The "civilian" marble figure (and perhaps the marble "lady" also) may have been peculiar to the local Purbeck centre since their distributions seem always in the South of England. In any case civilian figures in marble as well as "knights" would appear to have been produced locally some years after their distribution from London had ceased.

(2) BRISTOL AND WELLS CENTRE

Doulting Dundry Hill	1225 "Ecclesiastics," roundly modelled, with big heads	Wells type	Wells	Fig. 320, p. 296
	1250 "Knights," straight-legged, with hands at side or breast		Salisbury, Mal- vern and Bristol.	Fig. 680, p. 607
	1275 "Ladies," flatly modelled		Somerset and Gloucestershire.	Fig. 688, p. 612
	"Knights," cross-legged, sword sheath- ing, after <i>composed London</i> type	Purbeck type	South-western counties	Fig. 683, p. 610
	"Knights," cross-legged, sword draw- ing, after <i>vigorous London</i> type		" "	Fig. 682, p. 609
	1300 "Knights," finished in gesso, after <i>Westminster</i> type (1)		" "	Fig. 699, p. 626
	1325 "Ladies," with mantle across, finished in gesso, after <i>Westminster</i> type	Westminster and London type	" "	Arlington and Wear Giffard, Devon.
	1350 "Knights" and "Civilians," copies of <i>Westminster</i> type (2)		" "	"Lady Ber- keley," Bristol. Fig. 761, p. 677
	1400 "Ladies" and "Knights," copies of <i>alabaster</i> models		" "	Fig. 808, p. 711
	1450 "Ecclesiastics," with deeply lined detail	Alabas- ter type	Bristol	Fig. 814, p. 716
	1500			

The textures of the Doulting and Dundry stones are very similar.

TABLE B—(continued)

(3) HAM HILL CENTRE

MATERIAL	CHARACTERISTIC PARTICULARS	DISTRIBUTION	EXAMPLES
Ham Hill Stone	1250 "Knights," cross-legged, sword sheathing, after <i>London</i> types	South Somerset and Dorset.	Fig. 681, p. 608
	1300 "Knights," cross-legged, sword sheathing ...	Dorset and East Devon.	Athelhampton Chantry. Piddleton, Dorset. Trent, Somerset. Brympton, Somerset.
	"Ladies," of <i>composed Westminster</i> types ...	" "	
	1350 "Civilians," local <i>Purbeck</i> type	" "	
	1400 "Knights" } copies of <i>Exeter</i> type	South Somerset and Devon.	
	1450 "Ladies" }		

(4) EXETER CENTRE

Bristol Oolites	1275 "Ecclesiastics," <i>London</i> model	Exeter	Fig. 693, p. 620
	1300 "Knights" and "Ladies," after <i>composed London</i> type, with round head. } with gesso finish sometimes	Devon	Fig. 695, p. 623
Sandstones	"Knights," leaning on side holding shield up, head on helm. }	Devon, Cornwall and Somerset.	Fig. 697, p. 625
	1325 "Ladies," leaning on side holding books, shields, close to <i>Salisbury</i> type. ...	" "	Fig. 698, p. 625
	"Knights," in close connection with <i>Abingdon</i> types	Exeter	Landkey, N. Devon
	1350 "Ladies," in full mantles across, on <i>Bristol</i> model	Devon and Dorset	
Beer Stone	1375 "Knights," cross-legged, shield-bearing ...	Devon, Cornwall and Somerset.	Dorchester, Dorset.
	1400 "Knights," }		Atherington (see Stothard)
	"Ladies" }		
	and "Ecclesiastics" }		
	1450		Exeter Cath.

(5) GLOUCESTER AND HEREFORD CENTRE

Sandstone	Oolites	1250 "Ecclesiastics," copied from <i>Purbeck</i> model	Gloucester, Worcester and Hereford.	Fig. 678, p. 605
		1275		
		1300 "Ecclesiastics," flat modelled, with silky folds	Hereford and Gloucestershire.	Fig. 690, p. 617
		1325 "Knights," after <i>composed London</i> type ...	All the Severn and Wye counties.	Fig. 700, p. 628
		1350 "Ladies," on <i>Lichfield</i> model	Hereford and Bath district.	Fig. 702, p. 629
		"Knights," in connection with <i>Abingdon</i> model		
		"Knights" and "Ladies" }	Tewkesbury and Gloucester.	Fig. 809, p. 712
		on <i>London alabaster</i> model		
		1400 "Ecclesiastics" (stone), copies of <i>alabaster</i> type	Hereford and Gloucester.	Fig. 815, p. 717
		1450		

TABLE C—(continued).

(2) YORK CENTRE

MATERIAL		CHARACTERISTIC PARTICULARS	DISTRIBUTION	EXAMPLES
White sandstone	1275	"Ladies," on back, image model, smooth drapery.	Yorkshire ...	Fig. 705, p. 632
	1300	"Knights," long flowing surcoat, hands folded, cross-legged, reclined, usually bare-headed, often with gablets.	" ...	Fig. 692, p. 617
	1325	"Knights," short surcoat, with straight skirts, large lion at feet, cross-legged, flat on back.	North of England	} Ryther (see Hollis)
Magnesian limestone, chiefly from Tadcaster	1350	"Ladies," reclined, after <i>Westminster</i> type.	" ...	
		"Ecclesiastics," lying flat, deeply cut slab, with gablets and other ornamental accessories.	" ...	Fig. 710, p. 635
Sometimes clunch or alabaster	1375		" ...	Fig. 780, p. 693
	1400	"Knights" and "Ladies," straight-legged, either alabaster or boldly cut copies of the <i>alabaster</i> models.	Yorkshire ...	Fig. 810, p. 713
	1500		" ...	

The florid *York* type of "knight" has characters distinct from the *London* model: (1) The surcoat is sleeved very full and shown much convoluted, the ring-mail deeply cut; (2) The canopies and accessories are much elaborated; (3) The heads are usually bare and the attitudes lively and natural, with the hands always folded.

(3) ANCASTER CENTRES (LINCOLN, STAMFORD AND PETERBOROUGH)

Barnack stone	1250	"Knights" "Ecclesiastics," and "Ladies," copies of <i>Purbeck</i> models.	Northants Notts and Lincolnshire.	Castor, Sudborough, Barnack (see A. Hartshorne)
Ancaster, Lincoln, Weldon stones	1275	"Knights," flatter than <i>York</i> type, with hands folded.	{ Lincolnshire, Cambs and North Norfolk	{ Fig. 71, p. 75 Fig. 713, p. 638
	1300	"Ladies," after <i>Westminster</i> type, but with arms held high.		
	1325	"Knights" and "Ladies" approaching <i>York</i> types.		Fig. 711, p. 637
	1350	"Ecclesiastics," flatly modelled with deeply cut ornament.	Notts and Lincs.	Fig. 715, p. 639
	1375			

(4) NOTTINGHAM CENTRE

Derbyshire and Nottingham sandstones	1250	"Knights," on <i>Ancaster</i> model	Notts	Whatton (see Stothard)
	1300	"Knights," on <i>Bristol</i> model	West Midlands	Fig. 725, p. 648
	1325	"Ladies," on <i>Lichfield</i> model	" "	Fig. 691, p. 617
Derbyshire alabaster at Chellaston and Tutbury	1350	{ "Knights" } straight-legged on Gloucester models, in touch with <i>Westminster</i> types.	" "	Fig. 777, p. 691
	1375			
	1400	"Knights," <i>orled</i> helmets, straight-legged.	All the North of England.	Fig. 91, p. 101
	1425	"Ladies," with large head-dresses, on alabaster tombs with "angels" or "weepers."		Fig. 787, p. 698
	1450			Fig. 793, p. 702
	1475	{ "Knights" } in touch with <i>London</i> models.	All England.	Fig. 801, p. 706
	1500			

Nottingham, midway in England, was open to influences from all sides. The *York* expression, c. 1400, appears in the bold elaborate carving of the ornaments, particularly in the *orled* knights who are largely represented in Yorkshire (see Table, p. 560).

I. ECCLESIASTICS ("BISHOPS" AND "ABBOTS")

Only the particulars useful for tabulation are given

The *drop* of the chasuble (which is most often the distinguishing vestment of the "ecclesiastic" effigy) is its front hanging-piece, and the representation of this in sculpture has varied chiefly because the material of the vestment, which at first was thin, showing *linen* folds (Fig. 653, p. 579); was afterwards thicker, showing *silk* folds (Fig. 693, p. 620); and finally was much stiffened by embroidery, which induced a peculiar and somewhat conventional rendering of it (Fig. 757, p. 674.)

Ecclesiastics other than bishops and abbots are usually represented as bare-headed, at first holding books (Fig. 71, p. 75), and after 1250 nearly always with the hands folded in prayer. Some are vested in copes, the folds of which follow the same variations of representation as in the chasuble. In the York and Lincoln districts the ecclesiastical effigies do not develop the high sculptural relief which in all other effigy-sculpture after 1300 detaches the figure entirely from the ground. The memorials of the northern bishops continue to be flatly treated and are frequently almost the slab-carvings that were usual in Germany.

II. KNIGHTS

TABLE OF COSTUME AND ARMOUR

	BODY-ARMOUR	HEAD-PIECE	BELT, SWORD, ETC.	OVER-DRESS	SHIELD
I. CRUSADING	1200	Sometimes with coal-scuttle helmet	Mail hood of shirt	Waist-belt with long tag. Sword at side	1200 1225 1250 Reaching to knee
	1225				
	1250				
II.	1275	Bare-headed in northern district	Flat-topped	Waist-belt narrow. Sword-belt broad and dependent from waist, attached to sword at side	1275 1300 1325 to calf to ankle often sleeved to calf to knee
	1300				
	1325				
III.	1350	Bascinet	Round sometimes with vizor	Waist-belt often absent. Sword-belt broad with double attachment to sword in front.	1350 1375 1400 Mail <i>hauberk</i> showing at skirt and armpits
	1375				
	1400				
IV.	1425	Usually bare-headed (ears covered)	Slightly keeled	Single horizontal belt much ornamented, usually with tag	1425 1450 1475 Absent nearly always
	1450				
	1475				
V.	1500	Sollerets and gauntlets	Strongly keeled	do. do. do. usually with clasp	1500 1525 1550 Often with <i>tabard</i> over plate
	1525				
	1550				
VI.	1575	Sabbions, and hands bare	Rarely with <i>salade</i>	Narrow sword-belt worn diagonally	1575 1600 1625 Often with <i>hauberk</i> showing at skirt and armpits
	1600				
	1625				
VII.	1650	Breastplate and <i>taces</i> (exposed)	with <i>orle</i>	Broad sword-belt	1650 1675 1700 Often with <i>hauberk</i> showing at skirt and armpits
	1675				
	1700				
VIII.	1725	Breastplate (under <i>jupon</i>)	Rarely with <i>salade</i>	Single horizontal belt much ornamented, usually with tag	1725 1750 1775 Often with <i>hauberk</i> showing at skirt and armpits
	1750				
	1775				
IX.	1800	Breastplate and <i>taces</i> (exposed)	Rarely with <i>salade</i>	do. do. do. usually with clasp	1800 1825 1850 Often with <i>hauberk</i> showing at skirt and armpits
	1825				
	1850				
X.	1875	Breastplate and <i>taces</i> (exposed)	Rarely with <i>salade</i>	Narrow sword-belt worn diagonally	1875 1900 1925 Often with <i>hauberk</i> showing at skirt and armpits
	1900				
	1925				
XI.	1950	Breastplate and <i>taces</i> (exposed)	Rarely with <i>salade</i>	Broad sword-belt	1950 1975 2000 Often with <i>hauberk</i> showing at skirt and armpits
	1975				
	2000				
XII.	2025	Breastplate and <i>taces</i> (exposed)	Rarely with <i>salade</i>	Single horizontal belt much ornamented, usually with tag	2025 2050 2075 Often with <i>hauberk</i> showing at skirt and armpits
	2050				
	2075				

In the opposite table the details of armour and costume have been given in the order in which the effigy-sculptures exhibit them. The technical designations used for brevity's sake have been put in italics, and the following explanations may be useful. *All mail* means a hooded shirt and stockings composed of iron rings interlaced and backed by leather; it appears to have been stiffened by iron plates under the hood and over the breast. Over it was worn the long linen smock or *surcoat* which made the distinguishing characteristic of Crusading armour. Mid-Plantagenet or *mixed plate armour* gave additional protection to the mail by hard leather (*cuir bouilli*) covers put to knees, elbows and thighs, and also by small iron plates (*roundels*) attached to the shoulders and sides of the elbows; after 1300 came the steel cap or *bascinet*, with leg-plates and arm-plates, steel gloves and pointed steel shoes. This *surcoat* period continued to c. 1325, when the over-dress began to take a different form, called the *jupon*, which was a tight-fitting jersey instead of a loose smock. A transitional garment was the *cyclas*, short in front and long behind, which lasted from c. 1320 to c. 1345. Edwardian armour, or that of Edward III.'s wars with France, added the *camail*, which, laced to the bascinet, was a mail-protection for the neck and chin: the period up to c. 1415 is often called the "camail and jupon" period. Its latter half was distinguished by the use of certain conspicuous ornaments, such as the *orle* or embossed wreath round the bascinet, and the *bawdrick* or embossed belt. Lancastrian costume continued these ornaments, but discarded the *jupon*. The plate-pieces of armour were now shown bare in effigies, the most conspicuous being, the *gorget*, a collar of plate replacing the camail; the *breastplate* conspicuously bulged; and the *taces*, a skirt of jointed plates. Occasionally a *tabard* or stiff pinafore embroidered with armorial devices (such as is shown on the Knave of a pack of cards) covers the fronts of the effigies: rarely the "Knight" is shown with his round helmet or *salade* with vizor. Yorkist armour became a still more complicated structure of steel plates, with *guards* and pieces of elaborate shape, the most important of which were the *tuiles* or hanging thigh-covers. The *standard* was a collar of mail replacing the gorget. Tudor armour dispensed with most of the elaborate additions, and used a mail skirt with large *tuiles* under the breastplate, which was bulged at the bottom. The pointed shoes of jointed plate called *sollerets* were replaced by blunt ones called *sab-batons*. The above tabulation of the principal pieces of accoutrement will be useful for the description of military costume in effigies.

II. KNIGHTS—(continued)

TABLE OF ATTITUDES AND ACCESSORIES

	REPRESENTATION	POSTURE OF LEGS	POSTURE OF HANDS	HEAD PROPS	FEET PROPS	
I.	1200	Straight	By side	Absent	Usually absent	Sometimes a dragon or leopard in profile
II.	1225					
III.	1250		On breast, one hand on sword	Oblong flat pad	Lions	Sometimes a lion standing or crouching upright
IV.	1275					
V.	1300	Crossed	Both hands on sword	Oblong thick bolster	Lions	Small, crouching with head turned
	1325					
VI.	1350	Cross-legged below knee	Grasping sword with both hands	Single cushion in North	Lions	Larger, turning sideways
	1375					
VII.	1400	With knees stiffly re-curved	With arms crossed or leaned upon	Usually with the top cushion diagonally laid on the oblong lower	Occasionally cushions with angels.	Large, pushed over by feet
	1425					
VIII.	1450	With knees easily straight	Occasionally with right hand on sword, left holding hand of "Lady"	Two or more cushions	Occasionally cushions with angels.	Crouching upright and turning head to figure
	1475					
	1500	In natural recumbent attitude	Folded in prayer	Tilting helmets	Lions or Dogs	Heraldic figures occasionally, or with no prop
	1525					
	1550			Tasselled cushions		

STANT

SEMI-STANT

RECU

In the table of "Knights'" costume (back, p. 560) six classes of armour were distinguished, which were further numbered in twelve divisions, covering roughly the chief sets of changes. The reader is asked to turn to the following figures for the aspect of "Knights" as successively accoutred.

I.	Early Crusading	...	...	...	Fig. 663, p. 588 and Fig. 665, p. 589.
II.	Late Crusading	...	...	...	Fig. 680, p. 607 and Fig. 666, p. 590.
III.	Early Mid-Plantagenet	...	...	...	Fig. 670, p. 595 and Fig. 723, p. 647.
IV.	Late Mid-Plantagenet	...	...	...	Fig. 676, p. 602 and Fig. 727, p. 649.
V.	Cyclas or Creçy	...	...	...	Fig. 735, p. 655 and Fig. 764, p. 678.
VI.	temp. Edward III	...	...	...	Fig. 728, p. 650 and Fig. 765, p. 680.
VII.	temp. Richard II	...	...	...	Fig. 780, p. 693 and Fig. 804, p. 709.
VIII.	Early Lancastrian	...	...	...	Fig. 782, p. 694 and Fig. 790, p. 700.
IX.	Late Lancastrian	...	...	...	Fig. 811, p. 713 and Fig. 796, p. 703.
X.	Yorkist...	...	...	...	Fig. 791, p. 701 and Fig. 794, p. 703.
XI.	Early Tudor	...	...	...	Fig. 645, p. 547 and Fig. 800, p. 705.
XII.	Mid-Tudor	...	...	...	Fig. 801, p. 706 and Fig. 818, p. 719.

The following examples are suggested for the reader in illustration of the nine chief variations of attitude, etc.

		<i>London type</i>	<i>Western</i>	<i>Northern & Eastern</i>
Class I.	Pictorial representation ...	Fig. 663, p. 588.		
„ II.	Pictorial representation, with recumbent suggestion ...}	Fig. 667, p. 591.	Fig. 680, p. 607.	“
„ III.	Pictorial representation, with recumbent suggestion, cross-legged stiffly ...}	Fig. 668, p. 592.	Fig. 670, p. 595.	Fig. 703, p. 631.
„ IV.	Pictorial representation, with natural recumbent sugges- tion, cross-legged easily ...}	Fig. 731, p. 653.	Fig. 695, p. 623.	Fig. 692, p. 617.
„ V.	Natural, sideways representa- tion}	Fig. 730, p. 653.	Fig. 702, p. 629.	Fig. 712, p. 637.
„ „	Natural, recumbent repre- sentation... ..}	Fig. 727, p. 649.	Fig. 697, p. 625.	Fig. 728, p. 650.
„ VI.	Conventional, easy recumb- ency}	Fig. 756, p. 674.	Fig. 701, p. 629.	Fig. 780, p. 693.
„ VII.	Conventional, stiff-kneed re- cumbency}	Fig. 790, p. 700.	Fig. 804, p. 709.	Fig. 810, p. 713.
„ VIII.	Conventional, straight-kneed recumbency}	Fig. 791, p. 701.	Fig. 794, p. 703.	Fig. 811, p. 713.
„ IX.	Classic recumbency ...	Fig. 819, p. 720.		

The natural recumbent attitudes were shown earlier in the York and Westminster schools than elsewhere.

III. LADIES
TABLE OF COSTUME, ATTITUDES AND ACCESSORIES

GENERAL COSTUME	MANTLE	COTE	KIRTLE	WIMPLE	KERCHIEF	COIFFURE	HANDS	HEAD	FEET	POSE										
I.	Long and hanging below feet, gathered up in arms	Sleeved	Folds from neck	Tight & angular	Hanging to shoulders	Curl-tufts on either side of forehead	To cord or holding dress	Single cushion	Small crouching	1200										
II.	With small arm slit	Double cord or single cord	Folds from breast	Full & rounded	Below shoulders	Hair long, or braided at side	At side or holding books, shields, etc.	Double cushions	Crouching dog	1250										
III.	Hanging to feet. Often gathered across body	Large arm slit	Folds from neck	Round with fillet	Part of coiffure	Netted stiffly to frame face	Hands folded in prayer, occasionally holding hand of "Knight"	Usually with angels holding cushion	Big tassels	1300										
IV.		Often absent	Neck bare, large buttons in front	Barb, or plaited gorget	Hung behind head	Cauls at side of head	To cord or holding dress	Double cushions	Crouching dog	1325										
V.	Scarcely hanging to feet	Loose gown	Neck covered, with belt at waist	Hanging over shoulders, widows only	Forehead bare	Cauls at top of head	Hands folded in prayer, occasionally holding hand of "Knight"	Double cushions	Crouching dog	1350										
VI.	Sleeved cloak over feet	Tassels to hips	Folds from neck	Full & rounded	Part of coiffure	Cauls at side of head	Hands folded in prayer, occasionally holding hand of "Knight"	Double cushions	Crouching dog	1375										
VII.		Tassels to knees	Folds from hips or waist	Barb, or plaited gorget	Hung behind head	Cauls at top of head	Hands folded in prayer, occasionally holding hand of "Knight"	Double cushions	Crouching dog	1400										
VIII.	Mantle below feet	Sideless cote or tight gown	Breast and neck bare	Hanging over shoulders, widows only	Forehead bare	Cauls at top of head	Hands folded in prayer, occasionally holding hand of "Knight"	Double cushions	Crouching dog	1425										
IX.	Heraldic cape	Sleeved and fitted gown	Fur trimmings and rosary Neck covered	Hanging over shoulders, widows only	Forehead bare	Cauls at top of head	Hands folded in prayer, occasionally holding hand of "Knight"	Double cushions	Crouching dog	1450										
		Tassels to knees	Folds from hips or waist	Barb, or plaited gorget	Hung behind head	Cauls at top of head	Hands folded in prayer, occasionally holding hand of "Knight"	Double cushions	Crouching dog	1475										
		Sideless cote or tight gown	Breast and neck bare	Hanging over shoulders, widows only	Forehead bare	Cauls at top of head	Hands folded in prayer, occasionally holding hand of "Knight"	Double cushions	Crouching dog	1500										
		Sleeved and fitted gown	Fur trimmings and rosary Neck covered	Hanging over shoulders, widows only	Forehead bare	Cauls at top of head	Hands folded in prayer, occasionally holding hand of "Knight"	Double cushions	Crouching dog	1525										
		Tassels to knees	Folds from hips or waist	Barb, or plaited gorget	Hung behind head	Cauls at top of head	Hands folded in prayer, occasionally holding hand of "Knight"	Double cushions	Crouching dog	1550										

THIN & VOLUMINOUS

THIN & TIGHT

THICK & HIGH CUT LOW

THICK & HIGH CUT LOW

The "Lady" is exhibited in effigy-sculpture as wearing (1) a *kirtle* or long dress to the feet, covered by (2) an upper robe or *cote-hardi*, also to the feet, and most often as well (3) a *mantle* or cloak over her shoulders and hanging to the ground. These three garments were altered by fashion from time to time in shape and in the substance of their material, but were not superseded until the end of the fifteenth century, when the *gown*, fitted and shaped (much as it is worn to-day), became the usual outer covering. The *kirtle* or under-dress, that was almost completely hidden in the thirteenth century, appears more and more in evidence as the body-part of the *cote-hardi* of upper dress dwindled, for this latter became in the fifteenth century simply a petticoat hung from the neck by a broad band front and back—the *sideless cote-hardi*, as it is called. The mantle was often superseded by a sleeved cloak, or bag-sleeved gown, in the first half of the fifteenth century, and towards its end a *gown* proper, at first cut low and then high to the neck, appears, with sometimes a mantle or cloak in addition.

The veil or *kerchief* (also called "covrechef"), with the *wimple* or chin-piece is shown as the head-covering up to 1350, and its wearing gives that triangular face which is characteristic. During the later centuries these head-coverings would in effigies seem proper for widows only. Before the fourteenth century, however, some "ladies" had been represented bare-headed with long flowing hair, as "Queen Eleanor" (p. 661). From 1320 onwards the fashions of a lady's head-dress were continually changing. At first her hair was braided up on either side of the head, and then stiffly netted almost to the shoulders (the *nebuly* or *reticulated* coiffure, as it is called). Then the netting was drawn up to the ears, and appears in effigies c. 1400 as two knobs called *cauls*, projecting horizontally on either side of the forehead. These *cauls* then became *horned*, and, rising considerably above the head, were the *mitred* head-dress of about the middle of the century. The *kerchief* appears fastened over the points of the mitre, and the erection then developed a cone or *steeple*, with the veil spread out behind in a sort of fan, making the *butterfly* coiffure. At this period the foreheads were shown as if shaved bare to the top of the head, and the costume is much *décolletée*. But towards the end of the century the gown is worn high on the neck, and the veil instead of sweeping behind comes forward to the face as a thick folded *frontlet*, carried down over the ears and on to the shoulders. This coiffure is called the *pediment*: but many of the Tudor "Ladies" are without veils, having coronets and flowing hair.

The examples of "Ladies" will be

Class I.	Thirteenth century	Fig. 654, p. 579.	Class II.	c. 1280 ...	Fig. 719, p. 643.
„ III.	Early fourteenth	Fig. 711, p. 637.	„ IV.	Mid fourteenth	Fig. 752, p. 669.
„ V.	Late fourteenth	Fig. 777, p. 691.	„ VI.	Early fifteenth	Fig. 806, p. 711.
„ VII.	Mid fifteenth	Fig. 788, p. 699.	„ VIII.	Late fifteenth	Fig. 817, p. 718.
„ IX.	Early sixteenth	Fig. 801, p. 706, and Fig. 820, p. 721.			

IV. KINGS AND CIVILIANS (FRANKLINS, DOCTORS, MERCHANTS, ETC.)

TABLE OF COSTUME, ATTITUDES AND ACCESSORIES

CIVILIANS

KINGS

MANTLE		DALMATIC		MANTLE		COTE		HAIR		ARMS		HEADS		FEET		CONVENTIONALLY RECURRENT	
I.		II.		III.		IV.		V.		VI.		SEMI-STANT					
1200		1250		1300		1350		1400		1450		1500		1550			
Mantle with cord or band at neck		Fastened across with brooch on shoulder or hanging at side		With band across breast		do. do. and long tassels		With collar		Tippet and hood		Loose-sleeved showing tunic at wrist and ankles		Tight on chest hiding tunic, open at elbows with liripipes		Hung from neck	
Often absent		With cord at neck		Jagged edges with brooch on shoulder		With tippet and hood round neck		Big-sleeved gowns of various kinds		Scarf-like chaperon		Loose-sleeved folds from neck to ankle showing tunic at elbow		Tight jacket, buttoned from neck to shirt		Pointed or forked beard	
To chin in zigzag curls at side of face		Straight curls showing ears		Cut above ears		Very short		To chin over ears		Shaved		Short beard		Beard			
On breast or at side		Folded in prayer															
Double cushions as "Ladies" often with Westminster angels		Single cushion usually oblong		On small lion		On dogs, etc.											

In the "Kings" of England are to be found the most important figures of the fourth division. They are represented uniformly in long robes, lying flat on the back, crowned and with orb and sceptre in their hands, or in the case of Edward III., with two sceptres. The great nobles, when not represented in armour, are displayed in similar fashion. The civilian effigies have throughout attitudes of conventional recumbency, lying flat and straight, and, nearly always after 1250, have the hands folded in prayer, are bare-headed, and usually arrayed in long straight gowns. Except that they expose the ankles, their dress hardly differs from that of the "Ladies." But the young "Princes" of the mid-fourteenth century, and young "nobles" or commoners of the same period, are in a tight-fitting habit—short jerkins and long hose, and often with *jagged* cloaks. The "merchants," "doctors," and the "minor clerics" of the fifteenth century are all very similar in their effigies except when shown in the special robes that belong to their several estates or offices. One peculiar piece of costume in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was the tippet with its hood (*chaperon*), the latter lying upon the neck as a collar. This garment developed about the middle of the century into a full-bodied cap, shown spread on the shoulder of the effigies with long dependent streamers, the use of which was to make a scarf round the throat. When the sword is worn by civilians in the fifteenth century it is a short blade called an *anelace* fastened to the girdle, in which, after 1470, is often also shown a rosary. The cushions and feet-props of lions, dogs, etc., were in civilian effigies much as in the other types of memorial effigies.

The table indicates only such distinctions as may best separate the six classes of the fourth division of effigy, which can be illustrated as follows:—

				<i>Kings and Princes</i>	<i>Civilians</i>
Class I.	Thirteenth century	...	...	Fig. 655, p. 580.	Fig. 679, p. 67.
„ II.	c. 1300	...	...	Fig. 738, p. 660.	Fig. 674, p. 599.
„ III.	Mid fourteenth century	...	...	Fig. 756, p. 674.	Fig. 761, p. 677.
„ IV.	Late „	„	...	Fig. 767, p. 682.	Fig. 785, p. 696.
„ V.	Fifteenth century	...	...	Fig. 783, p. 695.	Fig. 813, p. 715.
„ VI.	Renaissance influence	...	...	Fig. 820, p. 721.	

Finally should be mentioned some other forms of medieval effigy, which however need not detain us as figure-sculpture. There have come down to us certain small figures which have been taken as those of children, but which were probably memorials of partial burial, connected with the medieval habit of heart interment. Another peculiar representation in the last period of medieval style was that of the *cadaver*, or dried-up corpse, shown as if in the tomb below the costumed effigies (see Fig. 816, p. 717).

CHAPTER II

THE MARBLE EFFIGIES OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

SECTION I. INTRODUCTORY. 1180—1300

ONE of the most distinctive manifestations of thirteenth-century sculpture may be found in the memorial effigies of the Purbeck marblers. The Purbeck arts have had our attention more than once in the preceding Books, but here we give a general account of the marble trade, since the recumbent figure was the highest expression of it.

The Purbeck marble is a dun-coloured shell-limestone, which allows polish, but is not a crystalline marble, and its use in architecture is familiar to all students of medieval style. A peculiar character was given to our English Gothic by the dark slender shafts and the thin delicately moulded strings that were imported from the Corfe quarries. The current of English style kept a channel distinct from that of the Continent largely owing to this marble architecture. Nearly every English church of importance that was built from 1170 to 1350 made use of the polished pillars, the capitals, bases, and string-courses; and, as we have seen, the Purbeck material was not only moulded and chiselled with delicate foliage, but was carved, too, into head-corbels (see Figs. 224, 225, 226, p. 232), or supplied as slabs and panels with figure-subjects in relief (see Fig. 303, p. 278).

There would seem to have been from early times a making of church-furniture in Purbeck marble, as for example the Archbishop's chair at Canterbury and St Frideswide's chair at Oxford. Numerous fonts of the Purbeck stones or marble are to be found all over the South of England, proof that from the eleventh century onwards there was a continued export from Corfe¹. Coffins, too, were ordinary products of the Dorset island from the first, and are found distributed to all parts of England. The floors, moreover, of twelfth- and thirteenth-century churches were frequently paved with the squares from the Purbeck beds ("aschelers" as they were called)² laid in

¹ The Romans used Purbeck marble, and slabs of it with inscriptions have been found at Chichester and Dorchester. Marble is stated as having been procured for Bishop Pudsey's building at Durham, c. 1150. This is described in the records as coming

from "over sea," and can be seen to be from Purbeck, possibly shipped by way of London.

² The shrine of Becket at Canterbury c. 1220 had an elaborate paving of Purbeck and red marbles, some part of which still remains.

which are to be seen coffin-lids and memorial stones, with incised tracings or low-relief carvings of mitre and crozier, or floriated crosses. Good examples of both paving and coffin-lids are to be seen in Chichester Cathedral, dated c. 1200 or shortly after. In the twelfth century, however, as well as these slabs, memorial figures in flat relief had appeared, such as those of Bishop Jocelyn of Salisbury and Bishop Iscanus of Exeter (see Figs. 647, 648, pp. 573, 574). And then after 1200 this slab-work carving of the figure gradually advanced to fully-modelled representations, such as the "Abbots" of Peterborough or the "Knights" of the Temple Church in London. Such statue-effigies of the Purbeck marblers went far and wide: they were carried up to Carlisle close to Scotland, to St David's in Wales, and possibly across the channel to Ireland; but the majority of them are now seen in the eastern and southern counties of England where are still remaining quite a hundred whole figures in good preservation, as well as fragments and pieces of others¹.

The above sketch of the Purbeck crafts has spoken of both carvings and figures as *imported* to the places where they are now found, because there are various kinds of evidence² to indicate that the marble of Corfe was delivered not only in the block, but also as finished sculpture. For example, the Patent Rolls of King John in 1206 gave licence to the Bishop of Chichester to bring for his cathedral "marmor suum per mare a Purbic." Now, we can trace this consignment and see it in place at Chichester. The Purbeck-marble capitals of the nave are carved with foliage, but in size and shape are all alike: the bases also have been cut all to one pattern, and both can be seen in many places to be distinct misfits in regard to the Caen-stone dressings with which they are walled, sometimes too large and sometimes too small. The conclusion is that the marble had been worked somewhere away from the building, and that the pieces, received as finished carvings, had to be placed as best they could. A hundred years later we find in the accounts of the Eleanor Crosses that the "quarrerius" who supplied Purbeck marble from Corfe was paid "pro virgis, capitibus, et anulis," which we must probably translate as worked pieces of marble³. Again, the royal accounts of 1274 mention a certain altar as made "at Purbeck" and delivered to the Carmelites in London by order of King Henry. It seems probable that, like fonts and tomb-slabs, such an altar would be ornamented with figure-reliefs. And finally, and of immediate bearing upon effigy-work, is the entry in the rolls for 1254 that the Sheriff of

¹ We have been able to examine over seventy: our cathedral churches contain thirty.

² Under the title "Industries" the *Victoria History of Dorset* has brought together a large number of notices as to Purbeck marble.

³ In confirmation of the view that Purbeck carving was done at home is the evidence of the foundations of the village of Corfe, which, when

dug into, show a heap of marble fragments (said in places to be fifteen feet deep), in which bits of moulding and leaf-carving are common. Unfortunately the site of the medieval quarry at Afflington, an open field some two miles from Corfe (which shows interesting indications of what may have been sheds and workshops), has not been excavated as it might well be.

Dorset be ordered to carve a certain effigy of a queen in marble stone, and carry the same to Tarrant and place it over the tomb of the Queen of Scotland¹.

Now the Isle of Purbeck is a small and barren territory ; no great church was ever built within its area, and indeed its immediate neighbourhood had no great centres of population in the Middle Ages. Cathedral-building was nearest at Salisbury, Winchester and Chichester—from thirty to fifty miles distant. The greater monasteries of Dorset, viz. Shaftesbury, Abbotsbury, Cerne and Sherborne, were at the other end of the county, while those more nearly at hand, the Cistercian church at Bindon, the Augustinian churches of Twynham and Milton, and the one large secular church of Dorset, that of Wimborne, were not specially important. It is difficult, then, to suppose any continuous local demand creating and sustaining the arts of the Isle of Purbeck². Yet it is hardly too much to say that in the products from this remote quarry there were invented for England first a national manner of architecture, secondly a national expression of foliage-carving, and thirdly a national school of figure-carving, and that these all three established themselves as the models of English style. One can say that for one hundred and fifty years, from 1180 to 1330, the Purbeck marbler appeared as the foremost artist in the English school.

This seems at first sight a puzzle in the history of English medieval art. The spirit of a capital city, its atmosphere of culture, as well as the patronage of its wealth and the demands of its commerce, are considered necessary nowadays for the development of the artist. Are we to say, then, that in the thirteenth century no such hotbed was apparently essential for art, and that the accident of a vein of stone, hard enough to polish, qualified this little sea-swept corner of England as the *alma mater* of English art ?

Possibly what we consider the remoteness of the Isle of Purbeck was of less account in the Middle Ages. Water carriage was then the only practicable method of transporting great blocks of stone, and Corfe was well situated for export by sea from its workshops. The marble quarries, moreover, had an immediate neighbour which meant both patronage and advertisement to the Purbeck products. The King's castle at Corfe was an important one, was often occupied in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and became on these occasions the political centre. The quarries possibly belonged to

¹ Joan, wife of Alexander II., and King Henry's sister. A coffin has been laid bare on the site of Tarrant Abbey in Dorset, and a marble head found which may possibly be that of this very effigy.

² The local building drew occasionally from the quarries. Purbeck marble is used as rubble

walling for parts of Corfe Castle, and in the construction of the Romanesque house at Christchurch. At Shaftesbury the excavations of the Abbey Church have disclosed elegant Romanesque capitals of Purbeck marble, which may date about 1150. The shafts carried by sea to Durham were of this time.

the King¹, or were commandeered by him, so that he was interested in the sale of their produce.

Combined with this royal interest in the marble was the fact that London, the capital city of the kingdom, had no stone close at hand for its building. In this latter circumstance lay, to our understanding, the fortunes of the Purbeck art. Since, for the great building of church and palace in London, all material had to be imported, why not from the King's quarry? In the thirteenth century a craft of marblers, "*marmorarii*"², was established in London, and it shows their importance that in the accounts of the Westminster building by Henry III. the masons engaged are not put in one group, but mentioned as two distinct bodies, one white-stone workers, the other the marblers—the latter nearly as numerous. Moreover, for the completion of their work we find recorded a company of polishers. The accounts, as well as the pillars themselves, identify the marble in question as being that of the Isle of Purbeck, which had already been largely used in the building of the Templars' Church in London, c. 1180. During the whole of the thirteenth century it seems clear that no London church of any consequence was likely to have been erected without being pillared and paved with the "King's marble" and bringing into service the craft of the marblers³.

Since, then, beside local works at Corfe itself there was an establishment of marblers in London, the hypothesis is that the London demand and the London artistry made the backbone of the Purbeck craft, and that the local industry was from the first, and all through, in touch with the most advanced ideas of the English architectural style which the capital developed. For some time after 1200 the Corfe quarrymen and the London marblers worked hand in hand and made what was practically one craft between them; and if London had retained its medieval buildings we should find in them, no doubt, a full record of the marble-working both of the London and quarry styles⁴.

London should, we think, certainly be looked to for the origins of the figure-style in the marble. One can cite from Westminster an early use,

¹ The Rolls 42 Henry III. and the Rolls 52 Henry III. speak of Purbeck marble as "*marmor regis*," but this may have been what had been bought for the King. The vein of Purbeck marble extends for about ten miles, but the quarry where it was dug in the largest quantities is a few miles from Corfe. Alice de Brewere, who owned the Manor, is credited by Leland as supplying for twelve years the marble and stone for Salisbury Cathedral.

² Was this a plagiarism on the "*marmorarii*" of Rome whose craft of exploiting and reworking ancient marbles was continued for a thousand years?

³ The marble pavings that the Franciscan church obtained c. 1260 from Purbeck can still be seen in Christ Church, Newgate Street.

⁴ We have, however, made (see p. 596) attempts to establish differences between the Corfe work which would be supplied to the West and South of England and the London work which would go to the East and to the midlands. Still, the sentence in the text can stand, for the differences of treatment which we shall notice were on the whole view slight characteristics as compared with the uniform speciality of Purbeck style.

if not of the marble at any rate of Purbeck material, for the purpose of memorial effigies. There lie in the south cloister three slabs, which exhibit the much worn figures of abbots. Though now damaged almost beyond recognition as to style, they can be judged as belonging to the first half of the twelfth century. In two cases use seems to have been made of the Purbeck paving from Dorset very similarly to what we see inside the porch of Abbotsbury Church, within easy carriage from Corfe. Here the slab is distinctly of Purbeck marble, and the figure represents an early abbot of Abbotsbury, in good preservation, showing what we can trace only in outline now upon the worn stones at Westminster. The modelling is flat, but still rounded up from the ground and not mere incised work.

Promptings to such a memorial use of marble slabs with figure-representations would be likely to come by way of London. Just over the channel in North-East France and Belgium is a district where black marble-shafts had been used in the eleventh- and twelfth-century churches, and in this neighbourhood fonts of black marble and memorial slabs are found distributed, in much the same way as the Purbeck products appear all over England. Flanders was long renowned as the centre of this sculpture-craft, its material being local kinds of black marble, specially that found near Lille which was called in later times in England "touch." The trades of these Flemish works were well established in the first part of the twelfth century, and in England we have witness to them in the fonts at Winchester, Lincoln and elsewhere. There are, too, in various parts of England—at Lewes, at Salisbury, at Ely, and at Bridlington—memorial slabs whose material and execution show them to have come from Belgium. Of the earliest make, to judge by the character of the inscription, was the slab called the memorial of "Gundrada," which lies now in Southover Church, Lewes. Its ornament is a good example of metal-derived technique which on pp. 212 seq. we found in fashion c. 1125: but in this case there is no figure-work. The slab at Bridlington, and some marble capitals at Lewes show similar vivacious outlines of animals as in the Lincoln font. The research of M. Cloquet¹, who has investigated the origins of the black-marble crafts, assigns them to Tournai where a craft of sculptors existed from early times.

Now of the three already mentioned Westminster slabs one which appears to be of this Flemish marble is shaped as a coffin-lid, with a sunk panel on which the figure has been engraved in flat relief now much worn. In these particulars it resembles the memorial stone at Salisbury (Fig. 646, opposite), certainly of this marble, in which case the effigy is well preserved. The memorial has been reasonably assigned to Bishop Roger (1102—1139), and by the character of its style must have been originally at Old Sarum, and

¹ *Études sur l'Art à Tournai*, A. de la Grange and Louis Cloquet.

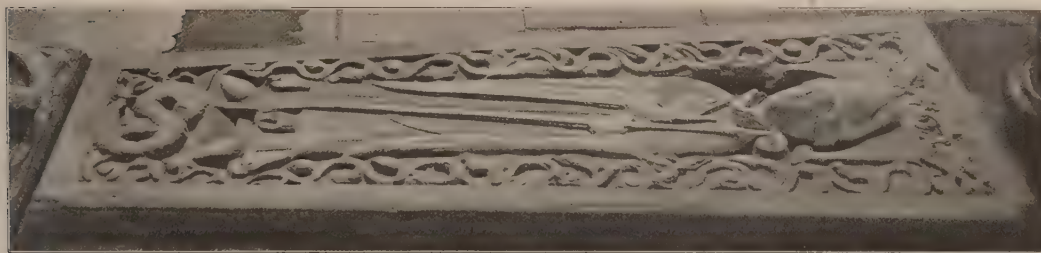


FIG. 646. Salisbury nave. Black-marble memorial slab. "Bishop Roger." c. 1140.

brought into the new cathedral, the head being an addition of freestone made at the time of this translation. Both the attitude of this figure and the twining of the foliage-carving belong to that early twelfth-century workmanship which (see pp. 150, 151) we have called *Cluniac*—giving that name to those attempts at Byzantine style which were the pride of the first monastic stone-sculpture. London would be the likely port into which these Flemish slabs would come, and here also were the craftsmen who would be stimulated to make a similar use of the native marbles obtained by sea. It does not, however, appear as if the Tournai sculptors themselves ever came into England, nor indeed do we see direct imitation of the Tournai technique. There are distinct differences between the black-marble figure-work and that of English make in Purbeck stone and marble. The foreign marbles have a handling of relief such as belongs to traditional slab-carvers—the forms being outlined by rounded-edged tracings upon a level ground with shallow recesses indicating detail, much as in the early twelfth-century carvings illustrated on pp. 190 seq. The figures that were wrought in Purbeck stone apparently about the middle of the twelfth century at Abbotsbury, Westminster, or the Salisbury "Bishop" (Fig. 647), though much less elegant and accomplished in detail, make some attempts to model the figure from the ground, as in the elementary stone statues found on early twelfth-century buildings (see Fig. 180, p. 200). So it was rather the idea of the marble slab which appears as the importation from Tournai—the technique of its carvings was already, c. 1150, in the habit of English sculpture.

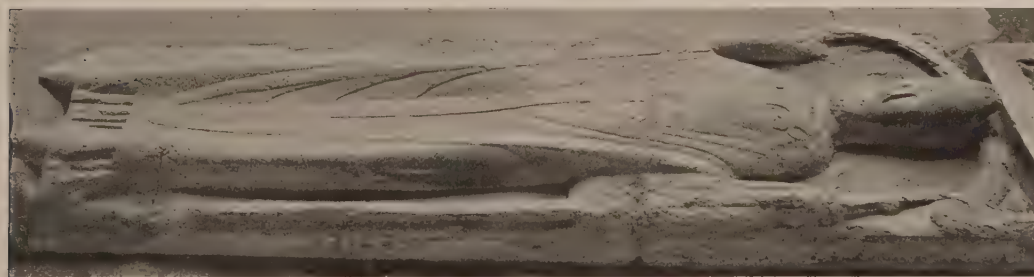


FIG. 647. Salisbury nave. Purbeck-marble memorial slab. "Bishop Jocelyn." c. 1180.

This rudimentary figure-work of the Purbeck quarries can be illustrated nearly to the end of the twelfth century in the Salisbury effigy (Fig. 647, p. 573, back) and also in the "Bishop Iscanus" (1161—1184) at Exeter (Fig. 648, below). Though flatly treated as by the Tournai sculptors, the modelling of drapery upon the limbs of the recumbent figures is distinct¹. In the Salisbury instance we may compare with the Malmesbury "Apostles" (see Fig. 164, p. 186). A head at Sherborne, to which is attached an inscription that appears to date it c. 1160, is the fragment of a similar figure. Such figure-modellings make the beginnings of a sculpture in the round, and on their basis the English sculptors soon developed successive accomplishments. In describing these we shall make four sections of Purbeck style in effigy-work, but it will be understood that there was no break—the marbler's execution grew more and more competent continuously.

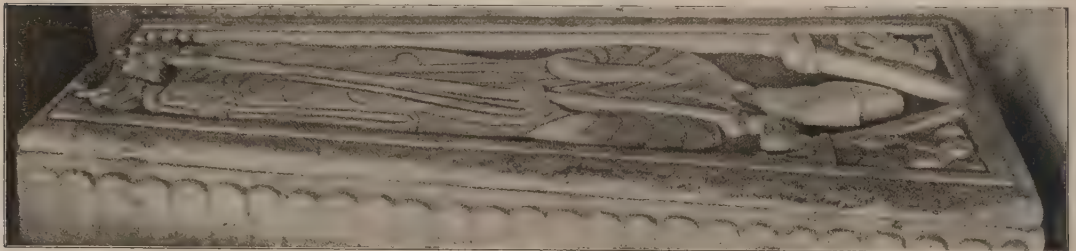


FIG. 648. Exeter Lady Chapel. Purbeck-marble memorial slab. "Bishop Iscanus." c. 1180.

SECTION II. THE FIRST STYLE OF PURBECK EFFIGY, c. 1200—1225

The first clients of the Purbeck sculptor would seem ecclesiastics, and at Peterborough the effigies of the abbots offer us a remarkable record of early attainment. There are in all five marble figures, lying now in the aisles of the quire, and of these four may be taken as provided at no very long intervals, c. 1195 to c. 1225, being memorials to the abbots who succeeded one another quickly in the first quarter of the thirteenth century². The fifth figure shows later workmanship; but of the first four "abbots" two seem of almost simultaneous execution, that in the north aisle (Fig. 649) being perhaps earlier, but scarcely to be separated from the other, which is the middle figure

¹ Both may date c. 1170, for the episcopal monument was often prepared in the lifetime of the dignitary, so the date of death cannot always date the carving. But, also, memorial effigies may be many years subsequent to the deaths, as in sets of figures at Wells and Hereford, where on the building of new quires the antecedent prelates have been commemorated by batches of effigies.

² Their order is as follows: Benedict d. 1193, Andrew d. 1201, Acharius d. 1214, Lindsey d. 1222, Alexander d. 1226. Albert Hartshorne, in the *Victoria History of Northamptonshire*, assigns these Peterborough effigies much more widely. This was Bloxam's view, but comparisons with the other examples of Purbeck ecclesiastic effigies support the opinion in the text.

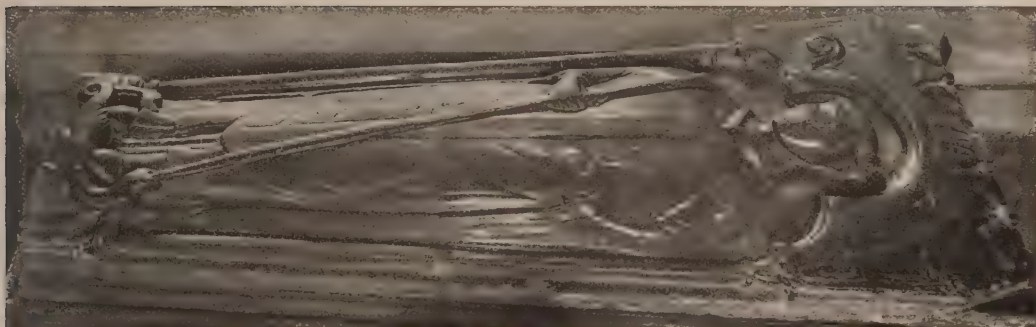


FIG. 649. Peterborough. Quire-aisle. Purbeck-marble "Abbot." c. 1200.

in the south aisle (Fig. 650). There is here a vigorous art that has got beyond the early slab-treatment that we saw at Salisbury and Exeter. The heads are bluffly and fully modelled; the ornaments on the vestments are strongly incised, and we find clean cut, boldly carved architectural canopies with Transitional detail; indeed, the whole sculpture has an Egyptian strength and assurance in its conventions. The third "abbot," that has nearly the same handling and dispositions, is placed now as the first figure at the entrance of the south aisle of the quire. But a later date must be given



FIG. 650. Peterborough. Quire-aisle. Purbeck-marble "Abbot." c. 1200.

on account of the modelled projection of the "angels" on either side of the head—pictorial inventions whose origin goes back to the *genii* of the ivory diptych; it will be observed that they put their hands to hold the ears of the bishop as if with some symbolical signification. It is possible to consider this figure as either the memorial of Abbot Acharius, who died 1214, or of Abbot Lindsey, who died in 1222. All three figures hold books in the left hand, while the right grasps the crozier, the staff of which is thrust into the dragon's mouth—again a convention of pictorial origin—all this detail being founded no doubt on drawings which would be like those of Wilars de Honecort.

The heads are bare, with round full faces either smooth or bearded, and the expressions are bluff and boldly featured. They are similar to the marble head-corbels of Rochester and Lincoln (see Figs. on pages 232, 233) and we may conclude that this strong first art of the Purbeck sculptor belongs to the first quarter of the thirteenth century, with its origin in a London atelier.

Corroboration for this date is obtained also by turning to further examples at Exeter and Salisbury. Midway in the line of the Peterborough development is the effigy (Fig. 651) placed on the north side of the sanctuary at Exeter, and well vouched for as that of "Bishop Marshall" (1194—1206): the strong modelling and bold detail that were conspicuous at Peterborough



FIG. 651. Exeter Quire. Purbeck-marble tomb of Bishop Marshall. c. 1210.

are seen here also. Next, at a few years' interval, we take the effigy at Salisbury which is assigned by long repute to Bishop Herbert Poore (1194—1217)¹ and has been set in a similar position to the Exeter "bishop," in regard to the cathedral altar. Its draperies have a more delicate rendering, while the face, bearded like that of "Bishop Marshall," is given a new character by the longer contour of the head.

These bishops are represented holding the right hand in benediction, while the left grasps the staff. Close in date to the "Bishop Poore" may come the fourth "abbot" at Peterborough, also with a long head, who is laid in the south aisle of the quire upon a raised tomb, the sides of which are ornamented with quatrefoils and pilasters. We may possibly consider this the memorial of Abbot Alexander, who died 1226, since the draperies have still the archaic handling, broad hollows separated by narrow beads, but the modelling is in fuller relief than in the "bishop" at Salisbury.

¹ Since Bishop Poore died before the removal from Old Sarum, his effigy would be brought to the new cathedral with those of the earlier bishops (Figs. 646, 647).

Returning to Bishop Marshall's tomb at Exeter, we see that it is lifted above the pavement as a raised coffin, with its sides carved in quatrefoils, which enclose figures and are separated by sprays of foliage, such ornament being a sculptured rendering of painted decoration in similar style to what is found on the Purbeck-marble font¹ at Christchurch, Hants. Though here at Exeter this sculptured tomb-chest may perhaps have been a later work than the ecclesiastic effigy itself, yet the four memorials we have mentioned—the tomb of Bishop Marshall, that of Bishop H. Poore at Salisbury, and those of the two abbots (the third and the fourth) at Peterborough—belong, bases and effigies alike, to a series which can illustrate the figure-art of the Purbeck marbler from c. 1205 to c. 1225. There are in all similar treatments of foliage, carved in relief but not undercut, and in all the same handling of the robes with formal successions of hollows and narrow beads². The Marshall effigy would seem the earliest, since the canopy at the head is flat, and the angels are cut in upon a flat ground as if still following painter's technique. At Peterborough both angels and canopies are seen carved in full projection with a sculptor's technique, and this fuller modelling of detail was transitional to a bolder sculpture all round, which makes a new division of Purbeck craft.

SECTION III. THE SECOND STYLE OF PURBECK EFFIGY, 1225—1245

The memorial figure of the second quarter of the thirteenth century is no longer half buried in the matrix, but emerges in relief upon the slab: also the representation of drapery detail is no longer by round-edged incisions, but an attempt is made to get quality by the use of angular groovings and gradated hollows. In the same way with all the details and accessories: the censing angels, which at first had been outlined in painter's fashion at the side of the heads, now begin (as in the Peterborough example that we have dated c. 1225) to be sculptured in relief as if perched on the canopy: the dragons placed at the feet of the figure are now fully modelled: while the body of the effigy, since it is now raised from the slab, has its head supported by a cushion. Leafage also appears, sculptured on the slab in the undercut forms of Early English style, while the canopy, departing from the conventions of Romanesque architecture, adopts the patterns of the niche-heads at Salisbury and Wells, which were contemporary work.

¹ Now placed in north aisle of quire.

² While the draperies are of very similar handling in both groups, the peculiarities of the Peterborough abbots, their dragons at feet, their hand action and their round heads, can be seen to separate them from the longer-headed effigies of Exeter and Salisbury, who are in the conventional

bishop's attitude. The appearance in "Bishop Marshall" of a crouching form of beast at the feet instead of the pictorial dragon may also point to distinctions of style between the Peterborough figures from London and those of West England from the Corfe quarries. However, our examples are too few to establish this conjecture.

These new features qualify as of one class some distinguished effigies of ecclesiastics, the examples being distributed to all parts of England. The third marble "bishop" at Exeter (that which is placed on the south side of the Lady Chapel and is said to be Bishop Simon de Apulia d. 1223) is an early example in close sequence to the Bishop H. Poore (d. 1217) of Salisbury. Though now much worn the draperies of this figure can be seen to be delicately rendered; the head too is in full relief, while the crocket of foliage at the feet is undercut.

A "bishop" in the quire of the Temple Church is one of our best-preserved figures and is remarkable for his sturdy dignity. His bluff head-features under the trefoiled canopy establish so close an alliance with the Peterborough "abbots" that there is likelihood that all came from the same London source. But there is a more mature art in the handling of the "bishop's" vestments, and in his attitude—vigorous and lifelike, with the right hand aloft in benediction, while the left grasps the crozier, round which a drapery is wreathed¹. Seemingly close in style is the fifth "abbot" at Peterborough, which lies third in the south aisle—much decayed but showing that overlapped representation of the vestment-edges which will be presently remarked in the figure of "King John" and the "abbot" at Sherborne. A fine example of this style is at St David's, South Wales—where the memorial of Bishop Anselm (1221—1247) has the rare feature of an inscription round the canopy, as if dictated in the bishop's lifetime² (Fig. 652). Though here again the surfaces are much worn, this figure can be seen to advance the marbler's conception of the ecclesiastical figure to one of great stateliness, a conception achieved still more expressively in the later "bishop" by the side. This, now very mutilated, has matched the Archbishop Gray of York (see Fig. 661, p. 584) and may be assigned to Bishop Thomas who died 1256: it would be outside our second class of Purbeck style.

Rather different in handling, and to be classed as transitional to a new type (on the ground of the richness of its leafy background), is the effigy (Fig. 653) in the Worcester Lady Chapel, which has been assigned by Bloxam to Walter de Cantilupe who was Bishop from 1237 and died in 1260. The date of his death seems however too late for the form of the effigy—the vestments of which have thin linen folds, while the hanging of the chasuble, as well as the detail of the foliage, bespeak it a work of 1240.

We may mention here two Lady-effigies carved in Purbeck marble, since the examples remaining of an early date are few. One of very simple modelling and now much defaced lies in the north aisle of Warblington

¹ Figured in Stothard's *Monuments*. The torso of an exactly similar marble figure dug up in London is to be seen in the Guildhall Museum,

till recently labelled "Roman"!

² "Petra, precor, dic sic.

Anselmus Episcopus est hic."

Church, near Portsmouth; and a richer, more perfect example is seen (Fig. 654) in the Worcester Lady Chapel. Both have been conceived on quite stiff elementary lines, with a shallow modelling of the draperies. At Worcester the feet of the lady have been set upon a corbel, and the effigy-slab lies on a



FIG. 652. St David's. Quire-aisle. Purbeck-marble memorial of Bishop Anselm. c. 1240.



FIG. 653. Worcester. Lady Chapel. Purbeck-marble memorial of "Bishop." c. 1240.

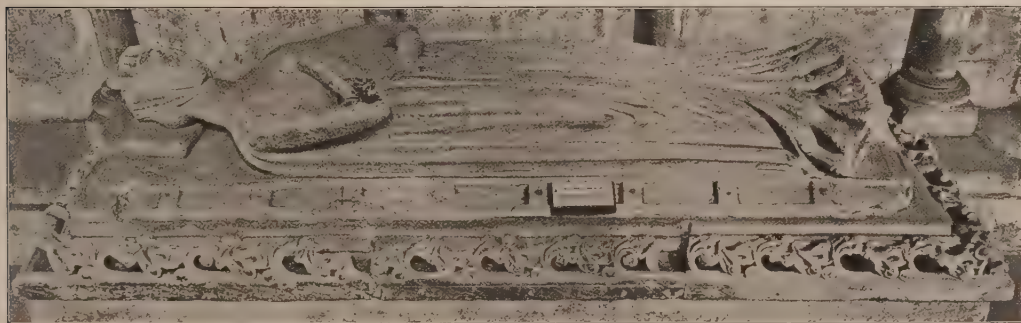


FIG. 654. Worcester. Lady Chapel. Purbeck-marble memorial of "Lady." c. 1240.

coped block carved with foliage. Since analogous uses of foliage appear in the fourth "abbot" at Peterborough, and also in the Worcester "bishop" (Fig. 653, above), a date of c. 1240, when a fashion of leafy enrichment in the Purbeck patterns had developed, should be assigned to them all.

There are military effigies, too, which can be recognised, by the similar handlings shown in the drapery, as carved along with the ecclesiastical figures of these first classes of Purbeck style. The first in date would seem appropriated to the military orders of Christian knighthood (see Figs. 663, 664, 665, pp. 588, 589) and so in a sense may be counted as ecclesiastic. The most interesting are three straight-legged marble "knights" laid in the centre of the circular nave at the Temple Church. They may be dated in order as belonging to c. 1220, c. 1230 and c. 1240, and (with a much-decayed example at Thruxton, Hants) represent the military effigy in its earliest stage. It will be convenient, however, to describe them when the whole course of "Knight"-sculpture can be traced, as will be better done after we have taken the "Bishop"-sculpture a little further.

Up to c. 1240 the effigy was given statant portraiture, with the hands lying close to the bodies and the feet trampling on the traditional dragon, or in the Worcester examples upon a corbel of foliage. Yet it will be seen



FIG. 655. Worcester. Presbytery. Purbeck-marble memorial of King John. c. 1240.

that before the middle of the century the marble-sculptor could put much delicacy and finish into the accessory detail of his slabs, and give the heads of his figures a living pose with distinct expressions in the features. In the van of this advance in style was the one royal effigy that has come down to us carved in Purbeck marble, "King John" (Fig. 655) at Worcester—made however, we think, some time after his death, which was in 1216. As now seen the effect of the marble king is vulgarised by the gilding which the whole figure received a few years ago. When drawn by Stothard in 1813 some remains of the original painting were still showing, and with such embellishment the conception of the Purbeck sculptor was no doubt enhanced. We have a fully rounded, stately disposition of a kingly figure holding sword and sceptre, with bishops in place of angels swinging censers by the head. But the lion at the foot is not the corbel-beast that had appeared in the

pictorial representation of the first effigies: it is modelled to stand on the slab so as to form a footstool, which means that the figure is now regarded as recumbent. This sculptor's innovation was more clearly expressed at Sherborne in the "abbot" (Fig. 656) lying in the south aisle of the quire of the Abbey Church. This is a fine ecclesiastic effigy, in which, though there is much in common with the Temple "bishop," there are at the same time new treatments. The folded hands as well as the lion footstool express recumbency, and now, as if in rendering of a body laid flat, a new kind of fold appears upon the edges of the draperies. These were just indicated in the King John figure, but here their flat overlapping takes clear expression. The significance of such new methods coming into effigy-work will be discussed a little further on. But it is to be observed how the art of these figures has grown up in the Purbeck marbler's craft itself. The sturdy attitudes, the deeply-modelled folds and strongly-cut heads, are the features of all these Purbeck effigies alike, distinguishing their sculpture from that of the freestone statues, just, indeed, as the architectural carving of the Purbeck quarries was distinguished from that executed by the white-stone mason.

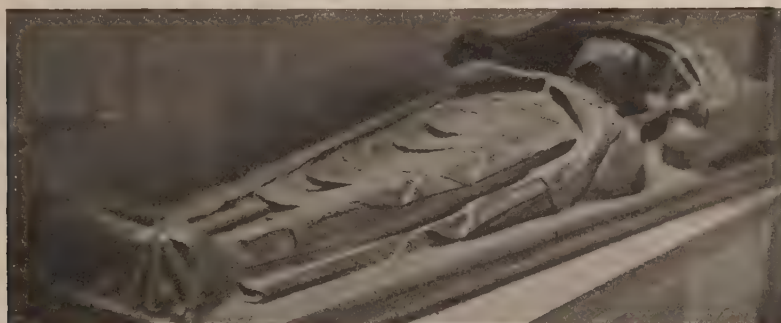


FIG. 656. Sherborne. Quire-aisle. Purbeck-marble memorial of Abbot. c. 1245.

SECTION IV. THE THIRD STYLE OF THE PURBECK EFFIGY, 1245—1270

We may assign to the middle of the century the appearance of florid developments in the handling of the Purbeck marbler. One elaboration was his lavish use of crockets and other leafy accessories upon the slab. It may be premised that at this time the Purbeck mason was at the zenith of his architectural activity. His shafts and ornamented capitals were, from c. 1220 to c. 1280, to be found in nearly all the great Early English buildings—at Worcester, at Ely, at York, as well as at Salisbury and Westminster. In the additions made to Ely quire the corbels of the vault-shafts were remarkable for their bold rich sculpture of foliage, which in arrangement and character

was of two kinds; an earlier, built c. 1240; a later, more undercut and elaborate, on the junction of the new work with the old presbytery c. 1250. By them may be judged the progress of the Purbeck sculptor's technique in effigies, since by a comparison with this foliage a general date of c. 1240 can be given to the effigies of Section III. and a general date of some ten years later to those in which the elaborate foliage is fully conspicuous.

This lavish use of architectural feature all over the memorial slab marks, therefore, the third phase of ecclesiastic effigy. The niche in which the figure stands is not merely indicated: its shafts are undercut so that the monumental figure becomes, as it were, part of a bold architectural sculpture. The niche-shafts detached from the slab are set up on crockets, while the head of the canopy and the foot-rest are given the full projection of the block, so that the effigy lies on its back in a sort of cradle. The work was everywhere ornamented with so many projections and fragile attachments that its decorations have frequently been much broken: also further efface-



FIG. 657. Carlisle. Quire-aisle. Purbeck-marble memorial of Bishop. c. 1260.

ments of the original work have come by the tidying up at the hands of nineteenth-century restorers. We accordingly see most of these mid-century figures considerably mutilated—for example, the fine “bishop” at Carlisle (Fig. 657) and the “prior” in the Lady Chapel of Winchester. The “monks” at Sopeley (Hants) have been so maltreated that the detached shafts supported on crockets that enclosed the figures are quite broken away. At Ely are two bishop-figures, which are the best-preserved examples of the style; that of “Bishop Northwold” (1229—1254) being the most elaborate marble slab that we now possess (Fig. 658). Its surfaces are considerably worn, but the detail of the sculpture is like Chinese or Indian work in its profusion of ornament. Niches with figures of the saints (Fig. 659) are introduced into the canopy shafts, and there are figure-reliefs both at the head and foot of the slab. Thus it is sculptured on all sides, and the marble is as intricately ornamented as if it were a piece of goldsmith's chasing. The slab of Bishop

Kilkenny at Ely (1255—1256) is of less elaborate workmanship (Fig. 660), but is still richly treated with the undercut niche-work that has lost somewhat by being smoothed over in so-called restoration. A very near counterpart

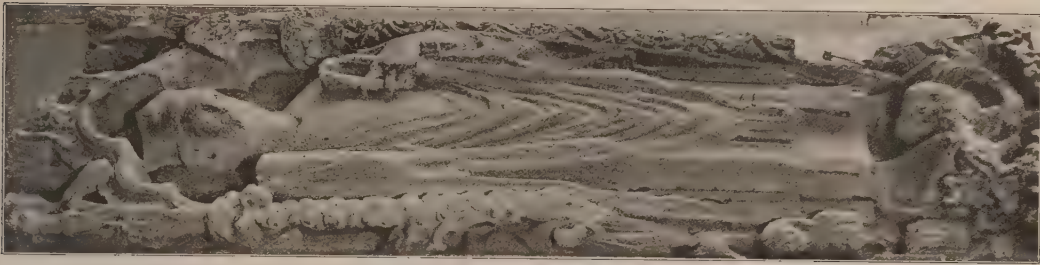


FIG. 658. Ely. Presbytery. Purbeck-marble memorial of Bishop Northwold. c. 1255.

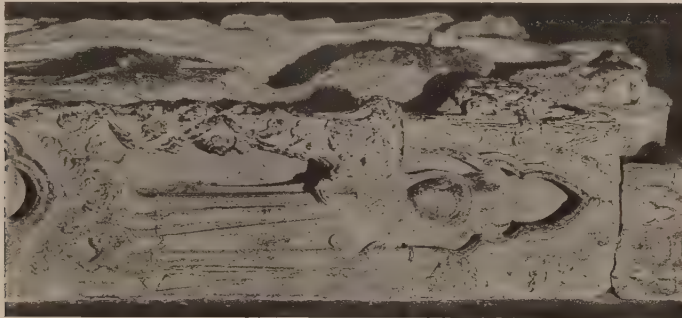


FIG. 659. Detail of side of slab. c. 1258.



FIG. 660. Ely. Presbytery. Purbeck-marble memorial of Bishop Kilkenny. c. 1256.

in better preservation can be seen at Lichfield in the “bishop” in the south aisle of the quire¹, probably “Bishop Roger de Weseham” (1245—1256).

¹ Of the two marble figures this is the one to the eastward: the westward of the two (illustrated in Fig. 677, p. 604) is not of Purbeck marble but of a grey limestone possibly from Derbyshire.



FIG. 661. York. Transept. Archbishop de Gray. c. 1255.

The most admirable example of the style is shown above (Fig. 661), in the monumental figure of Archbishop de Gray (1216—1255) at York, which we may take as the masterpiece of the Purbeck sculptor in effigies. There are plenty of accessories, yet the stately presence of the prelate dominates the composition, and the ethical purpose of a memorial is not lost in the elaborate setting. The "bishop" at Carlisle that was illustrated on p. 582 seems almost a counterpart—much broken and defaced but still recognisable as such—and

since these "bishops" of Ely, Lichfield, York and Carlisle were supplied to places north of London, it is a reasonable hypothesis that all were the works of the London marble-masters rather than those of Corfe. This must be certainly allowed for the finely carved slab which commemorates Bishop Lawrence (1251—1274) at Rochester (Fig. 662), which seems about the latest of its class. In the hand that has delicately cut the intricate ornaments of its canopy was an expert in touch with the most advanced London style, for its architectural details are those that are painted on the retable at Westminster Abbey.

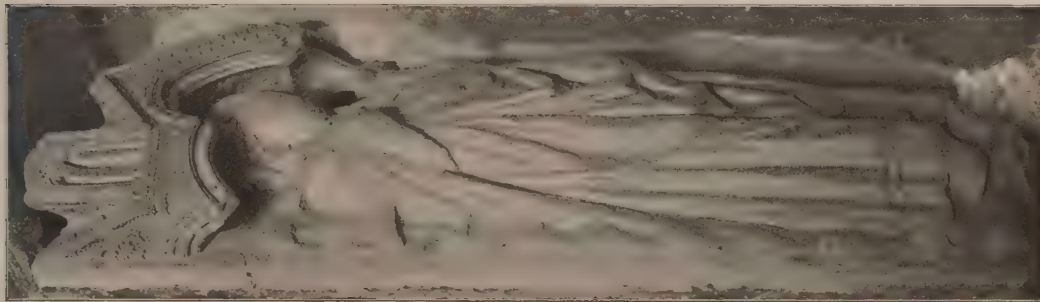


FIG. 662. Rochester. Quire. Purbeck-marble memorial of Bishop Lawrence. c. 1275.

Such a sculpture as the "de Gray" figure would be worthy of the best sculpture of the London statue-maker: it is in effect a statue, a standing figure represented in its niche. And at this point we may glance at one of the interesting problems that this art of the monumental effigy-carver had to solve. His original motive had been frankly, and to the best of his ability, to present a likeness—in fact a sacred image—of the sainted dead. The memorialist very early started on his career with a pictorial representation of the deceased on the coffin-slab—such was the outline, for example, of St Cuthbert cut into the wooden coffin at Durham which is supposed to date c. 1000. The conventual painter supplied a drawing, and the craftsman followed it. Little by little this first bare incised outline grew into relief as the skill of the stone-carver conceived the possibilities of representation. But as the capacity of his chisel went on to complete imitation, difficulties arose as to the flat pictorial treatment, for the position of the coffin-lid suggested the recumbent posture. Then, when once acknowledged, the motive of a dead man lying on his hearse more and more asserted itself.

Now the Tournai effigies, which we have thought were the originals of Purbeck slab-making, were always designed on the picture model. Indeed one may say broadly of all continental grave-slabs that they retained this traditional motive. The standing figure is indicated on them exactly as in an upright painting, as we see in the whole series of Archbishop slabs at Mainz

for example. So, too, in the first effigy-sculpture of knights and ladies in Germany, very slight modifications of the standing ideal appear at Weckselburg, Brunswick and Magdeburg. But in the French monumental figures the exhibition of the recumbent posture came early on the scene. For example, in the English Kings and Queens at Fontevrault the hearse itself is represented with its drapery, and shaped, not as a coffin-lid but as the cover of the classical bier or sarcophagus.

In England the Purbeck marbler, following the Tournai model, made a distinct coffin-lid, on which the figure is shown pictorially as standing, but with this anomalous concession to the recumbent attitude, that a cushion is put to support the head. Until some years into the thirteenth century other realisms of the prostrate figure were ignored: the feet were still made to trample on dragon or lion in the old pictorial way; the angels swinging censers were as flat as if painted upon the slab; the hands of the figures held the croziers, and the right hand was lifted in benediction as if in standing posture; the draperies were hung, not laid on the limbs (the chasubles weighted by gravity from the neck); and all this in spite of the cushion under the head. It was no doubt to disguise the inconsistencies of this mixed conception of the monumental figure, as in a sense both standing and lying down, that the sculptors (whose skill in the mid-century had got too far in the direction of naturalistic realism not to notice such discrepancies) introduced the natural foliage, crockets, and leaf-stems which become usual c. 1250. Such accessories artificialise the conception, and it was with this view that the anomaly of the recumbent niche was given prominence—with detached shafts, and with an elaborate projection of the canopy round the head and of corbels at the feet—all for the better materialisation of the conventional statuesque treatment. We may doubt indeed if this is not the most satisfactory compromise, and a more dignified conception of a memorial figure than is to be got out of consistent realism in the treatment of the laid-out body.

However, the conventional introduction of the pillow under the head had been made, and the logical outcome was a number of other realizations of the prone position. The Purbeck "abbot" at Sherborne and the ecclesiastics at Salisbury are remarkable beside those of Lichfield and York in their adoption of concessions to the motive of recumbency. The lion at the feet is not rendered with the pictorial treatment, as if it were a corbel on which the figure stood, but the animal is a live beast, sculptured as if standing or lying on the slab (see Fig. 656, p. 581) against which the feet of the sleeper press. The draperies too in the Salisbury "bishops" begin to be modelled upon the limbs, and their folds overlap upon the slab, instead of hanging as for a standing figure; the chasuble, particularly, has its edges folded to rest on the body, not to stand away from it; the hands, too, are managed not to

contradict the recumbent idea: at Sherborne indeed we have them distinctly folded on the breast in the way directly suggestive of a laid-out figure.

These new realizations of natural recumbency came in gradually and were not consistently applied. In the drapery, indeed, the real intention of the change is obscured by the complication that it seems coincident with a new representation of costume generally. As well as the new flat overlapping of folds, there begins in the southern examples of sculpture a smooth rounding of the drapery furrows (in place of angular gougings), to be noted not only in the recumbent figures of the effigy-makers, but as much in the standing statue or image. The delicately folded hang of the chasuble or cloak may therefore be taken as somewhat of a trick of style, an attempt at a more natural effect of draperies, and not introduced merely for the better suggestion of a figure laid on a hearse. However, at Sherborne the folded hands upon the breast are proof along with the flat disposition of the drapery upon the limbs that the vision of the sculptor no longer took his subject as standing, despite the architectural convention of the canopy-head. At Salisbury this new conception conditions the effigy of Bishop Bridport (1259—1262) and it is fully carried out in that of his successor, Walter de la Wyle (Fig. 672, p. 597). It is true that in both these bishops the hand is still raised in benediction, and the staff is grasped as if the "bishop" were standing; the niche also is fully represented, though not with the bold detachment of shafts which marked the northern examples. Still, there have been associated with the flattened drapery and the laid-out folds of the chasuble distinct suggestions that the body has been laid on a flat table. The angels waving censers at the heads, though they are still the diminutive traditional figures suggestive of *Genii*, are modelled as reclining, and so in agreement with the idea of the cushion under the head. The lion at the feet too is, as we have said, a crouching footstool and no longer a pictorial corbel.

In view of these suggestions being seen first in the immediate neighbourhoods of the Purbeck workshops, we may venture to see here a separation of the local from the London school of marblers. However, if we are to accept a difference of style, we must look for evidence of it also in the "Knights" of the mid-century, and we accordingly at this point return to the treatments of military figures in Purbeck marble.

SECTION V. THE PURBECK-MARBLE "KNIGHTS," 1225—1270

The "knights" carved in Purbeck marble are to be found all over the South and East of England, but they are most numerous in the counties either close to London or within easy reach by sea. The best series left to us is that in the Temple Church, where out of nine effigies lying in the nave, six early figures are of marble¹, and these can be placed with some probability in succession to illustrate the progress made in the sculptor's conception of the military memorial figure. With them may be associated other early marble figures in different parts of England, at Thruxton in Hampshire, at Sandwich in Kent, at Wareham in Dorset, at Blyth in Northamptonshire, at Lewes in Sussex, and at Stowe-nine-churches in Northamptonshire.

The flat scarcely-modelled figure at Thruxton, near Andover, is a straight-legged figure apparently holding a lance, to be dated perhaps with the early abbots of Peterborough, but the decay of the surface has obliterated all



FIG. 663. London. Temple Church. Purbeck-marble straight-legged "Knight." c. 1230.

detail. At the Temple Church, the figure that seems of earliest handling is that at the north-west angle of the northern group. It has been considerably tampered with², but Stothard's drawing of 1812 (though too small for anything but outline) indicates that the posture has not been altered. It is a straight-legged standing presentment, and as now restored shows no support to the feet. Again, there is no cushion under the head, and the hand is laid on the breast in an elementary attitude. On these grounds we may reckon the figure with that at Thruxton as at the beginnings of the Purbeck sculpture of military figures.

The ability of sculpture has made progress in the marble "warrior" at the Temple that lies in the south-west angle of the southern group (Fig. 663). Still, it is at all points a pictorial representation of a standing figure, with flat indications of all the detail and a conventional ornament with foliage as

¹ These are all of the marble from Corfe—we have examined many figures reported, like some of the Temple figures, to be of Sussex marble, but have in all cases found them of the Purbeck variety, the fossil shell being small.

² The Temple "knights" have been thoroughly

restored. Richardson, who in 1840 carried out their repair, has left fortunately a full account of his doings, and with this before us, and with drawings by Stothard and Keridge (the latter in Brit. Mus.) made some years before the restorations, the original features can be recovered.

a background to the head upon the slab. By comparison with the Peterborough abbots (see p. 575) its sculpture may be taken as 1225—1230.

The next figure, that in the south-east angle of the north group, though in its attitude and draperies exhibiting the standing motive, has not only the cushion under the head, but the hands folded in prayer upon the breast in suggestion of recumbency. This figure was found by Richardson in the best preservation, and was but little repaired by him. The figure next to it, at the north-east angle, has been also but little altered. Though in



FIG. 664. London. Temple Church. Purbeck-marble cross-legged "Knight." c. 1245.

workmanship almost similar, it has a different attitude; the knight is turned on his side, with legs crossed high up as if to pose him as lying down, and his surcoat spread out upon the slab (Fig. 664). The suggestion of recumbency is still more distinct in the south-west "knight" of this group (Fig. 665); the tail of the long surcoat has been realistically extended, and a thick cushion set to lift up the head.



FIG. 665. London. Temple Church. Purbeck-marble reclining "Knight." c. 1245.

Finally we have still greater finish and a more accurate presentation of the sleeping posture in the sixth marble "knight," that in the north-east angle of the south group (Fig. 666, over page). The figures therefore can be arranged in a series which takes their poses from the standing to the

recumbent, an advance corresponding with that of finish in the figures and so to be accepted as an advance in style.

But though the drapery-sculpture in the surcoats of the "knights," progresses in intricacy and dexterity, its style retains the original Purbeck quality: it has in general that angular method of narrow planes which has been already commented on (see page 577) as peculiarly distinctive of the Westminster sculptor before 1260. In fact, the Temple effigies make the best record of the steps by which the early incised renderings grew into the peculiar Westminster notches which we have discussed in Book II, pp. 321, 322.

As to assigning the individual figures to historical personages and exact dates, we can only be suggestive. Certain interments in the nave of the Temple Church have been recorded by various writers. There is, for example, the story that Geoffrey de Magneville, Earl of Essex, had his body preserved

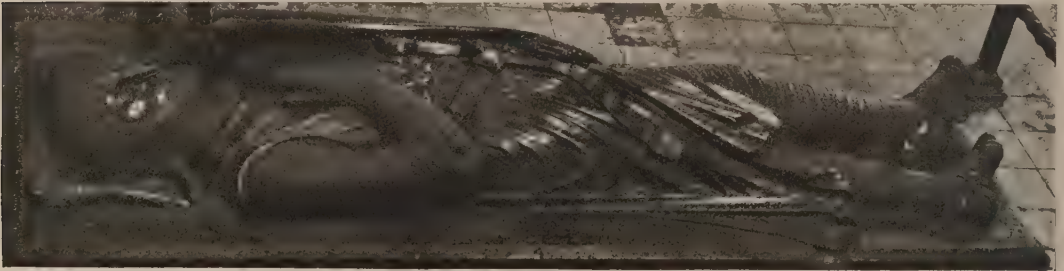


FIG. 666. London. Temple Church. Purbeck-marble reclining "Knight." c. 1260.

by the Knights Templar, and finally interred "in porticu" at the Temple Church after its occupation c. 1185. Matthew Paris tells us too that William Marshall (d. 1219) and his two sons, who died respectively 1231 and 1241 (all Earls of Pembroke), were interred in the church. A son of Henry III. who died as a child is also said to have been buried in the same place. There are, moreover, later statements made by seventeenth-century writers as to De Vere, Earl of Oxford; De Bohun, Earl of Hereford; and Lord de Ross—nobles who died in the second quarter of the thirteenth century—that their memorial figures were in the Temple Church.

The fanciful distribution of these names among the eight effigies that are now placed together in the nave does not seem advisable. Still, the draperies, attitudes and accessories of the "knights," and the comparisons we may make with similar handlings in the marble "bishops," whose memorials we can date, give grounds for attaching the "knights" to successive periods of Purbeck style: and so we may date and assign them conjecturally.

For example, the "knight" in the north-west angle is a figure modelled in only half-projection from the slab; so we may take it as wrought somewhere near the beginning of the thirteenth century, when, in the case of Bishop Marshall at Exeter, who died 1206, the "bishop" figure was similarly cut in

only half-projection. Its date c. 1200 would thus allow it as a possible commemoration of the Earl of Essex. Then as to the three figures next in our order, we read that before modern rearrangements the three lay side by side. It is therefore a reasonable conjecture that we have in them the effigies of the three Marshalls carved in the years 1220—1240. There is an example of a straight-legged "knight" at Sandwich to give us a clue. This fine effigy (Fig. 667) is in its armour and style of handling very close to the Temple figures—note, for example, the mail hood as compared with that of the second Temple knight in Fig. 663, p. 588. But the effigy at Sandwich is distinguished among the Purbeck-marble examples by showing his shield laid flat on his breast¹ (a following of continental models) and also by being carved under a canopy with angel attendants at the head, in the fashion of the 1240 "bishops." Its execution in fact is on all fours with that of the "bishop"



FIG. 667. Sandwich. Chapel of St Bartholomew's Hospital. Purbeck-marble "Knight." c. 1240.

at the Temple Church, belonging to the second marble style. The conclusion would be that this "knight" and his fellows, who are straight-legged, were being wrought by the side of the bishop-effigies that the marblers were carving, say, from c. 1225 to 1240. It would follow that we may suggestively date the change of attitude in the knight-figures from straight to cross-legged as coming somewhat before the middle of the century. Accordingly the invention of the cross-legged attitudes in "knights" would correspond with the definite adoption of recumbency seen in the third carving of bishop-effigies.

The number of the cross-legged marble "knights" distributed to all parts of England is a large one. They fall broadly into two groups—one, that of the figures which in a general way follow the types of the Temple Church, the other those of a different pattern, that has to be separately

¹ At Blyth, near Worksop, Notts, there are fragments of a Purbeck-marble "knight" with his shield on his breast as in the Sandwich figure. The head has a closed helmet as in the Wells statues, and the legs have been crossed. The mail is rendered with intersecting rings differently

from other Purbeck figures, and this peculiarity and the elaborate sculpture of heraldry on the shield point to a date after 1250. The peculiarities make this figure difficult to classify, but it may be a Lincoln or even a York production.

explained. Of the former class there is a fine example in the "knight" at Walkerne, Hertfordshire (Fig. 668), helmeted like the Temple "knight" (see Fig. 665, p. 589) but with the vizard hiding his face, and in attitude and workmanship close to the "knights" we have called the "Marshalls." Such were the earliest specimens of the cross-legged convention, at a time when the steel protection of the head was habitually worn outside the mail hood (as we see it in the warriors on the Wells front carved before 1241), and when as yet the effigy-maker had not put the standing lion at the feet of his subject.

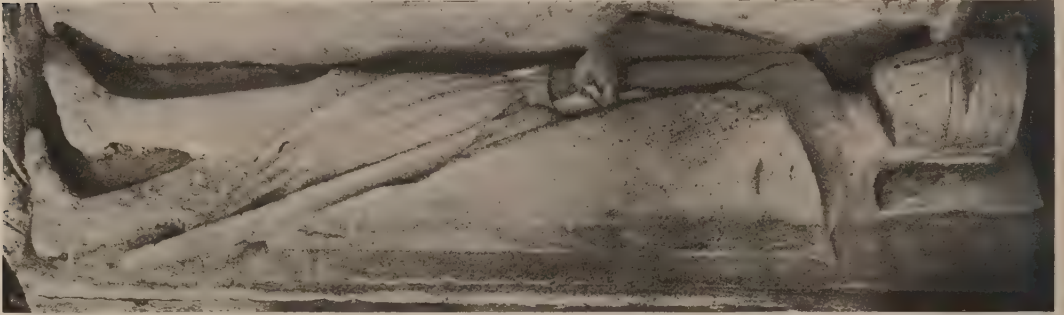


FIG. 668. Walkerne (Herts) Purbeck-marble cross-legged "Knight." c. 1245.

In succession comes another group, that of the effigies who instead of wearing iron helmets have the head covered with a mail hood, under which a steel lining or cap seems indicated, a leather band making the attachment. This undercap can be seen at first square-angled at the top (this form coinciding with the use of the early elongated shield) and afterwards becoming spherical (this form as a rule appearing with the use of smaller heater-shaped shields). A fine figure, transitional in these respects, occurs at Sullington, near Worthing. The small shields and the round caps belong to the latest of the marble "knights" at the Temple (see back, Fig. 666, p. 590) and to the similar figure at Stowe-nine-churches, Northamptonshire (Fig. 669), a third almost identical being represented by a torso in Southover Church, Lewes. In the design of this languid posing we must see London style, and the date of such figures may be placed as c. 1260 or 1270.

Turning to another group of marble-effigies, a "knight" with the square-topped mail cap is carved trampling on a dragon at Wareham, Dorset, and another very similar remains at Down Ampney (Glos), close to the borders of Wiltshire. These figures are much of a pattern with the London "knight," in their long shields, flowing surcoats and the hands laid to the sword, but they have the peculiarity of the lines of mail being from shoulder to wrist¹, not ringed round the arm. Such a difference of handling must mean the

¹ This method was used for the mail of the Wells warriors and the Salisbury effigies, see p. 306.

habit of another workshop, which was probably that of the Purbeck quarry itself. Still, the graceful pose identifies them as of the same artistic conception as the Temple figures. The *composed London* type as we have called it in our tables (see p. 553) shows a peculiar quality in the whole group. The knights are represented resting, whether lying on the back as in the earlier set, or reclining cross-legged as in the later. The heads are laid languidly on a single cushion and in the knight at Stowe, Northamptonshire (and originally also perhaps in the Temple knight that resembles it), the eyes are represented closed. Particularly the various postures of the hands are all those of rest—even when, as in the case of the Walkerne or Down Ampney “knights,” their fingers rest on the sword-hilt.

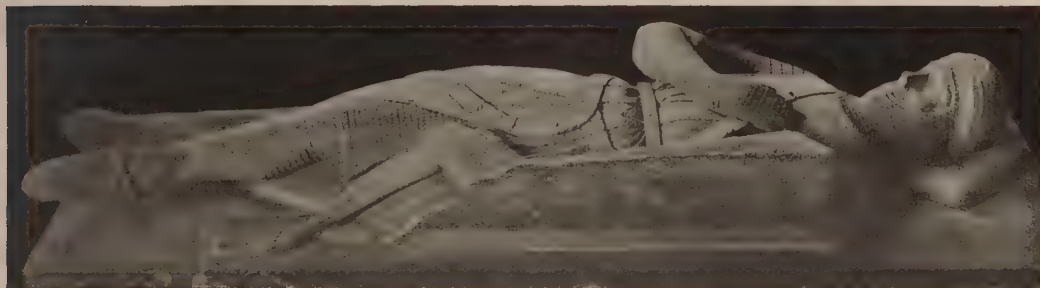


FIG. 669. Stowe-nine-churches (Northants). Purbeck-marble reclining “Knight.” c. 1260.

The conception therefore was a realization of recumbency such as we saw developing in the sculpture of the bishop-effigies, only the “knight,” carrying it further, has justified the cushion under his head. At Fontevrault early in the thirteenth century, as already pointed out, and then at Paris the French sculptors had in similar fashion readjusted the conception of the memorial figure, rejecting the statant pose of the traditional slab-treatment. It is possible therefore to consider the Purbeck-marble “knight” at Sandwich, with his hands folded in prayer and his small shield laid flat on the breast, as an absorption of the Paris model.

But, as elsewhere with the English artist, if foreign suggestions came into his ideas they were taken up with a difference. The cross-legged convention that comes with such immediate significance into the English sculpture was, as far as we know, entirely an English one¹. It has long

¹ It is said to occur in an effigy c. 1275 in the Church of the Templars at Villavieja in Spain, see Michel's *Histoire de l'Art*, Vol. II., pt. I, p. 292, where the suggestion is made that the posture is a reminiscence of the early twelfth-century conven-

tion of Toulousian sculpture. The English use in the Templar effigies in London would be the likelier source for the pose in one of the order in Spain, though Toulousian influence may be seen as an original motive in the English habit.

been the popular theory that the cross-legged memorial was provided by English sculptors exclusively for crusaders. But if we look at the examples the idea becomes untenable. If the above dating of the Temple knights stands, this crossing of the "knight's" legs had become the habit of the London marbler only just before 1250, when the important crusading era was nearly over. When after this we see that for nearly a hundred years all knights in England were commemorated by cross-legged effigies, it is impossible to suppose the posture a crusading distinction of any kind.

On the other hand this cross-legged attitude has its suggestion of alertness, just like that of the hand upon the sword that is found in the Walkerne figure, the whole making a new departure in effigy-sculpture, with a character very distinct from the continental models¹. The second group of Purbeck-marble "knights" develop a liveliness quite incompatible with the suggestion of prayerful sleep. They are presented to us rather as Christian warriors waiting the call to arms against the infidel. In this sense the conception may derive from the Crusades, and might well be first applied to the Knights of the Cross, especially to the Knights Templar, to give them, we may say, the posture of their devotion, in the same way as the attitude of benediction in the "Bishop" effigy gave the posture of episcopal devotion. The examples in which we early get this knightly expression are marble works supplied we think from the workshops of London: they occur in places easy of access for carriage from London, as Mautby on the Norfolk coast, and at Atherington near the sea in Devon. But while the accoutrements of the "knights" in these cases show them as dating with the Temple examples the fresh note is evident. They lie, as we have said, not lax and at rest, but constrained and alert—with hand grasping the handle of the sword with a peculiar twist as if the muscles were set to wrench the sword from the sheath.

This fresh expression is conspicuous in a military figure at Castle Ashby, Northamptonshire, which has with probability been identified as the memorial of a knight who died c. 1268 (see A. Hartshorne's drawing). Now at Salisbury (Fig. 670) there is a figure of close resemblance to it, except that the head is propped on a single cushion. It is assigned—but only by quite modern ascription—to the second Longespée, Earl of Salisbury, who was in Egypt with St Louis and was killed at Damietta in 1250. It seems that his mother, the Lady Ela, may have put memorials to her husband, dying in 1226, and afterwards to her son in the cathedral church which in 1250 was

¹ The recumbent figures of the French sculptors have most of them been destroyed. In the "knights" the flat postures, with the hands at prayer and the shield at waist, distinguish them from English ex-

amples. They are sometimes great slab-carvings ten feet long. At St Denis we have recumbent knights carved with the beauty and style we might expect from the sculptors of Paris.

approaching completion and had already received the bones and monuments of the early bishops. The first "Longespée" was carved in Douling stone (see Fig. 680, p. 607), a straight-legged effigy that has been mentioned as allied to the Wells sculpture of c. 1230. The Purbeck-marble "Longespée" before us (Fig. 670) is of different style, although as in the earlier figure the handling of the mail is from shoulder to wrist. But the cover-plates on the

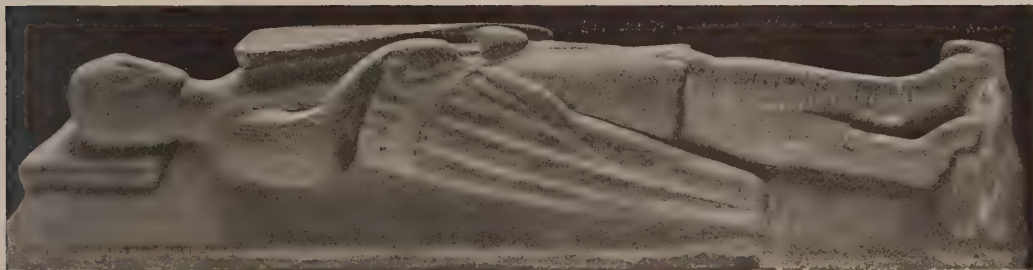


FIG. 670. Salisbury. Nave. Purbeck-marble sword-drawing "Knight." c. 1260.

elbows and knees show it a later make by some years (see Table, p. 560). We may suppose it perhaps a production of c. 1260, and one of the earliest of its type.

A second marble "knight" at Wareham (that on the north side of the chancel) is accoutred like the Salisbury figure, but differs in the mail being ringed round the arm. And of this type is another characteristic figure at Winchelsea (Fig. 671). As was the case with the Castle Ashby figure,



FIG. 671. Winchelsea. Purbeck-marble sword-drawing "Knight." c. 1280.

the Wareham and Winchelsea knights have their heads propped on the double pillow, which may be taken as enforcing the recumbent attitude and giving the figure a natural head-posture. Its method of pillow-laying—a square diagonally set upon an oblong—which from this date was the constant convention in effigies carved out of all materials—arose first, we think, in the conceptions of the Purbeck effigy-craft. As another recumbent suggestion these figures have a distinct footstool: the beasts at the feet, which had in the Sandwich and earlier Wareham knights been small and rudimentary, are now as fully carved as in the Sherborne abbot.

Another feature in the makes of these slabs distinguishes them—they are weathered or “coped” up to the figure as is the Sherborne “abbot”—whereas in the Temple effigies the slab is worked to a flat table all round the body. Sherborne and Wareham were close to Purbeck by land carriage; while water conveyance was easy to Salisbury and Winchester: all would have better communication with the Purbeck quarries than with London. Also we know by record (see p. 570) that at this time (c. 1260) marble effigies were ordered locally. On these grounds this set of figures, including that at Castle Ashby, may be taken as of the local Purbeck make, and as meeting the demand for a more vigorous suggestion of martial portraiture than the composed London style.

A final point is that in this local model may be detected a block-like modelling in comparison with the Temple “knights,” and also in comparison with some later sword-drawing knights, as that at Rushton, Northamptonshire, for example. This last is a fine specimen of the marbler’s sculpture, and, though on the model of that other Northamptonshire example, the Castle Ashby knight, has a more accomplished style and is without the Salisbury peculiarities. Accordingly we think it a London-made figure, and one which shows in the London effigy-makers a departure from their *composed* type (see Table, p. 552). That in one county, and almost side by side, one effigy should appear to be from Salisbury and another from London, makes an interesting commentary on the conditions under which the manners and motives of medieval art were disseminated.

We must not, of course, suppose that the motive of the sword-drawing attitude was invented in Dorset or Salisbury. The early marble “knight” at Walkerne (illustrated in Fig. 668, p. 592), which we think a London piece, has the hand on the sword: also early freestone figures such as the Sudborough knight in Northamptonshire¹ and the Rampton knight in Cambridgeshire, have the sword clasped in martial style. In a remarkable group of early knights in the extreme North of England (see p. 603) they are shown grasping the sword upright. Also the earliest wooden knights, who, as we shall see, seem first to have been made in London, are carved with hand to sword. The conclusion is that the lively as well as the quiet knights were produced in the London workshops. Indeed the Dorset adoption of this liveliness may have been a reflex from that freestone competition which the Purbeck effigy-craft had to meet, and which already by 1250 may have appeared in what was to be its chief arena—London.

¹ Owing to A. Hartshorne’s full discussion and fine drawing of the Northamptonshire effigies we are able to illustrate our points by many examples from that county. It is much to be desired that our

other counties rich in effigy-sculpture like Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire or Lincolnshire, should find similar historians of their figures. Gloucestershire is tabulating its effigies but does not illustrate.

SECTION VI. THE FOURTH STYLE OF PURBECK EFFIGY, 1270—1305

The conclusion reached in the last section was that with the military as well as the ecclesiastical effigy two varieties of style had appeared by the third quarter of the thirteenth century, and that the monumental figure-sculpture that can be reasonably assigned directly to the Purbeck workshops at Corfe itself (or to some centre immediately in connection, such as Salisbury) can be distinguished from the London production. This cleavage introduces the fourth style of Purbeck marble-work. But the greater realism of the recumbent attitude which accompanies it must not be attributed to the special genius of either the local or the London figure-carvers. Naturalistic suggestions grew up in their several conceptions simultaneously, having similar hesitations and advances. Thus the conventions of the ecclesiastical representation for a long time retained the hand raised in benediction, with the canopy-headed

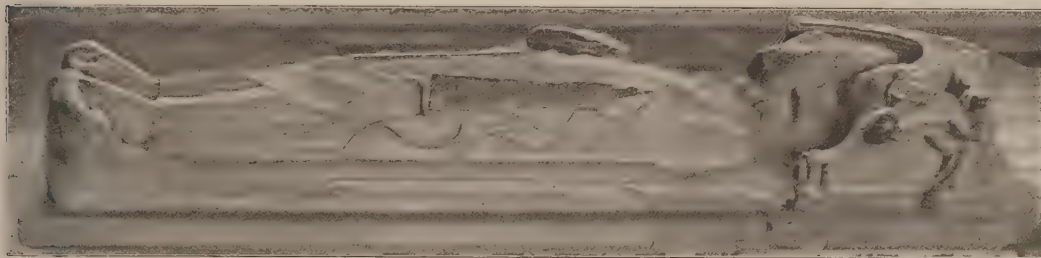


FIG. 672. Salisbury. Nave. Purbeck-marble "Bishop de la Wyle." c. 1270.

niche of pictorial tradition: in both Salisbury and London figures we have the episcopal representation in its original statant conception, despite the cushion under the head and the crouching lions at the feet. In both the Dorset and London knights, too, the gradations towards the naturalistic attitudes proceed practically together.

This is not quite the case, however, as to the new expression of draperies that in the marble figures of the south-country was exhibited simultaneously by both "bishops" and "knights." The flat unpuckered foldings do not seem to have arrived in London till after 1275—at any rate the new idea is but faintly expressed in the figure of Bishop Lawrence at Rochester (see Fig. 662, p. 585). Though he died in 1274 his robes are handled just as twenty years before in "Archbishop de Gray" (see Fig. 661, p. 584), whereas in "Bishop Bridport" of Salisbury who died in 1264 we see the new effects. At Salisbury "Bishop de la Wyle" (d. 1271) has draperies (Fig. 672) as advanced as in the carving of "Bishop Inglethorpe" of Rochester (see Fig. 675, p. 600) who died just twenty years later. The marbler's habit of sculpture was strong enough in the capital to keep the London effigy-makers to their thinly divided

draperies. The "knight" in the Temple, which has been placed latest—after 1270 or later—is carved with the finely creased surcoat of the earlier effigies. The half-figure of Bishop Aymer of Winchester (d. 1261) has been given (see Fig. 358, p. 322) as an example illustrating the method of angular drapery seen in the stone sculpture at Westminster. Since he was half-brother of Henry III., we may suppose the small Purbeck-marble wall-slab commemorating his "heart-burial" at Winchester to have been sent from London.

Still, this last has connections with the marble "Lady" at Romsey (Fig. 673, below) that belongs undoubtedly to the effigy-school of the southern marblers, for the slab is a coped block (see p. 596) instead of being cut down to a flat "table" round the figure. The detail of the niche with heads carved upon its angles places this monument with the Sherborne "abbot" (see Fig. 656, p. 581) and with "Bishop Bridport" (d. 1262) and perhaps as late as the "Bishop de la Wyle" (d. 1271). The dress of the beautiful figure is arranged smoothly, but the hands hold up the skirt, the left also fingering the cord of

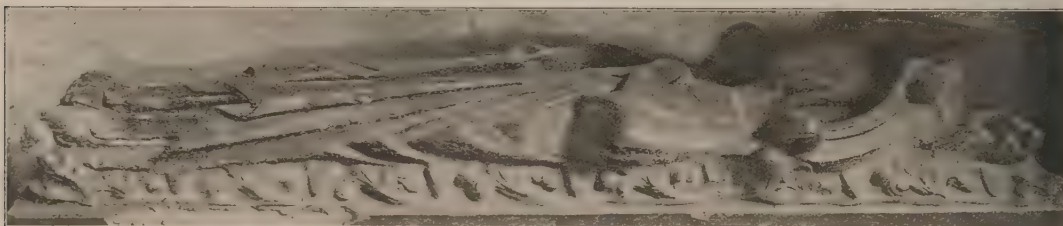


FIG. 673. Romsey. Transept. Purbeck-marble memorial of "Lady." c. 1270.

the cloak, that is to say the presentation is that of a statue such as the later "lady-saints" at Wells (see p. 313) or the "Virgin" at Westminster (see p. 321). It is a pity that the very similar "lady" at Ash in Kent, with her hands folded in prayer, is in fragments and damaged, since this may give us the London type of female effigy. Another form of "lady" more smoothly treated is at Winchelsea, Sussex, and its recumbent pose may be of the local Purbeck make c. 1270; we may suppose the "queen" supplied to Tarrant (see p. 570) from the Corfe quarries to have been of this smooth-draped make.

A similar smoothness of drapery in the marble-work is characteristic of another class, which may be called that of the "civilian" effigy, since it lacks the distinctive motives of either "ecclesiastic," "knight" or "lady." These "civilian" figures in Purbeck marble are distributed at various places along the south coast of England, being found at Winchelsea, Sussex (Fig. 674, opposite), at Droxford, Hants, at Plymouth and Dartmouth in Devon. Unlike the other marble figures they fold the hands in prayer, and they show a very plain treatment of the tunic in broad hollows from breast to ankle. Seeing that their slabs are *coped* instead of *tabled* (see p. 596), there are grounds for

referring them to the Dorset workshops and for thinking them some of the latest made.

The course of marble effigy-work gives us therefore the curious evidence that the softer, and in some respects simpler, renderings of drapery that, after 1290, were generally practised by sculptors, occur in the neighbourhood of Salisbury before they were adopted in London. Yet this flat drapery was a rejection of the pleated rippled expressions that had been characteristic of the Wells sculptors, just as much as it was a divergence from the arrised and grooved cuttings of the Westminster sculpture. The two schools might have been thought in possession of the field, and so to have given style to all the figure-work connected with the great building of Salisbury Cathedral, in which, as at Westminster, the Purbeck-marbler and the sculptors of a local freestone were engaged side by side. But it is to be noted that the monument of Bishop Bridport (d. 1261) has a fresh treatment of foliage in its freestone carving, different from that of earlier English habit (see Fig. 73, p. 77); and also some



FIG. 674. Winchelsea. Purbeck-marble civilian.' c. 1280.

small figure-work with draperies of a kind that (p. 256) came into full use in the reliefs of the chapter-house. Though its structure combines Purbeck marble and Chilmark stone, the leaf-carving might be fathered on a Caen-stone sculptor from Normandy. We may look to Normandy, too, for the model of the new draperies in the effigy. There remain two memorial figures—one assigned to Cœur de Lion, at Rouen, that has been much renovated, the other to Queen Berengaria at Le Mans, both presumably dating before 1250, and showing the free treatment of drapery which the sculptors of the great French cathedrals practised in their statues. It is a possible conjecture that from Normandy sculptors there grew up in Salisbury, and so at the Purbeck workshops, the ideas of a new figure-drapery which were only at a somewhat later date accepted in the London workshops.

Bishop Bridport's tomb, at any rate, illustrates a sumptuous type of sepulchral monument, appearing in the middle of the century. The carved and decorated coffin-slab was no longer held of sufficient dignity, and a sort

of miniature chapel was built up as a shrine about it. In our principal churches the surrounding architecture of such tombs has often disappeared, for its screenworks have been prey to Reformation iconoclasts, then to Puritan desecrators, and finally to the more hypocritical licence of modern restorers. The effigies have suffered in the ruin of the chapels and in the tidying up after: "bishops" as well as "knights" and "ladies" have had the fate of being turned upside down and used for steps and pavings. For this reason the latest marble effigies are often the most damaged. At Salisbury, Rochester (Fig. 675) and Worcester examples remain more or less defaced: still, they prove how obsolete the figure-types of fifty years earlier had become. Instead of the severe and lined expressions that belonged to the bearded Ely types (see Figs. 658, 660, p. 583) there is a smooth roundness of cheek and chin. The change of style in drapery was no less conspicuous, the sculptor no longer blocking out his masses, grooving them with thin lines, alternate ridges and deep channels, but using a broad hollowed modelling relieved by slight projections and smooth overlapping folds.

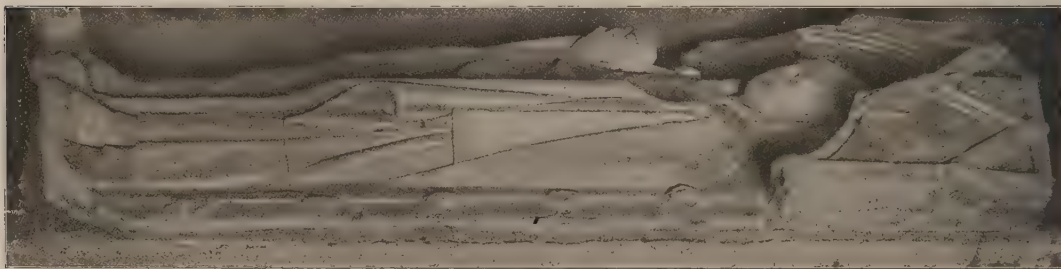


FIG. 675. Rochester. Quire. Purbeck-marble memorial of Bishop Inglethorpe. c. 1290.

The latest marble effigies of bishops were worked with these smooth faces and silky folds in all parts of England. The Rochester figure (Fig. 675, above)—that of Bishop Inglethorpe (1283—1291)—has great simplifications in handling compared with the Archbishop de Grey of 1256 (see Fig. 661, p. 584). It must be understood, however, that the smooth surfaces of this drapery had in view the intention of elaborate enrichment. It was left to painting to give detail, with embossments of gilded ornament set off with coloured stones. One of the last of the Purbeck bishop-effigies would seem that at Worcester assigned to Bishop Giffard (1268—1301), and his robes are edged with cavities for the inseting of precious stones and enamel. It is now closed in behind the fifteenth-century stonework of Prince Arthur's Chantry, so cannot be photographed completely, but the head (see Fig. 12, p. 11) will give an idea of the delicacy of the face modelling and the intricate richness of the mitre.

One final point should be mentioned: on the whole we see in the style of the latest Purbeck draperies a change of technique rather than the attempt to keep pace with an altered costume. Though there came undoubtedly a new fashion in the material of ecclesiastical garments, and thin lawn textures gave place to silken stuffs with a different folding, this was too gradual a process to bring about the almost sudden revolution in representation that was effected between the draperies of the "Bishops" of Ely, c. 1240—1250 (p. 583), and those of Salisbury, c. 1260—1270 (p. 597). There were other influences upon the sculptors besides the advance of fashion in dress. Up to 1260 the Purbeck marbler held the market with his effigies—his dark stone gave what was wanted. In medieval memorials the bronze slab had been possibly first in fashion for high ecclesiastics (as with the "Bishops" at Amiens). But the dark, smooth surfaces of a marble effigy were sufficiently like bronze, and they were taken as a substitute considerably cheaper and easier to produce than cast copper. It would seem that the marble figures were at first polished like the metal, because, in the architecture, the Purbeck strings and shafts had at first the value of dark polished surfaces; thus in Henry III.'s building of Westminster Abbey in 1253 the accounts mention polishers as regularly as marblers. But since in bronze-work ornaments were heightened with gilding and enamels, so no doubt the Purbeck marble of the effigy had gold embossments, and the gilding would be accompanied by a painting of its background. Such decorations would be likely to grow more elaborate and to encroach upon the dark marble surfaces, as the colour-schemes of the thirteenth century grew more sumptuous. The Knights of the Temple Church were found by Richardson in all cases to show remains of colour, though it is possible that this may have been an after decoration, used to brighten up the figures when the quire was built. But at any rate in the last half of the Purbeck period there seems little doubt that effigies were entirely painted, and the draperies would tend to be worked smooth and flat, so that the painted enrichments might be well displayed. Now Purbeck marble, under such an elaborate decoration, had no longer its claim for use in sculpture. The free-stone builders, who carved figures out of their building-stone, to be finished with the same plaster or gesso that the tempera painters used as their ground in wall-painting, could make a complete likeness of the painted Purbeck figure at probably half its cost.

During the last quarter of the thirteenth century the marbler held his own in effigy-making, as witness the large number of his works remaining, but this he could only do by compromising his technique. In order that his surfaces might be easily treated with the delicate diapers and finely jewelled ornaments which made the stone and wooden effigies bright, he had to alter his original bold style and substitute for its deep angular cuttings the low

gradations and soft contours of the freestone imager. But his material was intractable for delicate figure-sculpture, and the competition was made finally too keen for him. In the lady and knight effigies of the last half of the thirteenth century we have Purbeck carvings of astonishing delicacy, as for example the already-mentioned "lady" at Winchelsea, while for intricacy and completeness of costume it would be difficult to beat the knight at Dodford Church Northamptonshire (Fig. 676, below), which is dated a few years after 1300 and seems the last of our Purbeck-marble effigies. Its reproduction of the Wareham and Winchelsea types points to its being a Corfe or Salisbury production, and it would be likely that the latest making of the marble figures should be in the local workshops. In London, as we shall see, the soft-stone effigies and those of wood were conspicuously in the market some time before 1300, and were evidently easier than marble to make and decorate. Moreover, the engraved figure on bronze plates inset in Purbeck-marble slabs (the "brass" as it is called), a much cheaper form of memorial, was coming quickly into



FIG. 676. Dodford (Northants). The latest Purbeck-marble "Knight." c. 1305.

favour. From 1300 onwards the craft of the Purbeck marbler was diverted to the supply of the architectural screen-works for the great chantries or monumental chapels like King Edward II.'s at Gloucester, or for shrines such as that of St Alban (see Fig. 68, p. 72); the Purbeck effigy in the round was produced no more. For fifty years the freestone effigy took its place, and was elaborated in various styles, while the wooden memorial images also were supplied far and wide: then towards 1350 those who could afford a marble representation found the alabaster crafts in London, York and Derbyshire making effigies. In the latter half of the fourteenth century and in the fifteenth the more important figures, "Kings" "Princes" and other great people, are to be found carved in alabaster when they were not cast in bronze. The expansion of the freestone trade had, however, begun far back in the thirteenth-century examples. There were many stone figures of knights wrought by the side of the Purbeck productions, at first copying them as models, but afterwards setting the fashion in style.

CHAPTER III

THE STONE EFFIGIES UP TO 1300

SECTION I. THE FIRST STONE COPIES OF THE MARBLE EFFIGY

THE workshops of London, as has been said, could put effigy-making on a cheaper basis by using freestone instead of marble, and did so before the end of the thirteenth century. But first we can show how local masons carved figures, and in some stone districts of England left little room for the imported marble effigy from the Purbeck centres. In a general way the first local efforts of the building-mason at effigy-making were spasmodic, and in most cases resulted in no lasting school of production. As figure-work, early effigy-sculpture often seems curiously inexpert by the side of his head and leaf carvings. For example, at Furness there are three memorial figures—two of “knights,” and an “ecclesiastic” with a book—carved in the local blue limestone. The accoutrements of the “knights,” the two being almost identical, are those of the Wells statues and of those marble figures which have been dated as c. 1240. The legs are crossed like some of the Temple “knights,” but the sculpture has but little modelling, the draperies being mere flutings¹, so that the Purbeck model can hardly be recognised. Much the same may be said, too, of a whole group of early “knights” in County Durham, worked in the local sandstone, one of which with vizarded helm and hood at front has been drawn by Stothard.

But further south, in the oolite district, some approximation to the marble model was attained. There remain effigies, of the mid-thirteenth century and after, worked in Barnack, Weldon and Ancaster stones. The “ecclesiastic” with the book who appears in the illustration on page 75, Book I., at Ripplingale, Lincolnshire, seems carved as a memorial figure by sculptors in connection with the statue-making of Lincoln c. 1280 (compare Figs. 363, 364, p. 327). In its handling of the stone it initiates a Lincoln style in effigy that continued into the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. There are

¹ This has been thought an attempt to represent an ecclesiastic surplice lets us see that it was merely an inexpert trial at drapery.

"knights," on the other hand, straight-legged at Rampton (Cambs) c. 1240, and cross-legged at Sudborough (Northants), perhaps c. 1270, which seem in direct copy of the sword-handling "knights" that the marblers were supplying. The Rampton example (see the drawing by Stothard) shows its ring-mail not carved but painted (as also is the decoration on the pillow and surcoat), so that we see here the attempt to give in local building material the effect of the Purbeck-marble memorial, painting being brought in to help the somewhat summary execution—in fact the method later associated with London style.

Of distinct attempts at the Purbeck marbler's effects the most conspicuous example is at Lichfield, in the second "bishop" (Fig. 677) in the south aisle of the quire, whose material is a sort of slaty limestone. The figure probably commemorated Bishop Patteshull (1239—1241), and since importations of such a marble into London would be most likely, whether from a Derbyshire

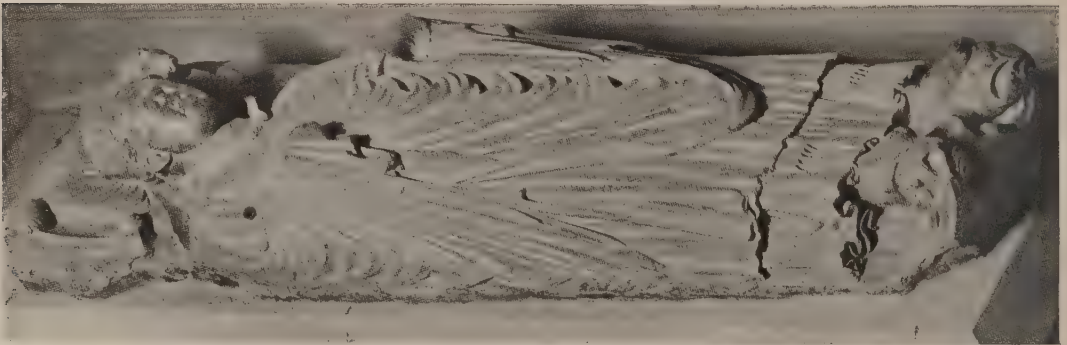


FIG. 677. Lichfield. Quire. Grey marble Bishop, probably c. 1245.

or Flemish quarry, and since this figure is an almost exact replica of a London marble "bishop"—say that in the Temple Church or "Bishop Northwold" at Ely—and with a foliage block to the feet much as at Worcester (see Fig. 653, p. 579), we can hardly be wrong in taking it as an attempt by a London workshop to use a new material for effigy-making.

At Worcester two "bishops" side by side in the Lady Chapel—the one a Purbeck-marble figure mentioned above, the other of Higley stone (that of the building of the cathedral)—illustrate a somewhat different course of experiment. The stone figure seems an attempt of the building-mason on the spot to imitate the marble effigy ordered from the regular makers. Probably the marble figure was obtained from London to commemorate the ecclesiastic responsible for the new quire, Bishop William. Then his successor, Bishop Cantilupe, was honoured by a copy made by the masons of the building, the monuments being put in together c. 1240 at the close of the *new work*, the quire, due to both bishops.

The above mid-century efforts to supplant the custom of Purbeck effigy-making were, however, as we have said, barren in results. But at Hereford a generation later the carving (Fig. 678) of Bishop Peter of Savoy—Aquablanca, as he was called—(1240—1268) was of importance for the course of style. The figure of this bishop is placed on the ground between the quire and transept, and is set between two ranges of canopied arcadings that must have been the work of the masons who had the building of the transept in



FIG. 678. Hereford. Bishop Aquablanca. c. 1270.

hand. In it we have a really accomplished copy of the London style, founded on such a marble model as that of Archbishop de Gray (see p. 584), but with draperies and other peculiarities (as for example the raising of the head above the carved canopy) which indicate it as itself a fresh development of ecclesiastic figure¹. An effigy wrought under the same inspiration appears in the "abbot"

¹ There is ground for thinking that there were masons from Westminster at Hereford.

placed on the south side of the sanctuary at Gloucester. The architectural treatment and sculpture of heads on the slab can at once be recognised as similar. This is taken as a memorial put up in the latter part of the thirteenth century to the honour of Abbot Serlo, who was the eleventh-century founder of the Abbey, for he holds in his hand the model of his church. In this figure, too, although the Purbeck style is followed, there is that flatter elevation of the canopy and that softer treatment of the draperies which the working of the freestone sculptors has introduced. This western effigy-making begins a school that was to be of great importance outside the Purbeck schools, and we shall take it up again with the fine "Marcia" figure c. 1305 at Wells.

The marble effigies brought into stone districts (and so into the habit of the building-mason) the technique that the accomplished London workshops had acquired. The dispersion of style acted in both directions, for its reflex action would be to stimulate a stone-craft of effigies in London, as well as to instruct the West of England in the development of the London imagers, for stone figure-work would be at home in the west owing to the architectural conditions. Speaking broadly we may say that the church-building of the south-western dioceses in the early thirteenth century did not make the large use of the imported marble shaft from Corfe that was usual elsewhere: very often we find, in place of the Purbeck marble, lias shafts with carved stone capitals. Similarly there seems to have been less demand than elsewhere for the Purbeck-marble effigy. Although at St David's and Exeter there are to be found the imported marble "ecclesiastics," yet the many early bishop-figures which were sculptured at Hereford and Wells are all of stone. In this latter church c. 1200—1230 a whole series of "bishops" (see p. 296, where one of them is figured in connection with the Wells statues) were worked in the Douling stone, and in a way that showed no dependence on the Purbeck model. In place, too, of the marble "knights" that are generally distributed throughout the midland, the eastern and the southern counties, the parish churches of western England give us freestone figures¹ that in some cases can claim affiliation to the statue-sculpture of Wells. St James's Church, Bristol, has an example in a recumbent effigy (Fig. 679) which, in expression and gesture, shows likenesses to the statues at the north-west angle of the Wells front (see Fig. 344, p. 312) and its treatment of head and drapery is that of the Bible reliefs on the cathedral (see Figs. 305, 306, p. 279). Though given a cushion, this figure at Bristol is just a statue laid on its back and strikes one in some respects as an immature performance.

But there are "knights" carved in Douling stone that show most accomplished effigy-sculpture. Such is the well-known and already mentioned figure

¹ The Purbeck-marble "knights" reported are at Atherington, North Devon, and at Bitton (Glos).

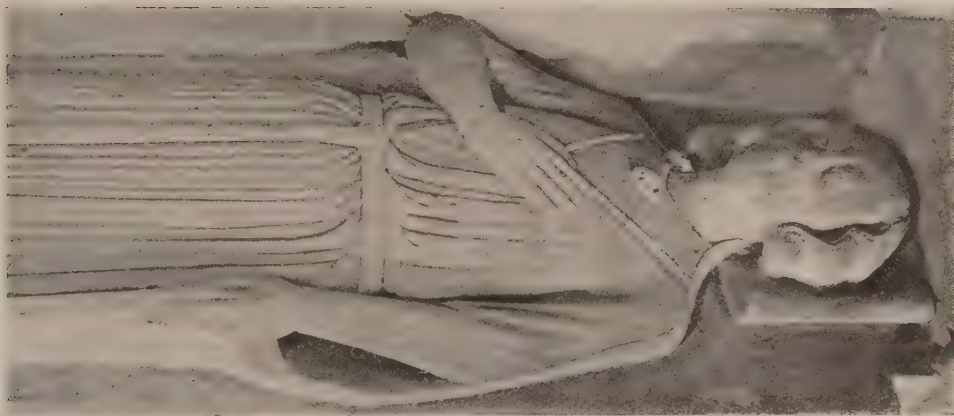


FIG. 679. Bristol. St James's Church. Freestone "Noble." c. 1240.

of the great Earl of Salisbury, "Longespée," now placed on the south side of the nave in Salisbury Cathedral (Fig. 680). The effigy-slab is a detached piece of Doultong¹ stone, lifted on a staging of wooden arcading upon which still remain some fragments of the gesso facing and painting. At the time of Longespée's death the new cathedral building had advanced far enough to allow of the translation of the memorials of the old bishops from Old Sarum. The church was not consecrated till 1258, so the date of this figure must be judged by its technique which seems that of the Wells sculpture (see p. 306).

A "knight" of possibly earlier carving remains in the similarly habited figure at Malvern, which may be of Doultong stone. This figure (illustrated by Stothard) is represented holding axe and target, and in style is very

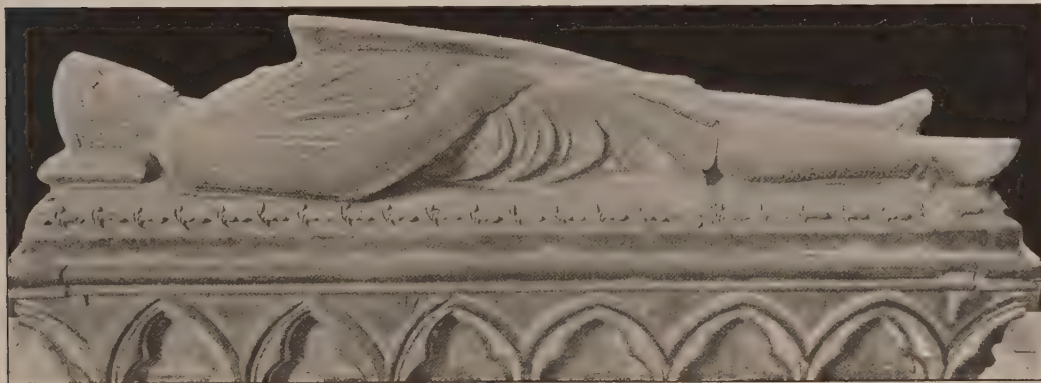


FIG. 680. Salisbury. Nave. Freestone effigy of "Knight." "Longespée." c. 1240.

¹ The quarries are about thirty miles from Salisbury, with a good hard road over the Downs.

near some of the Wells figures. Clearly, too, of the same school with the above were the two knight-figures in Shepton Mallet Church, close to the site of the Doulting quarry, whence the stone for Wells Cathedral came. Since they are cross-legged, these "knights" may have taken their motive from the Purbeck model, and would seem to date after 1240. At the same time their style was an immediate outcome of the Wells school of military statues. For example, there are quite similar treatments of surcoat and mail, the lines of which run from shoulder to wrist in all these effigies: the languid carriage, too, of the head, and the lax posture of the hands in all the above exhibit the same applications of restrained idealism to effigy-sculpture that are conspicuous in the standing statues of "knights" and "kings" upon the Wells front. These memorials are of early make since they are given single oblong cushions beneath the head; since their mail hoods show the square outline of the steel cap beneath; and since they have single narrow sword-belts and long shields; all indications of a date before 1250, as in the marble figures (see pp. 590 seq.).



FIG. 681. Bridport (Dorset). Ham-stone effigy of "Knight" (face re-cut). c. 1250.

In the thirty years from 1220 to 1250 the Salisbury cathedral building must have been a great centre of stone-workmanship; and as being about equal distance from the Doulting quarries and those of Purbeck, afforded an atelier in which the Wells stone style and the marble style of London might meet.

In near connection with these productions of North Somerset must be placed one in South Somerset, which developed afterwards a considerable trade of effigies, drawing its material from the Ham-Hill quarries not far from Yeovil. Here the Purbeck figures of South Dorset seem to have been used as direct models. An example is the fine cross-legged "knight" at Bridport (Fig. 681), which has traces of having been coloured black—got up, we may say, in imitation of the marble: the face has been re-worked, but we have the hand laid on the sword and the same kind of small-headed lion at the feet that accords with south-country Purbeck treatments (see p. 595). There is a later "knight" at Brympton, close to the Ham-Hill quarries, but in it we have indications of Bristol style.

The most important centre for the production of knight-effigies seems to have been at Bristol, the capital of West England. We have suggested (see p. 319, Book II.) that on the completion of the Wells front, the commercial stone-trades of Bristol took over the statue-makers into their workshops. Close at hand Dundry Hill¹ gave for the working of figure-sculpture an oolite freestone of finer grain than the Doultong. Then the shipping trade of that port, while connecting its arts with London and the Purbeck centres, could also distribute Bristol effigies to customers wherever sea-carriage reached. We have no direct record of the trade in figures, but we do know that Bristol stone and Bristol masons were supplied to build the Dublin churches.



FIG. 682. Bristol. Mayor's Chapel. Freestone sword-drawing "Knight." c. 1260.

In the Mayor's Chapel, which was the church of St Mark's Hospital, are two fine military figures which may well represent the style of the city effigyists in both its early and late connections, and establish it as at any rate at home in Bristol. One "knight" has an almost square capped hood, and has his hand on his shield, in the early manner, and in this the treatment of the surcoat is of the Wells handling, as if a sculptor recruited from Wells had been engaged on it. The other "knight" (Fig. 682) has smoother, less rippled draperies, and shows also the rounder cap and broader sword-belt that belonged to military fashions in the later marble knights. The extraordinary vigour of pose gives this effigy a distinguished place among military figures, and its peculiarities make it a striking illustration how the English conception of knightly bearing detached itself from the continental.

More or less in connection with, or in position between, these two effigies may be placed knightly effigies in West England, which with similar treatments seem transitional between the quiet dignity of the Wells type and the martial alertness of the sword-drawing type. Such, for example, are the Iddesleigh "knight" in North Devon, whose right hand rests on his shield, and the Worcester

¹ We find in the fifteenth century this quarry belonging to the Bishop of Wells. The finer stones used

at Wells came, we believe, from Dundry, where, however, some beds are coarse like the Doultong.

"knight" with his hand to sword: in this class too we place an example as far away as Buckinghamshire, the Hughenden knight holding the dagger (Fig. 684). We know that this has been accounted a sixteenth-century forgery; but to us it seems a thirteenth-century figure acquired from a western source.

A later continuation of the type appears in the freestone "knights" who have smaller shields and broader sword-belts, and in them the martial attitude was usually emphasized—they grasp the sword-hilt as if to draw the blade. Such were, in Bristol, the figure already named in the Mayor's Chapel, and another in St Mary Redcliffe (Fig. 683), this latter of the same big scale and very close to the former in detail, though quieter in pose.

At any rate, a sword-handling model of "knight" was worked in freestone in the latter half of the century and its examples were distributed along the Severn Sea and as far south as Exeter. There can be seen in St Philip's Church, Bristol, a fine head that has belonged to the effigy of a knight, while a very similar head, which we illustrate (Fig. 686) was found at Exeter and



FIG. 683. Bristol. St Mary Redcliffe. Freestone "Knight" (seven feet long). c. 1260.

is deposited in the newly erected cloister. Such heads appear on the knight-effigies found in Devon, Somerset and Gloucestershire churches. In figure as in face these *Bristol* "knights" show an advancing naturalism—the head is propped high, at first on a single thick pillow, and afterwards on the double cushions of southern Purbeck style: the hands are occupied usually with the sword-hilt. The mail hood (see Fig. 687) has a more rounded cap than earlier; the shield is smaller, while the sword-belt may be distinguished as broadly looped below the narrow girdle—in fact we get the knightly equipment shown in the earliest "brasses" at Stoke d'Abernon and Trumpington (see Table, p. 560).

Many figures in different parts of the west country must be classed as belonging in style to this Bristol production—at Pershore, in Worcestershire (Fig. 685), at Abbey Dore, in Monmouthshire (Fig. 687), and at Beer Ferrers in South Devon (see Fig. 695, p. 623), in all of which the round heads (as seen in Exeter example, Fig. 686) are distinctive. The carvings of mail on the arms were after 1270 no longer of the Wells type, up and down the arm:

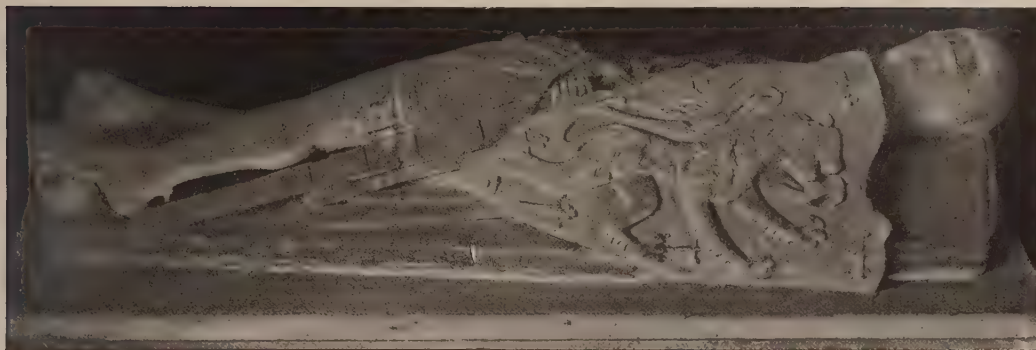


FIG. 684. Hughenden (Bucks). Freestone "Knight." c. 1270¹.

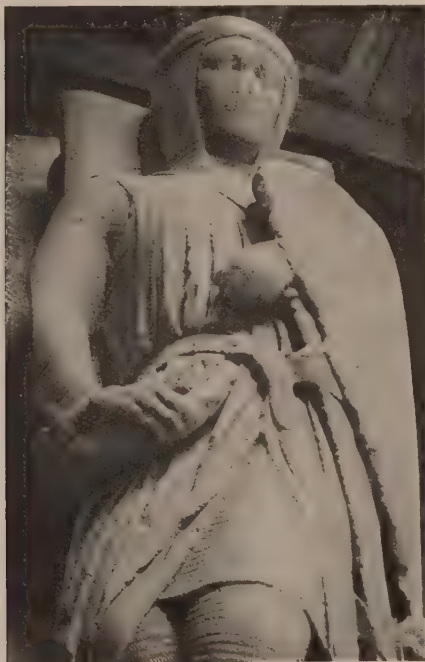


FIG. 685. Pershore. Freestone "Knight." c. 1280.



FIG. 686. Exeter cloister. c. 1280.



FIG. 687. Abbey Dore (Hereford). Freestone "Knight." c. 1280.

¹ E. J. Payne (*Records of Bucks*, Vol. VII. pp. 362—412) points out the absurdity of the pretension of this figure to be a de Montfort effigy, and supposes it a complete forgery. Its style and quality are, however, too genuine for the sixteenth century.

the bands are ringed round as in the latest Purbeck types (see Fig. 671, p. 595). In fact the later handling of the Bristol "knight" is much as in the marble knight at Stowe (see Fig. 669, p. 593), only with a more vigorous presentation. Also these western freestone figures are distinguished by those softer handlings of drapery that we have noticed in the ecclesiastic effigies of Hereford and Worcester. On this ground we connect them as the west-country production of a stone-craft developing itself on its own ground but in touch with London style.

At Abergavenny, in Monmouthshire, is a "lady" postured as a "knight" under a shield (Fig. 688), folding her hands in prayer, and like the Bristol "knight" (p. 610) her cloak is rendered in smooth dimpled folds. There appears a distribution of figures with this dimpled drapery round Bristol: so we conclude that as London, by the works of its Purbeck marblers, established a trade in recumbent figures for the East and South of England,

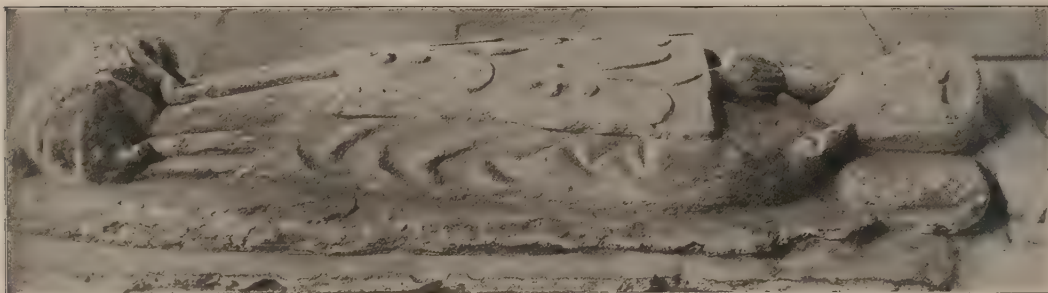


FIG. 688. Abergavenny. Chancel. Freestone figure of "Lady." c. 1270.

so Bristol, with its hinterland of oolite quarries, was able to do much the same for the West. Its sculptors led the way in style for the whole country-side, so that the Bristol freestone figures were in the market just as the Purbeck marble figures were.

Yet, as we have said, western style did not maintain the independence derived from the statuary influence of the Wells sculptors. It took more and more suggestion from the established effigy-trade of the marblers, and so its works must be classed as in effect based on the art of London. Here, as elsewhere, the thirteenth-century position as regards effigy-making must be defined as all through that of Purbeck dominance. But even in the neighbourhood of the Purbeck quarries this was at an end before 1300. On p. 345 we have said how another source of figure-craft has to be counted as influencing the effigy-carver in the West of England. The later building of Salisbury Cathedral was accompanied by a figure-work, illustrated on pp. 256, 257, whose expressions and attitudes echo those of the French sculpture, the

ideas of which came, we think, by means of imported images. But at any rate those changed treatments of drapery which grew conspicuous (pp. 598, 599) in the west-country marble effigies find expression also in those of freestone. An example with a handling like that of the chapter-house reliefs occurs at Axminster Church—where the "lady" may possibly be identified as the Lady Alicia de Bruere (d. 1257), whose benefactions to the building of Salisbury Cathedral are recorded. The material of this effigy appears to be the Chilmark stone of the Salisbury building, and she holds in her hands the "Virgin and Child," which Salisbury adopted as its badge (Fig. 689). This figure accordingly may illustrate that new drapery which continental sculpture was popularising.

Such fresh treatments must however introduce a new era of effigy-sculpture. The trade of the oolite figures in the West of England grew in importance as the competition of the Purbeck figures declined; and this western art of freestone effigy was capable of holding its own against the importations of wood, alabaster, and chalk-stone figures that other centres produced. Bristol was followed by other cities, and each of their schools of effigy-making by the beginning of the fourteenth century had its own character, Exeter and Gloucester being especially remarkable for their vigorous creations of style. But this was to be the case now all over England at the close of the thirteenth century: the local effigy-making was no longer spasmodic and inefficient, for the stone-crafts developed in all branches of stone-sculpture. Thus while the first three quarters of the thirteenth century made the *marble* period, the years from 1280 to 1380 were the special century of the *freestone* memorial figure. Indeed, the field of effigy-sculpture that opens to us c. 1300 is bewildering in its extent and richness, so that for its proper comprehension we give a special section.



FIG. 689. Axminster (Devon). Freestone figure of "Lady." c. 1260.

SECTION II. THE FREESTONE EFFIGIES, c. 1300

The effigies of these local craft-centres were being worked in stones of softer texture than the coarse shellstones at first used, and this must be taken as due to the growing use of softer freestones generally for the rich detail in late thirteenth-century building. The London trade of memorial sculpture was, however, not only in stone figures, but also in those of wood, bronze, and alabaster. We have therefore to look on London style after 1280 as not specially that of a stone mason-craft, but rather as a modelling faculty—or as we have called it, *imager's work*. And the point is of importance because London style must be accepted as continually radiated throughout England.

Still, for the memorial trade generally c. 1300, the accent of stone-craft was still dominant in sculpture. We have proposed (p. 551), in a broad way, to separate three districts of effigy-style—the North-eastern, the Midland, and South-western respectively—on the ground of distinctions based on the qualities of the several stones in use for building. The South-western district we have already described as the “Bristol” country, being roughly that of the dioceses which bordered on the Bristol Channel and the Severn basin—those of Exeter, Wells, Hereford, Llandaff, and in part Worcester. The district of North-eastern style comprises the dioceses of Carlisle, Durham, York, and a part of Lincoln. Between lay the district of the Midland style, which from the diocese of Lichfield stretched across the southern part of the great Lincoln diocese to that of London and its neighbours. The map on page 551 and the tables in connection are specially directed to the particulars of effigy-making in these districts.

In describing the second or Mid-Gothic school of art in Book II. we took these three several regions as having distinctive manners more or less in all branches of sculpture—in the statues, in the architectural-carving and in sculpture-reliefs. The bent of style in each case turned in some degree on external influence—as it was directed by continental connections and the commerce of each seaboard. Yet the local technique was also in each case made by the masons' habit—the quarry-craft being in the long run the determinant of local style.

As far as recumbent effigies are concerned, the dependence upon material can be readily seen. We may take roughly three sorts of stone as distinctively used for effigies c. 1300—(1) oolite, (2) sandstone, (3) crystalline limestone. Now, no doubt, in each of the three districts that we have separated there were in one part or another working quarries of all three sorts of stone—the sandstone, shellstone, and limestone. Yet, with the effigy-carvers c. 1300 it would appear that in each region one particular variety of material established a preference. The *oolite* was the peculiar effigy-stone in the south-west: the

sandstone was employed for the purpose characteristically in the midlands: the *magnesian limestone* in the north-eastern district. And the determining factor in this partiality would be the building fashion of the local centres of trade. For it is to be observed that a limited or irregular quarrying would not bring a stone into use for effigies. Only the places which supplied the demands of continuous building could be counted on for the blocks of the considerable scantling (high in the bed, as well as of good length and even texture throughout) which would allow the carving of life-size figures. Accordingly, a continuous effigy-trade would take root only in the capital city or commercial centre whose communication was constant with the quarries, because it supplied a regular custom of masonry. In south-western England the oolite shellstones¹ had come into use for all the thirteenth-century building of the great churches. The freestones, which the Bristol trade could offer, were especially in demand—they were hard, and though not of great height on bed, were even in texture and suitable for dressing with great delicacy. So in the south-west the recumbent effigy gets its features in the working of these stones. It is flatly rendered with draperies neatly laid in silky folds; with head-features expressive, but small—the chins depressed to bring the noses within the compass of the stone, and generally with the hands and other projecting details kept well in bounds.

On the other hand, the big free sandstone of mid-England building, c. 1300², at Lichfield, Coventry, Chester and Leicester gave other characteristics to an art of sculpture. The material could be dug in many quarries with great height of bed, so there was no need to cramp projecting features in sculpture. It is soft and easy to work when first quarried, and accordingly, in the midland effigies, there are found profuse draperies, deeply-cut folds, and strongly-pleated skirts. The great blocks of sandstone, too, gave occasion for elaborately carved architectural canopies. At the same time, the soft granular texture was not adapted for delicate expression, and so it fostered a blunt rendering of features which lacks the incisiveness of the oolite style.

Then the magnesian limestones, mostly got from Tadcaster, which the builders c. 1300 used at York, Beverley, and Southwell, have a close texture with almost the expression of marble, while they are as big in block and as easily worked as the sandstones. The characteristic style³ of the north-eastern effigy

¹ Douling, Ham Hill, etc. The Purbeck and Portland (including Chilmark, of which Salisbury Cathedral is built) stones may be classed with these as of the same constitution and working. The cathedrals of the South of England may be said to have been entirely built in shellstones, Caen stone being the most important in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Sandstone did not succeed oolite at Exeter till 1300: at Chichester (and to a

certain extent at Winchester) not till c. 1350.

² In London the Caen-stone oolite brought by sea was supplemented by a land carriage of Reigate sandstone. So at Worcester the Bredon oolite brought by boat up the Severn and Avon was supplemented by the Higley sandstone.

³ The building north of York had been in the hard gritstone of the sandstone formation, but the York craft introduced the magnesian limestone.

obtained from this stone its broad, sensuous manner, in contrast with the crispness of the south-western and the bluntness of the midland style. Particularly it had, c. 1300, a certain billowy riot of drapery which takes advantage of the plastic freedom of the material.

To show better what we wish to indicate in the above distinctions, we pick out as specimens (1) the "ecclesiastic" (Fig. 690) to represent the south-western manner of effigy, (2) the "lady" (Fig. 691) to represent the midland style, and (3) the "knight" (Fig. 692) to represent the north-eastern manner; not of course that "ecclesiastics," "knights," and "ladies" are not equally found in all the districts but that these several forms offer in each case the most characteristic type of effigy.

The memorial figure was not, however, by any means confined in each of these regions to one class of stone. There are sandstone effigies in both Yorkshire and Devon as well as in Warwickshire: a whole group of oolite effigies (from Ancaster and other quarries) in Lincolnshire are allied to the Yorkshire types. Nor can every effigy of c. 1300, in the districts named, be ticketed as having its origin from one or other of the known centres of effigy-carving. But tendencies in the specified directions can, we think, be recognised throughout wide regions, sufficient to warrant the theory that the craft-conditions of workshops in the fashionable building stone did set a model for each district, and that certain principal cities became by their use of certain stones the centres of style.

In this connection it is interesting to see that there were places where two or more styles come together. Worcester Cathedral is a case in point—there we see, as well as Purbeck figures, oolite and sandstone effigies side by side. For example, there are two "ladies," the one underneath Prince Arthur's Chantry, illustrated by Hollis (see Bibliography, p. 105), the other lying in the south aisle of the Lady Chapel (that shown in Fig. 691, opposite). In the one case the silky overlappings mark the draperies of the oolite sculpture, in the other the deep-cut pleated folds show the sandstone technique. The difference is not one of date, nor of fashion in costume, but is to be explained by the geographical position of Worcester, which had within reach two workshops of effigy style each dominated by its particular habit of stone.

Not a few great churches show many stones in their building, and would be likely to exhibit in their monuments different styles, since an effigy could be as easily imported as a load of building stone. The Purbeck goods were conveyed to their places worked, and so later alabaster furniture was sent out from Nottingham ready for fixing. Thus, too, in the last quarter of the thirteenth century the ateliers of various soft-stone figures sent them where they were wanted. A cathedral like Winchester or Worcester might have

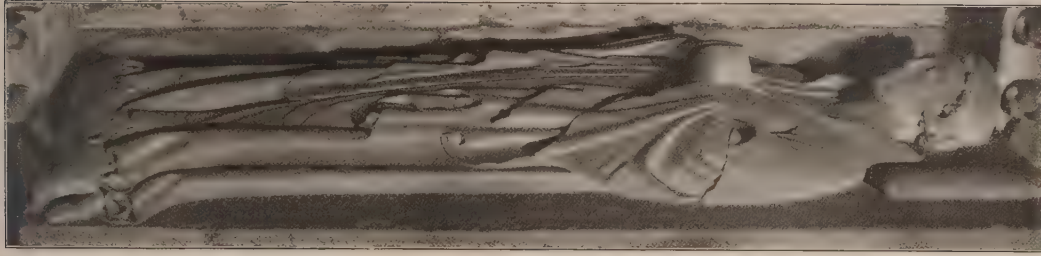


FIG. 690. Hereford. Lady Chapel. Oolite effigy of "Chancellor Swinfield." c. 1290.



FIG. 691. Worcester. Lady Chapel. Sandstone effigy of "Lady." c. 1300.

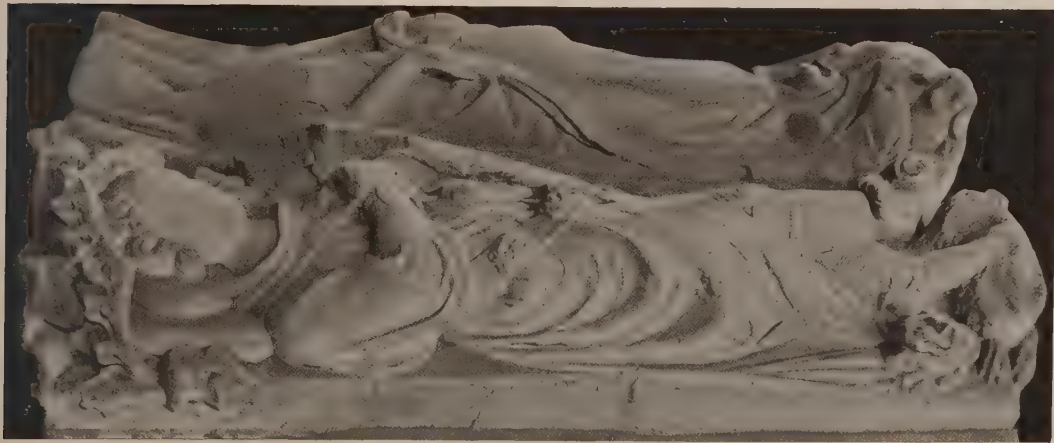


FIG. 692. Bedale (Yorkshire). Limestone effigy of "Knight." c. 1300.

examples of many effigy-styles derived from various districts, according as the fancy of the patron may have chosen his effigy-shop. There is, no doubt, in this view of figures being sent out haphazard in response to orders from a distance, the difficulty that the effigy-maker would not possess that knowledge of the deceased's appearance which representation of him is supposed to demand. It has been suggested indeed that vestments and armour may have been sent to workshops at a distance, and that these were put upon models so as to be exactly copied. It seems likely that on occasion some sort of model or "pattern," as it is called in the Warwick accounts¹ (see p. 682), was made in likeness of the deceased, and supplied to the effigy-carver. It is observable that the details of costume in effigies become increasingly individual as we pass into the fourteenth century. There appears, too, much variety in gesture and feature, and there are perhaps fewer signs of what may be called a stock pattern of "knight" and "lady" than in the earlier hardstone and Purbeck figures. On the other hand stock patterns become again quite evident in the stone and alabaster figures of the fifteenth century. It may be that for the first half of the fourteenth century each bishop and each knight sought for himself a special portrayal in his effigy, at any rate as to his costume, if not as to his figure and features. Still, we are of the opinion expressed in our Introduction, that any competent attempt at portraiture was seldom made, and only in the case of very prominent personages such as kings and queens. The effigies of Edward III., of Queen Philippa, of Richard II. and his Queen may be regarded as the only substantiated portraits in fourteenth-century sculpture.

As to the centres from which effigies c. 1300 were supplied, we have unfortunately no evidence in records. Bristol may be accepted as the first and the principal of workshops of the south-western style—though no doubt Gloucester, and Hereford too, developed the trade—and Exeter seems before 1300 to have had its own shops of effigy-making. Up to 1300, however, we may suppose the figures worked at Bristol itself going far afield; we know them to have been taken to Dublin and may suspect them in Cornwall and Devon.

As to the north-eastern types York is certainly marked out as the centre for sculpture craft. Its Minster, the abbeys of Yorkshire and the great churches in connection with its see—at Ripon, Southwell, and Beverley—made a body of building in which figure-work was continually executed. The demand for a stone furniture of sculptural quality must in the fourteenth century have been widespread; many quires of great churches attest the influence of the Tadcaster mason-craft as prolific in elaborate stone pieces.

Further south there is a distinct school of craft in the district of the

¹ W. H. St John Hope has pointed out that the wooden figures we have may in some cases be these "patterns."

Rutland and Lincolnshire quarries, which at first had Peterborough and Lincoln as its centres of distribution. In the midlands the sandstone statue-making of Lichfield would equip a sculpture-craft for effigy, though the cities of Coventry, Nottingham and Leicester may well have been the workshops for its trade¹. Finally, as already said, London was undoubtedly throughout the centuries making memorial figures, which are to be found after 1300 distributed to many parts of England, if specially perhaps to the eastern and south-eastern counties.

Now the stones available for London sculpture were chiefly Reigate sandstone and Caen stone brought by sea; this latter, though an oolite, is so sandy and close-bedded that its working was as free as with the midland sandstones or the Yorkshire limestone. But, as already noted, stone figures were to be only a part of the London output; wood and bronze were materials out of which the London imagers executed recumbent figures that were in demand all over England. In bronze and wood the direct masonic conditions of figure-sculpture had no power; their carving was imager's technique, and so we have the London stone-figure faced with plaster, in which delicate surface ornament was worked. Apart from this, the London effigy exhibits a style in many ways midway between the manners of the three districts. There is the general midland likeness that has been commented on in the case of the statue work (see p. 343). But this is in close alliance, too, with the south-western refinement, while finally the tendency is to carve details in the way of the north-eastern sculptor.

The question may be asked—were the London sculptors drawn from all parts of England for the royal works, and was this mixed style the result? It is evident from the accounts of Queen Eleanor's trustees (1292) that for her monuments imagers and masons were employed whose names indicate them as of many places, such as Battle, Abingdon, Canterbury, and Ireland. Still, we would prefer to regard the facts of the London style in another way. That new manner of figure-carving which we spoke of as to the Salisbury work makes its appearance in South England during the last quarter of the thirteenth century: in London it was an accomplished style of image-making, and comes earliest on the scene, we believe, in connection with works for the King. Was not this what the London workshops disseminated? Just as the Londoners' trade of Purbeck figures spread marble style over England, making models that were copied in the local stones by the building-masons, so now this imager's technique was promulgated from London.

¹ In the East of England the early thirteenth-century building, the great abbeys in the Fens, at Peterborough, and Ely, can be seen establishing a style of figure-sculpture which was derived, not from Lichfield, but from Lincoln, having later

developments in the workshops of Norwich. But Caen stone was largely imported into the East of England for the finer architectural carving, and the connection of East England art was closest with London, the centre of the Caen-stone trade.

In the south-west, in the midlands and the north-east respectively it was translated into the mason-craft of each district—a mason-craft founded, as we have described, upon the stone in local demand. London no doubt had sculptors coming from each district, but educated in the London manner they returned to their districts with a fresh capacity.

The quality of this new sculpture lies in its greater freedom of expression, and particularly in a handling of drapery, no longer in thin lawny ripples or closely set notches, but with broad, billowy masses, with undercut overlappings. There can be no question, we think, that the intuition for this shift of technique came from abroad, and that by it the English sculptors come into line with the artists of the great French sculpture. The statuaries of Paris, Amiens, Reims, and Rouen had, in the figure-crowded porches of the great cathedrals, created new expressions, new attitudes and freer treatments of drapery which thereafter remained the possession of Gothic sculpture, and banished once and for all the Byzantine mannerisms of the goldsmith's tradition. We have guessed that the drapery, at least, may have been first learnt by the stone-sculptors at Salisbury, but its appearance in image work in London was probably quite as early. In the third quarter of the thirteenth century the trades of image-makers and ivory-carvers abroad were completely penetrated by the new motives of figure-work which the stone-sculptors had created, and the sale of the Paris images was spreading this new sculpture throughout Christendom. The natural expression of folded linen in drapery (see Fig. 693, below) appears simultaneously in the late thirteenth century all over the West of Europe. We may date it as c. 1260—1270 when the London image-shops had got this new manner: then the London images carried it to all parts of England, so that statue-carvers and effigy-makers alike became acquainted with it. The memorial figure acquired, in the Mid-Gothic period, a varied and romantic sculpture which will be discussed in the two following chapters.



FIG. 693. Exeter. Lady Chapel. Freestone effigy of "Bishop Bronescombe." c. 1280.

CHAPTER IV

THE FREESTONE EFFIGIES, c. 1300—1360

SECTION I. THE SOUTH-WESTERN CRAFTS OF EFFIGY-MAKING

IT has been well to clear the ground by insisting on the pre-eminent position of London as the centre of sculpture style. But we delay describing the London output of freestone effigies, because they are best seen in connection with the wooden and alabaster figures that the workshops of the capital produced. We take up here the effigy-making of West England at the point where the Bristol trade, as we have called it, seems to have aroused competition, so that similar productions began in not a few cities of the district.

The rebuilding which has given us Exeter Cathedral on the plan we now see it (the ancient fabric itself has of late been badly mutilated) was begun under Bishop Bronescombe (1257—1280), and his monumental figure (Fig. 693, opposite) was placed at the side of the Lady Chapel, which at his death was probably close on completion. The tabernacle work now above the figure is of later make, but the "bishop," as the ornaments show, has been a work near the end of the thirteenth century, and much of its original colour and gilding remain. The figure-modelling is delicate and composed; the vestments laid in broad puckers, with the silky pleats and overlays, that distinguish the drapery of the latest Purbeck-marble effigies. It is true that very similar handlings appear in the "Lady Aveline" at Westminster, whose sculpture we have thought (see p. 345) one of the earliest examples at Westminster of the new drapery. But at Exeter the coped section of the block, the double cushion, and the lion footstool must be recognised as all in the character of south-country marble-work (see Figs. on pp. 597, 598). The "Bronescombe" must be thought therefore an outcome of the Salisbury sculpture, with the suggestion of French influence that we saw in the monument of Bishop Bridport (see back, p. 599): it has indeed much the appearance of a copy of this marble prelate, and the foliage-handling is nearly that of the Salisbury quire-screen. It is to be seen however that the freestone sculptor has made a restrained use of the architectural canopy at the head of the figure, flattening it on to the ground, so that the Bishop no longer lies in a cradle, with his personal presentment subordinated to the pictorial framing. At the same time the Bronescombe effigy is not free from archaic suggestion—it retains the attitude of statuesque portrayal, much as it had been with "Archbishop de Gray" of thirty years earlier (see Fig. 661, p. 584). The convention of a laid-out or reclining posture receives only half its realization.

At Westminster we shall see "knights" much more naturally disposed c. 1300: and soon a special liveliness was given to the "knights" and "ladies," which the countryside took from the city workshops all over England.

Exeter towards the close of the thirteenth century had a mason-craft prolific in all kinds of freestone sculpture and furniture for churches. For fully a hundred years we find the white stone from Beer in South Devon shipped to Exeter and used for the fabric of the cathedral. This became the chief material in which Exeter style expressed itself, though the oolites and sandstones, successively in use for the cathedral building, were also employed for screens and tombs. The masons of Exeter matured a special skill of stone-carving, the extraordinary dexterity of which culminated in the work of the canopies and the statues of the cathedral front (see Figs. on pp. 351, 353). Those who saw this fine work, as it was thirty years ago, may remember how the workmanship and romance of its sculpture combined to make it the best example of the English fourteenth-century genius. But in the last ten years a wanton destruction of its beauty has taken place.

As at Exeter so in the other great cities of the western district—the mason's starting with the ecclesiastical effigy soon set up a general practice in effigy-making. We have spoken of the building-masons carving "bishops" on the model of architectural sculpture at Wells (p. 296), at Worcester (p. 604), and then at Hereford and Gloucester (pp. 605, 606). But a change comes about 1280—the ecclesiastic effigy loses all expression of building technique, and like the "knight" and "lady," shows itself a shop-work production, a stock, not a special sculpture. In this a natural treatment of recumbency dispenses with the traditional pictorial effects, and at the same time the qualities of the oolite material express themselves clearly in the handling. And now we get that flat posture and level silky folding of the vestments which were illustrated as distinct western characters in "Chancellor Swinfield" (d. 1291) at Hereford (see Fig. 690, p. 617). Similar shop-style can be seen in what is called the "Baskerville" effigy in the nave of Worcester; also at Hereford in the "Dean Aquablanca" (d. 1320), who is laid by the side of his uncle Bishop Aquablanca, and in a batch of "bishops" whose figures seem to have been sculptured c. 1300 on the same model. At Wells stouter versions of the type occur in the memorial of Bishop Droxford (1309—1322) in the south chapel of the quire (Fig. 694), and also in the north chapel in a figure called that of Dean Myddelton. The heads are propped on thick cushions, and we think them Bristol works. It should be noticed that the small heads, sharp features, and thin-laid vestments of these effigies are much in contrast with another "bishop" at Wells, the "Marcia" effigy, that has deeply-cut draperies and bold big features (see Fig. 644, p. 544); but this remarkable figure we assign to another school.

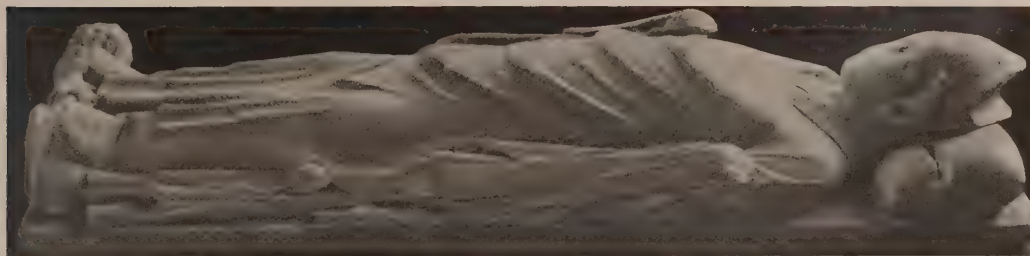


FIG. 694. Wells. Quire. Freestone effigy of "Bishop Droxford." c. 1320.

Memorial figures of "knights" and "ladies" must always have been the main product of the workshop effigy-trade, and in the West of England two stones of different character gave these figures separate qualities in the Exeter and the Severn Valley districts respectively. In the southern city there were bold carvings of a soft sandstone, or of the big chalk-stone of Beer¹, such as the Exeter masons were using for church furniture. In the Severn Valley there is the flatter and neater style of the Bristol and Gloucester schools in the broad thin slabs of the oolite strata. The "knights" and "ladies" of the Devon and Cornwall churches must be classed as generally of the Exeter type. Among the earliest were probably the pair at Beer Ferrers (Fig. 695), and in this case we seem to see the influence of London workmanship, of which the Exeter records of the cathedral building tell us. For, as compared with the earlier Bristol types, there have come easier attitudes: the "knight" shows a less truculent militarism, while the "lady" has angels smoothing her cushion, a motive always to be associated with the Westminster effigy-maker.

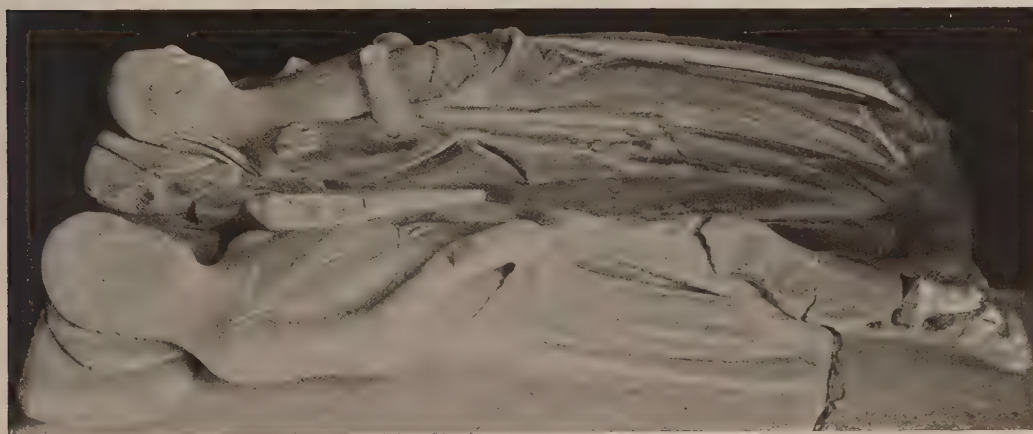


FIG. 695. Beer Ferrers Church (Devon). Freestone "Knight" and "Lady." c. 1300.

¹ Beer stone is got from the extreme east of Devon. Beer Ferrers is another place near Plymouth.

As another sign of London connection, a peculiar workshop method appears in the Exeter effigy—the stone has been surfaced with that gummy plaster (called *gesso* nowadays) that was used for wooden images: the ornament of costume, and often the mail rings can be seen worked in this instead of carved in the stone. Such technique was so distinct a departure from mason's habit that we can hardly be wrong in supposing it the outcome of workshop sculpture in a city like London, where mason-craft was artificialised. In Devon a fine example of this gesso ornament is at Haccombe (Fig. 696), near Torquay, where the floriated pattern, now much perished and patchy, has been spread over the hauberk and chausses of the "knight," as well as on the cushions under his head. On the last the decoration is just similar to what we find on the Westminster effigies, so there is reason to think this figure brought from London.

Still, in the cathedral of Exeter there are gesso-faced "knights" whose peculiar style is plainly not of London but of the western craft, for their



FIG. 696. Haccombe (Devon). Freestone "Knight" ornamented in gesso. c. 1300.

sculpture deals freely with its big free material. The special characters of the Exeter art appear in "knights" such as the two figures in the south aisle of the cathedral quire; in a second knight at Beer Ferrers; also in others at Landkey, Sampford Peveril, and at Lustleigh. Their heads are lifted high upon their tilting helms (see the "knights" in the south quire-aisle) instead of on the cushions of London habit, the shields are held up above the breast, and the left hand grasps the scabbard from which the right draws the sword. This is a local sculptor's development of the southern Purbeck-marble attitude: its martial vigour repudiates the sanctimonious expressions of Westminster where the "knights" fold hands in prayer. The most remarkable of such Devon warriors is that in the north aisle of the cathedral quire (Fig. 697). He is presented lying at his ease with his head propped up on three cushions; a half-size figure of his squire stands at his head, and at his feet his page holds his horse. The romantic detail of such a memorial representation fits in well with the whole expression of the Exeter architecture: its intensity has the note we appreciate in the west-front sculpture (see p. 351).

The "ladies" who in many Devon churches are found by the side of the "knights," develop like their lords some novel attitudes and treatments, away from London types. For example, whereas hands folded in prayer had generally by 1300 become the proper devotion of the recumbent "lady" all

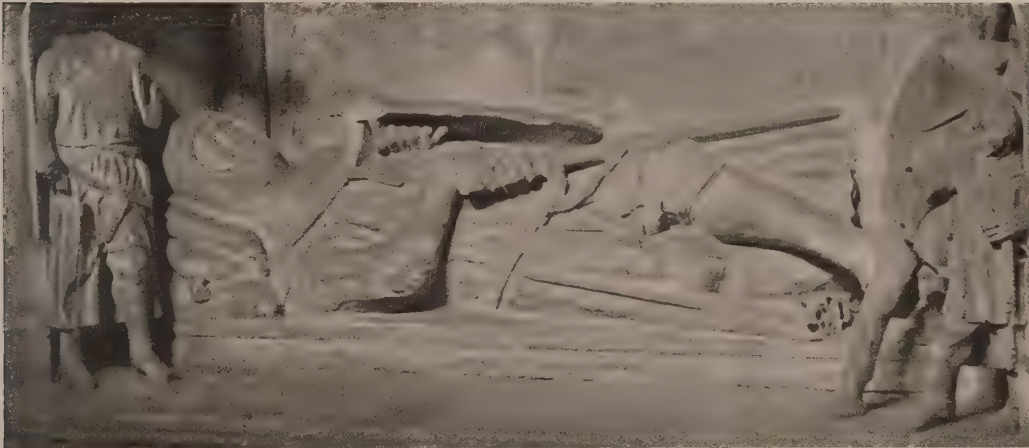


FIG. 697. Exeter. North aisle of quire. "Knight" with squire, page and horse. c. 1320.

over England, the south-western sculptor gives her a book to hold, or sets a small shield in her one hand, while the other toys with the mantle-cord. We illustrate below (Fig. 698) one of the "ladies" at Haccombe, near Torquay, whose quality, like that of the "knight" opposite her in the church (Fig. 696),



FIG. 698. Haccombe. Freestone "Lady." c. 1300.

seems in close imitation of London style. It has the same gracious expression that marks the "lady" at Axminster (see Fig. 689, p. 613) and which we shall see in the "Lady Fitz-Alan" at Chichester (see Fig. 719, p. 643). So the first sculpture of Exeter "ladies" may mean a westward extension of style by way of Salisbury. Other examples—the second at Haccombe, one at Stoke

Fleming, close by, and another at Landkey in North Devon, develop provincial banalities—for example the angels at the head become little puppets with bizarre attitudes, swinging censers, lifting the cushions, or laying hands on the shoulder of the figure. Beer stone is often the material, and an example of great natural expression is at Ottery St Mary, associated with the Grandisson “knight,” whose “cyclas” gives him a date c. 1340, while the “lady’s” coiffure points to a little later. As compared with the earlier figures, the fourteenth-century “ladies” show broad smooth draperies on which it is clear there was once a rich ornament modelled in gesso and painted just as the “knights” have it.

Turning to the other western trade in “knights” and “ladies,” that of the Severn Valley, we see the same course of craft. We have again at Bristol, as at Exeter, the indications of a London influence appearing about 1300, and to some extent pointing the way of the subsequent development. The “Berkeley” effigy in the cathedral at Bristol (that to the east in the south quire-aisle) must, we think, be a direct importation from a Westminster workshop, so like is it to those at the Abbey, by the side of which we shall

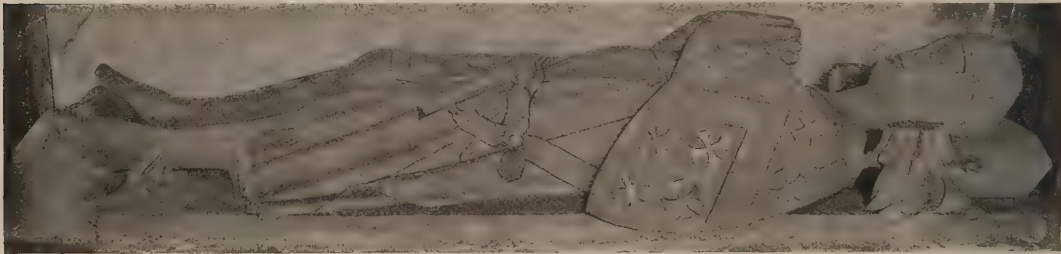


FIG. 699. Bristol. Quire. The straight-legged Berkeley effigy. c. 1310.

illustrate it (see Fig. 731, p. 653). The second Berkeley in the cathedral (Fig. 699) has not followed the London model, except that the hands are folded in prayer and that its finishings are in gesso. His sculptors have made this “Berkeley” to lie straight-legged—a single example among free-stone “knights” between the Rampton warrior c. 1240 (see p. 604) and the Abergavenny “knight” (see Fig. 701, p. 629), which may be dated 1340. All other stone “knights” have been carved cross-legged. Unusual in military figures are the single cushion and the diminutive angels: and there are other points of style which we have illustrated in the case of the Bristol ecclesiastics. We find the same big pillow in Bishop Droxford at Wells (see Fig. 694, p. 623), and the lean long head and narrow chin which after 1300 make the Bristol figures unlike their round-headed brethren of Exeter. Accordingly we may explain the second “Berkeley” as coming from the shop of ecclesiastic figures.

In most cases the "knights" of the Bristol district, though having much in common with this second "Berkeley," are not straight-legged nor prayerful, but take the same cross-legged sword-handling poses as the large knight in St Mary Redcliffe, illustrated on p. 610. A large number of examples can be grouped as sculptured with the depressed shield and level extension of the figure which witness to their sculptors having thin-bedded oolites to manipulate, and not the big sandstones of Exeter. Early specimens almost identical, with single cushion, can be seen in churches near Bristol and at Frampton-on-Severn, while as far away as Worcester a Bristol "knight" seems in evidence in the north aisle of the Lady Chapel. So we see another at Wear Giffard in North Devon, with at his head the same small angels that were given to the second "Berkeley" at Bristol.

The lady-effigies, some nearly approaching the presentment of the Beer Ferrers "lady" (see Fig. 695, p. 623), but more flatly and delicately rendered, occur at Bristol and in its neighbourhood, for example the "Lady Berkeley" in the wall of the Elder Lady Chapel in the cathedral church. Another is at Worcester, a delicately carved figure placed at the feet of Bishop Giffard. The later screen makes photography of this "lady" difficult, but a good drawing of her can be seen in Hollis's collection. We have the date of 1301 given by the Worcester annals, and the silky folds of the dress are sculptured as in the Swinfield effigy which is of similar date (see Fig. 690, p. 617).

The above types of Bristol "knight" and "lady" became regular patterns in the second quarter of the fourteenth century, and from the way in which their specific qualities maintained themselves in a number of figures supplied to west-country churches right up to 1350 we conclude that at Bristol effigy-making was the continued production of a settled trade. There occurs a hackneyed presentation of female costume, the outer cote taken across the figure and modelled in thin folds with overlappings almost like a chasuble, that is to be found in quite a number of the Devon "ladies" to be dated c. 1325 and after. It is the same dress-habit which was illustrated in the images of the "Madonna" as late as 1380 on the gateway of Winchester College (see Figs. 466, 467, p. 394), but in that case should be taken as the ecclesiastical tradition of the sacred figure. In actual life the ladies' dress was towards the middle of the fourteenth century discontinuing that amplitude of cloak and super-tunic which made this overfolding fashionable. After the first quarter of the fourteenth century "ladies" as heavily draped as the Devon figures were anachronisms, and their late occurrences seem proofs of a stock pattern long popular in Bristol effigy-making. Further north, however, in Gloucestershire the changes of costume are reflected in the effigies, and there appear, c. 1330, new forms of both "lady" and "knight." At Frampton-on-

Severn, at Down Ampney and at Leckhampton (Fig. 700) the "ladies" have long straight robes and fold their hands in prayer. When cloaks no longer swept the ground the ladies had no longer to hold them up, and accordingly the sculptors represented other actions: but specially we see the prayerful gesture becoming general. A corresponding change occurred in the "knights"—the surcoat grew shorter and was no longer gracefully spread out upon the slab; and with this curtailment was coupled an increasing display of metal plates. A series of military effigies illustrates this change; for example, at the two churches mentioned above, Frampton and Leckhampton (Fig. 700). Then at Abergavenny is the "knight" called "Lawrence de Hastings" (Fig. 702); and at Tewkesbury a similar effigy in the wall at the east end of north aisle, to take typical examples of the mid-century. To lay hand on the sword was no longer obligatory to the "knight," but like the ecclesiastic and civilian he



FIG. 700. Leckhampton (Glos). "Knight" and "Lady" of Gloucester style. c. 1330.

was often given the posture of recumbent prayer (Fig. 700). At Abergavenny and Tewkesbury, also, the "knights" are seen straight-legged (Fig. 701). The crossed legs of English style went out of fashion at the close of the period when chain-mail ceased to be the chief defensive material of armour, and the plates on thighs and shins were generally used. It would not be easy to cross steel-encased legs. But the first "knights" that rejected this tradition of a hundred years seem disposed a little awkwardly, and with a weak bending of the knees, as if they were still experimental, as at Abergavenny, opposite. Later the whole pose was stiffened, and the alabaster workers recovered the dignity which the straight-legged pose had possessed originally in the Purbeck-marble "knights" (see Figs. on p. 693).

Also these mid-century figures of knights have, instead of cushions, the tilting helm placed under the head (earliest, we think, in the Exeter figures), and finally the surcoat is shown in its shortened use so that it scarcely

reaches the thighs. The distinctions that had all along marked the stock figures of the Bristol trade disappeared to some degree with all this change of posture and accoutrement. The long heads and flat oolite treatments are succeeded by rounder and more lively treatments in a group of "knights"—some with that modification of the surcoat-skirt which is called the "cyclas," others dispensing with the skirt altogether, and adopting the "jupon" and "cmail,"



FIG. 701. Abergavenny. Freestone "Knight," straight-legged. c. 1340.

as became the fashion of the last half of the century. The origin of this new model can, we think, be traced to the mid-England figures which will be put before the reader later (see Fig. 776, p. 690). The western group may be illustrated however in the "Bohun" drawn by Hollis at Hereford; the cross-legged "knight" at Abergavenny (Fig. 702); and finally in the boldly carved warrior at Clehonger in the same district, also drawn by Hollis. These have



Fig. 702. Abergavenny. Freestone "Knight" called Lawrence de Hastings. c. 1340.

as foot-props sprawling dogs, which they turn over with their feet, seemingly the trick of a special workshop. In martial portraiture the Clehonger effigy may well be put side by side with the already mentioned "Grandisson knight" at Ottery St Mary—each in its way representative of the latest style which the romantic realistic phase of fourteenth-century art produced in the two several schools of south-western effigy.

SECTION II. THE NORTHERN TRADES

The art of effigy-making which c. 1300 developed in the northern cities of England was no less romantic and characteristic than what we have seen in the western. We have here a sculpture of allied types with a general likeness of style though worked in three materials—sandstone, magnesian limestone, and Ancaster oolite. But though special qualities developed in the use of the several stones, the dominant style must be accepted as that founded on the magnesian limestone, which was the material that was so lavishly and elaborately worked up by the building-masons of York.

The early Durham and Furness "knights" we noticed (p. 603) were clumsy performances, and there are examples scarcely less accomplished which succeeded them showing in the northern effigy some independence of the Purbeck model. The same may be said of the thirteenth-century "lady" to be seen at Scarcliffe, Derbyshire, which has been figured by Stothard. This effigy is carved holding a child in her arms, and there is a scroll depending, so that the motive is clear—we see here a mason-sculptor founding a recumbent memorial figure upon the "Madonna" image.

Towards 1300 there followed in the "knights" and "ladies" of North England closer copies of the established Purbeck-marble patterns. Still, it may be that the dissemination of the London types in North England took place less in the Purbeck marble figures than in the wooden effigies which as will be explained, were at first copies of the marble, and were being distributed before 1300 to many places. In any case more complete realization of the recumbent figure appears in the north c. 1280. We find "knights" and "ladies" worked in fine sandstone, and showing considerable delicacy of execution, though with a broader treatment of drapery than either the Purbeck or the Bristol figures had adopted. Some of these figures are in the red sandstones of Cumberland and North Lancashire, as at Furness, Dacre, and Cartmel. Some are in the brown gritstone of Durham, as at Egglescliffe and Sedgely. Others, as at Tanfield (Fig. 703) and Hornby (Fig. 704), are made in the finer local stones of mid-Yorkshire. In these effigies both the types that belonged to London style are represented. A few "knights" lay their hands on the sword, following, we may say, the Purbeck-marble type. But most of the figures fold them in prayer, and this in the north is perhaps an earlier adoption of this convention for the English "knight" than is found anywhere out of London. It is to be noted that the wooden effigies in Yorkshire, at Whorlton in Cleveland and at Barnborough (see p. 669), follow it.

The freestone figures have, however, become decidedly freer renderings of martial attitude than either the marble or wood patterns. Though the material of the sculpture must indicate them as worked locally, and therefore



FIG. 703. Tanfield (Yorks). Magnesian limestone "Knight." c. 1290.

probably by building-masons, such as those engaged upon the cathedral works in the quire of Carlisle, or at Durham upon the "Nine Altars," in each case the school of their art would be the workshops of York. This seems necessary because it was in the working of magnesian limestone that the peculiar handling of the northern manner of effigy develops. In the last half of the thirteenth century and the first of the fourteenth, rebuildings of the principal churches secular and monastic were in progress in many parts of Yorkshire. The great cathedral of York was rebuilt, as were the two large Benedictine abbey-churches of the county at York and at Selby, as well as a large number of Augustinian quires. The bulk of this work is in the magnesian limestone, and the façades of these Yorkshire fourteenth-century churches held in their tiers of niches an abundant statue-work. Their rich and varied church-furnitures were illustrated in Book II. (pp. 330 seq.), both material and workmanship witnessing to a prolific and long-continued school of York sculpture. The "knights" and "ladies" record an accompanying craft of effigy-making, for they too exhibit the special characters of York figure-work that have been noted in the statues of the chapter-house and nave of the Minster (see p. 330).



FIG. 704. Hornby (Yorks). "Knight" (limestone), "Lady" (sandstone). c. 1290.

The capital qualities of this York style have been touched upon on pp. 615, seq., where the Bedale "knight" and "lady" were shown as examples. The vigorous modelling of the figure in the recumbent "knight" is combined with luxuriant imagination in the use of accessories. The full folds and convoluted draperies (Fig. 705) are of a kind we saw developed in the statue-sculpture at Durham and York (see pp. 329 seq.). As we there said, this handling of draperies was that of the images and retable paintings which the commerce of the North Sea may have brought into the Yorkshire workshops. The "lady" at Bedale below follows the early effigy at Scarcliffe¹ in holding a scroll with inscription hanging to the feet—a motive that is seen developed in German sculpture and may be noted in a Howden figure (see Fig. 372, p. 334). The suggestion can be hazarded that an imager's art having German connections was responsible for the presentment of the "lady" effigy.

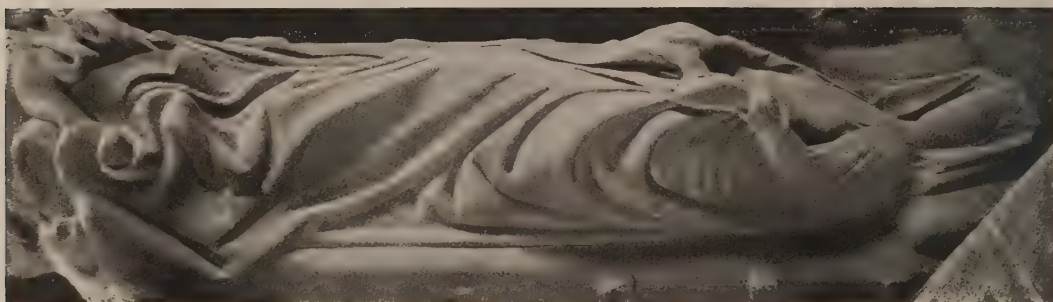


FIG. 705. Bedale (Yorks). "Lady" (white sandstone). c. 1300.

Much in the same way the bare heads and broadly flowing draperies of the "knight" can be seen characteristically in the North German thirteenth-century effigies—at Weckselburg and Brunswick for example. Still, the peculiarities of English make are also equally to the front, for the knightly figures of the York school are cross-legged, a posture unknown abroad, and have their shields to the shoulder as no continental monuments show them.

While both at Hornby and Bedale the "knights" were of the Tadcaster limestone, the "ladies" have been carved in a fine white sandstone, and this points to separate workmanship. Now for the "lady" motive the effigyist could turn to the "Madonna" image; but for a "knight" no custom of images in armour gave the model. Unless a Purbeck-marble or wooden effigy from London were available, the practice of the mason's yard was to hand—the carver of knight-effigies took his style from the architectural statue-maker—and this is how we see him. The factor that moulded the York type of "knight" was to be its material—the big-blocked magnesian limestone of Yorkshire building—and out of this came a big style, just as the thin fine

¹ A scroll is seen on the effigy at Stevenage, Herts, and in the fifteenth-century brasses it is common.



FIG. 706. Howden (Yorks). Transept chapel. Magnesian limestone "Knight" and "Lady." c. 1320.

shellstones made the thin fine style of Bristol. We accordingly take the typical northern effigy as part of the York expression of building, and its material—magnesian limestone—as determining sculpture style in northern England, just as it did the architecture of the churches.

The Bedale figures have near allies in the chapel of the south transept at Howden, in the "knight" and "lady" (Fig. 706), the latter of whom is shown with the same reclining attitude as the "knight"—viz. with one leg laid over the other. We illustrate them as good for comparison with the south-country pair at Beer Ferrers, Devon (see Fig. 695, p. 623), but there has been much surface decay in all the Howden sculpture. The rather flaccid sensuous expression of the northern art is to be distinguished from the finer cleaner taste that appears in southern England. It may be fanciful to say that one represents the German and the other the French side of medieval expression, for the English characters of both are conspicuous.

A number of examples might be cited to illustrate the peculiar points of style. The York effigy in its most typical form was carved with a squat ogee-headed canopy or tabernacle at the head of the slab, which seldom occurs in the south-country effigies. Under this *gablette*¹ (see p. 617)—the cross-legged figure is represented flat on its back, not with the half-sideways attitude popular in London: very often the head is bare instead of hooded in mail, as was general in the knight-effigy elsewhere. Other points are the full-sleeved surcoat, with its skirt represented as bagging in voluminous folds; the mail rendered in interlacing rings instead of in the parallel ridges that were usual in south-country representations; the small shield held close to

¹ So called in Lowick indenture (see p. 694) and in that of Richard II. "hovels" or "gablitiz."

the shoulder; the broad, much-ornamented sword-belt intricately looped; and in all cases the hands folded together in prayer. Finally, accessories of all kinds are abundant—dragons bite the shield points, while animals and little figures enrich the composition on all sides.

Taking examples in detail, we place the Coverham knight (Fig. 707) as a transitional piece close in succession to the simpler figures we noted at Hornby and Tanfield. At York itself, in the Museum of St Mary's Abbey, are fragments of a "knight" with all the characters of York style as we see them at Bedale. At Fountains another "knight," almost a facsimile, but with mail hood instead of the bare head, has been dug up from the ruins, and a very similar figure of great distinction is to be seen at Escrick Church, Durham. A fine but now much defaced effigy with, as at Bedale, a dragon biting the shield, lies at Bainton in the East Riding, a figure assigned to a knight who died 1314. Of this type also, but a small example, is the effigy on the south side in the Temple Church, London: its material appears to be the magnesian limestone of Yorkshire and the figure is said by Richardson to have been brought c. 1700 from Kirkham Abbey. We give the head (Fig. 709), and put by its side an architectural carving of a corbel—a detached piece at Hexham (Fig. 708)—which shows identical expression and handling: the same sculpture of head-features appears too in a fragment lately dug up on a monastic site at Warter, near York. The close resemblance that the architectural pieces have to the memorial sculpture demonstrates how at York the effigies of knights were the work of the building-masons.

Another example of the wide influence of the York workshops can be seen at Cartmel in North Lancashire, where a monument already described has all the character and tricks of the Beverley carving but bluntly executed, as if a York mason had been set to work on the local sandstone. The "knight" and the "lady" here are very similar figures to those at Howden, but carved on the slab at the sides are a set of kneeling statuettes. In other cases, where we see the less vivid execution of the York style, we have no doubt the work of building-masons was fashioning the local material. In the sandstone figures at Furness and Coverham, the expressions are blunt and the handling immature. On the other hand the big short-skirted "knights," such as those at Brancepeth and Howden, may represent a later fashion of the York sculptors. And in these latter cases slabs of stone may have been sent to the capital and returned as effigies.

The York shops may be credited with inventing an ecclesiastic effigy as distinct and characteristic as their forms of "knight" and "lady." At Welwick (Fig. 710) the ogee-canopied dais, the bare head and folded hands, the bold detail of vestments and accessories and cradled enclosures, have the same expression as the sculpture on the Percy monument, or the Cartmel tomb.



FIG. 707. Coverham Abbey. Freestone "Knight." c. 1290.

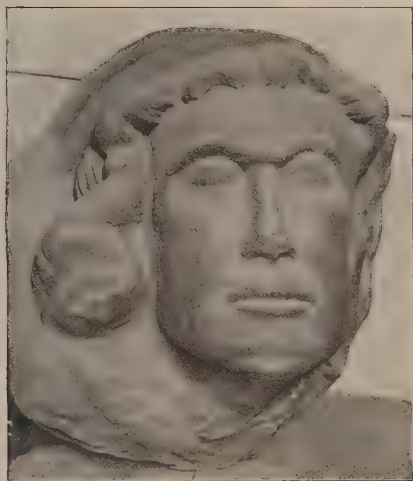


FIG. 708. Hexham. North transept. Gritstone label-head. c. 1300.



FIG. 709. London. Temple Church. Yorkshire "Knight." c. 1300.

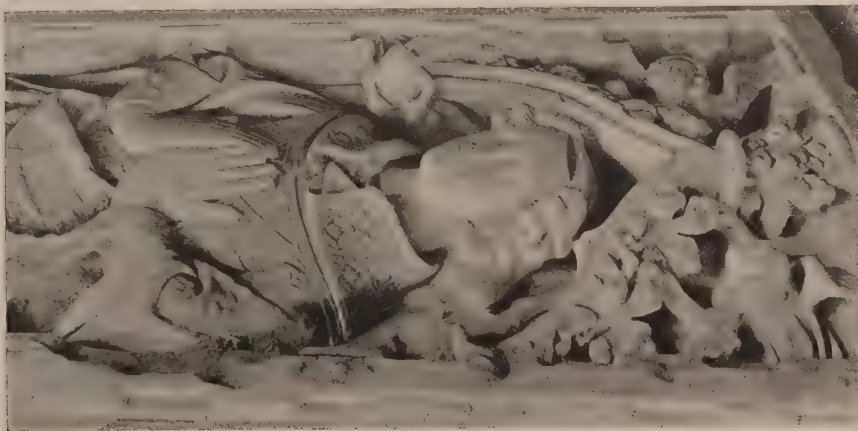


FIG. 710. Welwick (Yorks). Effigy slab of "Priest." c. 1310.

This is a slab cut in high relief to form an effigy much as in German ecclesiastical monuments, and there is the "Priest" at Beverley similar in attitude but with less character.

We have few sculptured effigies of "Archbishops" of York or "Bishops" of Durham, which might have illustrated the northern prelate-effigy of the mid-period. At York Minster, after the marble figure of Archbishop de Gray the inscribed brass of Archbishop Greenfield of 1320 is the only record. At Durham Bishop Hatfield (d. 1381) is the sole ecclesiastic now commemorated by a sculptured figure, and his alabaster effigy must we think have come from London, as no doubt has also the alabaster "Prince" in York Minster. Carlisle Cathedral possesses the fine figure of a Bishop in sandstone which, though assigned to a Bishop of the fifteenth century, must we think be earlier (see p. 710). In York is a figure called that of "Archbishop Savage" who died 1507, but does not seem of that date. Both these figures seem modelled on the fourteenth-century ideas of south-country sculpture. It is much to be wished that a complete survey and illustration were made of the Yorkshire and Durham memorial effigies. At present we can only speak as we have done—uncertainly on many points.

To the south of Yorkshire we pass out of the country of the magnesian limestone and into the Lincoln district of oolite building. The "knights" that we find carved in Ancaster stone at the close of the thirteenth century were of less luxuriant sculpture than the York productions. But in the handling of folds, in the long surcoat, and the treatment of ringed mail there are almost identical expressions with those of York: and also most often the figure lies on its back with the hands folded in prayer. We gave an example, with a single cushion, and therefore early, from Rippingale (see Fig. 71, p. 75) close in date and style to the knight at Tanfield (see Fig. 703, p. 631). The make of a little later date (as the broader sword-belt and double pillow indicate) appears in the "knight" at Gosberton, with his quieter and more elegant posture (Fig. 712). The sideway disposition is, we think, indicative of the spread of Westminster types, just as in the Lincoln sculpture of the Angel Choir, and then in the statues of the "Judgment Porch," we saw the expressions of London workmanship. We shall find the "Alard" at Winchelsea an example (see Fig. 732, p. 653) of this Westminster influence, and we observe how in the ornament of both the Lincolnshire and Sussex tombs there are diapers on a pattern that is to be seen too on the base of the "William de Valence" monument in Westminster, on the Geddington cross, and on screen-work at Lincoln also. The dominance of the London trade of tomb-making was responsible for the dissemination of tricks of style all over the country.

On the other hand local characters survive in the Ancaster district, as for

example in the very spirited "knight" with a "lady" at his side at Threckingham (Fig. 711). Here the florid sculpture leans to the York habit, and other figures of the kind, though with less accent, can be seen in the Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire churches, continuing the type at Hawton and Whatton, places within easy carriage of the Ancaster quarries.



FIG. 711. Threckingham (Lincs). Ancaster "Knight" and "Lady." c. 1310.

When however towards 1325 the skirt of the knight's surcoat was being worn shorter, and was represented as evenly disposed round the waist, instead of flowing abroad, a new make of effigy appears, and in this the head is slightly raised with an elegant inclination, instead of laid flat on the pillow. At Ryther on the Ouse is a "knight" of this kind, that may have come from

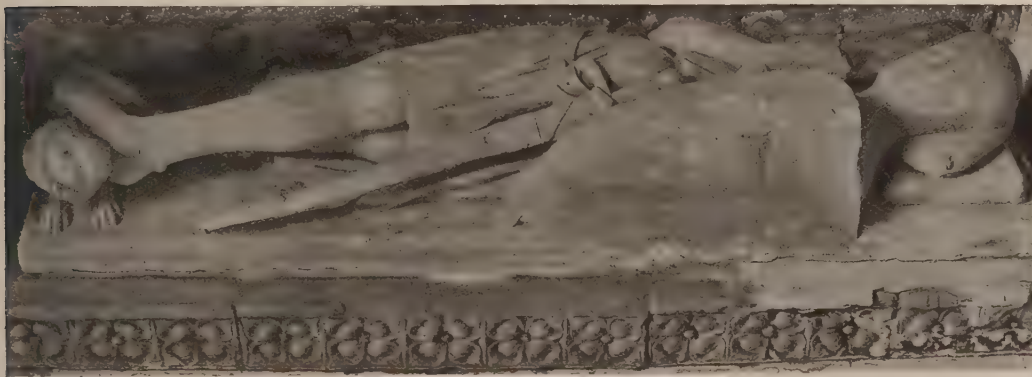


FIG. 712. Gosberton (Lincs). Ancaster "Knight." c. 1310.

Lincoln since there was water-carriage all the way. Or on the other hand, if from York it may indicate the coming north of new types into the workshops of that city. In any case this form of knightly figure cannot be distinguished from the Northamptonshire species, as for example at Warkworth, where

a close London connection is indicated. The style of the workshops in the capital continuously radiated northwards and westwards.

In the Ancaster "ladies" of c. 1300 another factor comes in. The statue-makings of the great eastern abbeys, which at first had been in the coarse oolites from Rutland that were used in east-country building, were afterwards carried out in the finer oolites of Lincolnshire. We have "ladies"



FIG. 713. Swaton (Lincs). Ancaster "Lady." c. 1300.

who in style correspond to the statue-carving of the Abbot's Gate at Peterborough. Such are the figures at Rippingale; at Edenham (Fig. 714) and at Swaton (Fig. 713), with long straight draperies and the arms held high just as we saw in the statues of the Ancaster school; also they are often carved as statues under canopies, so that they have the marks of the architectural carver. But the later distinguished examples, as at Ryther or Threckingham (see back, p. 637), appear as if from an established workshop of effigy-making.

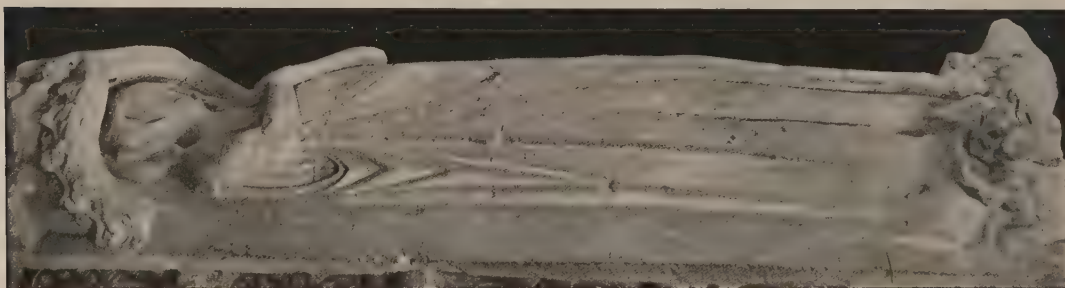


FIG. 714. Edenham (Lincs). Ancaster "Lady." c. 1300.

Were they the outcome of that sculpture school at Lincoln in whose works the Ancaster carvers attained the proficiency of the Easter sepulchre reliefs? At any rate at Ryther the "lady" (who is well drawn by Hollis) has, like the Threckingham "lady" (see back, Fig. 711), long folds of drapery from neck to feet, instead of the billowy raiment of the York "Madonnas" and the "Bedale" dame. Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire and South Yorkshire all

possess these later "ladies," whose type shows itself on the borders of the south-eastern province which was directly dominated by London sculpture.

The cathedral of Lincoln, the episcopal church of the great central diocese of England, might have been counted on to give a whole series of effigies to illustrate the phases of monumental sculpture: but most of its memorials are gone. The Puritans robbed it of the bronze of Queen Eleanor, and all the stone figures are destroyed save two "ecclesiastics" and three "knights" much broken, and all of late execution. The bishop-figures can be dated close upon 1350, but retain traditional effects—such as the dragon at the feet. They exhibit peculiarly thin and evenly rendered draperies, with fringes and *apparels* of delicately carved diapers, the latter trick of style being noticeable in detached statues found at Lincoln (see Fig. 361, p. 325). The one we illustrate (Fig. 715), which is at the east end of the Angel Choir at Lincoln, lies upon the monument ascribed to Bishop Burghersh (1320—1340).

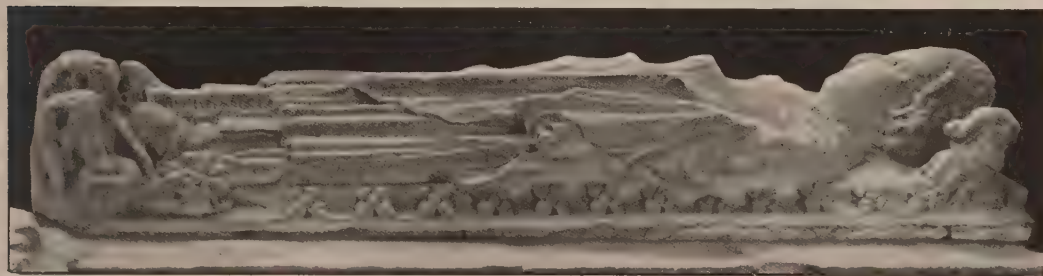


FIG. 715. Lincoln. Effigy of Bishop Burghersh. c. 1340.

Another "ecclesiastic" on the north side of the Lady Chapel seems erroneously ascribed to Bishop Fleming (c. 1420), for its handling suggests a date some fifty years earlier. Others of this type but less ornamented, found at Heckington and elsewhere in the neighbourhood, seem certainly fourteenth-century productions. There are some very rudimentary examples, as if half finished, in Ancaster Church, which may be rejected blocks or figures roughed out at the quarry for the imagers' shops in Lincoln to finish. The material of the Lincoln "bishops" would seem not to be that of the local quarries, from which the stone of the cathedral has come. Also the style of the figures has been conservatively reminiscent of image attitudes. Like the marble "bishops" of 1250 they have the right hand in benediction and the left clasping the staff. It will be shown further on that quite another pattern was in existence in the first alabaster "bishops"—these have always the hands held together in prayer, and are to be referred to a different school of effigy-design, whose conception for the next hundred years made the model of the ecclesiastical effigy.

SECTION III. THE MIDLAND STYLE

In the northern and in the south-western effigies the sculpture of 1300 showed its extreme variation. Between the "knights" of Exeter (see Fig. 697, p. 625) and the "knights" of York (see Fig. 692, p. 617) disconnection of style is obvious. But away from the neighbourhoods of the capital cities the boundaries of effigy-dispersion become vague. Especially in the middle of England one mason-craft mingled its productions with those of another; for, as we have said, the figures were portable, and were often, as we know from records, ordered from a distance. Our third great district of effigy-style c. 1300 is therefore ill defined in its extension, for it was encroached on from both sides, and as we have suggested in the case of the Ryther figures, sent its own strays west and north. Still, separate midland style must certainly be allowed for the first half of the fourteenth century, although its examples do not group themselves systematically round definite centres of distribution. Its chief expression lay in the use of a broad handling of drapery with deep-cut, sweeping folds, that have neither the rumpled abandon of the York school nor the flat overlappings of Bristol.

At the outset, moreover, one can be precise as to the district where a freestone effigy with this manner of drapery came into existence c. 1300. The diocese of Coventry and Lichfield, together with the whole southern portion of that of Lincoln, makes a stretch of country from the Irish Sea through the middle of England, following the line of Watling Street almost to the neighbourhood of London. The introduction of Watling Street in this description is because the Roman road still remained a highway in the Middle Ages, and accordingly it became an artery of sculpture style. Along this district we have a freestone make of effigies at the time when the Purbeck-marble production was still the London speciality and supplied to most parts of England. It must be remembered that at the close of the thirteenth century a large number of statues were being worked for the west front of Lichfield Cathedral (see Fig. 385, p. 342), so that there is reason for regarding the statue-making of the building-mason as stimulating and conditioning a making of effigies throughout the district where the stone was that of the cathedral building. Such figures of the midland sandstone craft would on the east meet those of the Rutland stone-craft which at the same time were copying the Purbeck marble-work: on the west the early Bristol figures would similarly border and compete with them. But their local material—a soft big-blocked sandstone—created a separate effect for their sculpture, which is on bolder lines and of coarser expression than the Rutland or Bristol productions.

At the same time this Lichfield style was brought under London influence and the course of the local art was shaped from the capital. The one statue

left to us to represent the Lichfield sculptors (see Fig. 385, p. 342) shows them in line with the London imagers of the Eleanor crosses. Accordingly the midland effigy-sculpture can be founded on the development of sculpture-craft, which, aiming at easier, cheaper working of a soft stone, was in the school of London bringing to an end the trade in Purbeck-marble figures.

In the first place we must recognise London style in the case of certain ecclesiastical effigies whose big make and bold carving are clear departures from the Purbeck models. Most remarkable are a set of "bishops," to be dated c. 1300, and standing outside the Bristol styles. We have mentioned them as immediately in sequence to the types of "Aquablanca" at Hereford and "Serlo" at Gloucester (see pp. 605 seq.). For example, "Bishop Marcia" (1293—1302) in the south transept of Wells is a largely modelled figure whose characteristic head we have given at the beginning of this Book. Its sculpture is very

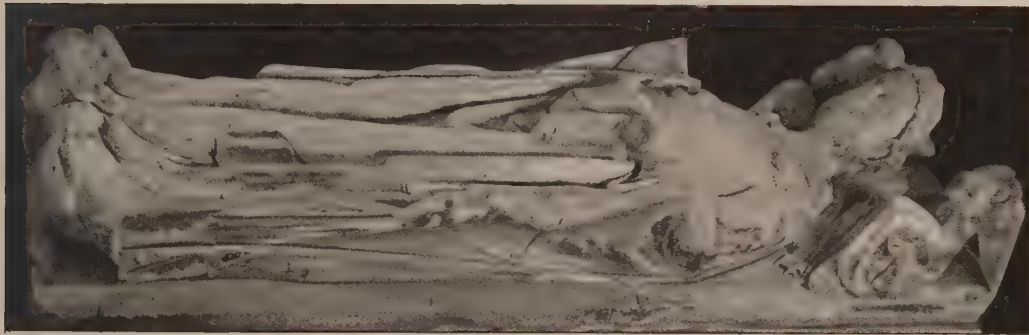


FIG. 716. Chichester. Transept. Caen-stone effigy of "Bishop Leophard." c. 1300.

distinct beside the other "ecclesiastic" effigies in the cathedral (compare "Droxford," Fig. 694, p. 623). Now in the Marcia tomb the relief carvings on the back have seemed to us (see p. 379) a Westminster sculpture of Caen stone, for they are on the model of the "Weepers" upon the tomb of "Crouchback," Earl of Lancaster. Also, as another indication of imported mason-craft, the stone here is dressed with the claw chisel as was not the way with the local dressings.

Another "bishop" (Fig. 716) is at Chichester in the south transept, under the canopy of Bishop Langton's monument, but probably moved from the niche in the Lady Chapel and to be accounted the figure of Bishop Leophard (1280—1303). This shows the large manner of the Marcia figure, with still deeper modelling of folds, while the material seems certainly the Caen stone that was in common use with London and south-eastern building. The attitudes and head-features at Wells and Chichester show the figures closely connected—see for example the large ears, the broad chins, and the hair-treatment. In both monuments, too, the "angels" at the prelate's head are alike in pose, detail, and arrangement with the cushions; and have been

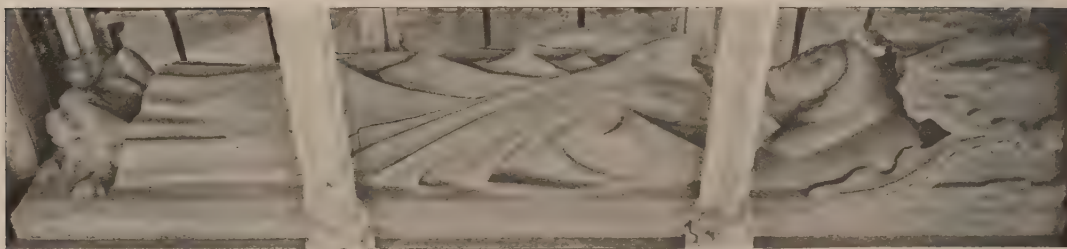


FIG. 717. Oxford. Quire-chapel. Freestone "Ecclesiastic." c. 1320.

modelled as by the Westminster sculptor upon the "Aveline" and "Crouchback" tombs (see Fig. 730, p. 653). Of the same style but some years later in date, as evidenced by the architectural detail, is the effigy (Fig. 717) in Christchurch Cathedral at Oxford assigned to Alexander de Sutton, Prior of St Frideswide's (1294—1316). Here, however, an architectural heading or gablet takes the place of the Westminster "angels."

It was in the royal and princely figures at Westminster that the newest and finest manner of the London sculptors was exhibited. The effigies themselves will be shown separately (see pp. 652, 653), but opposite (Fig. 718) we give a general view of the three great monuments—those of the Countess and Earl of Lancaster being the outside monuments, with the Earl of Pembroke in the middle. The Lady Aveline, Countess of Lancaster, is said to have died c. 1273, and her husband, Edmund, the Earl called "Crouchback"—the second son of Henry III.—died in 1296. But the monuments erected for them have too much likeness to be separated by this stretch of twenty-three years. Indeed the lady's tomb has an architectural treatment (*viz.* the use of crocketed canopies) which can hardly be as early as the above date of her death, or within ten years at least, so that it seems her effigy must be accounted as more likely to date after 1285 than before. Now at Chichester, in the north aisle of the nave, the effigy of Lady Fitz-Alan, who died c. 1280, shows a handling (Fig. 719, opposite) some way towards that of the Westminster lady. At the same time its modelling is much as in "Lady de Bruere" (see p. 613) at Axminster, which we have connected with the Salisbury building, and considered an outcome of the later sculpture style developed in the chapter-house reliefs there. The "Bishop Bronescombe" at Exeter has also (see p. 621) been connected with the Chichester and Axminster "ladies."

We have said, too, that at Salisbury the sculptors of the statues on the west front might well have been the agents in whose figure-craft the new handlings of drapery (see p. 345) first asserted themselves. These influences would, however, appear equally in the "Lady Aveline" monument, the work of Westminster sculptors. There is in it the adoption of ideas that had developed in the sculpture of the St Denis tombs, for example the standing

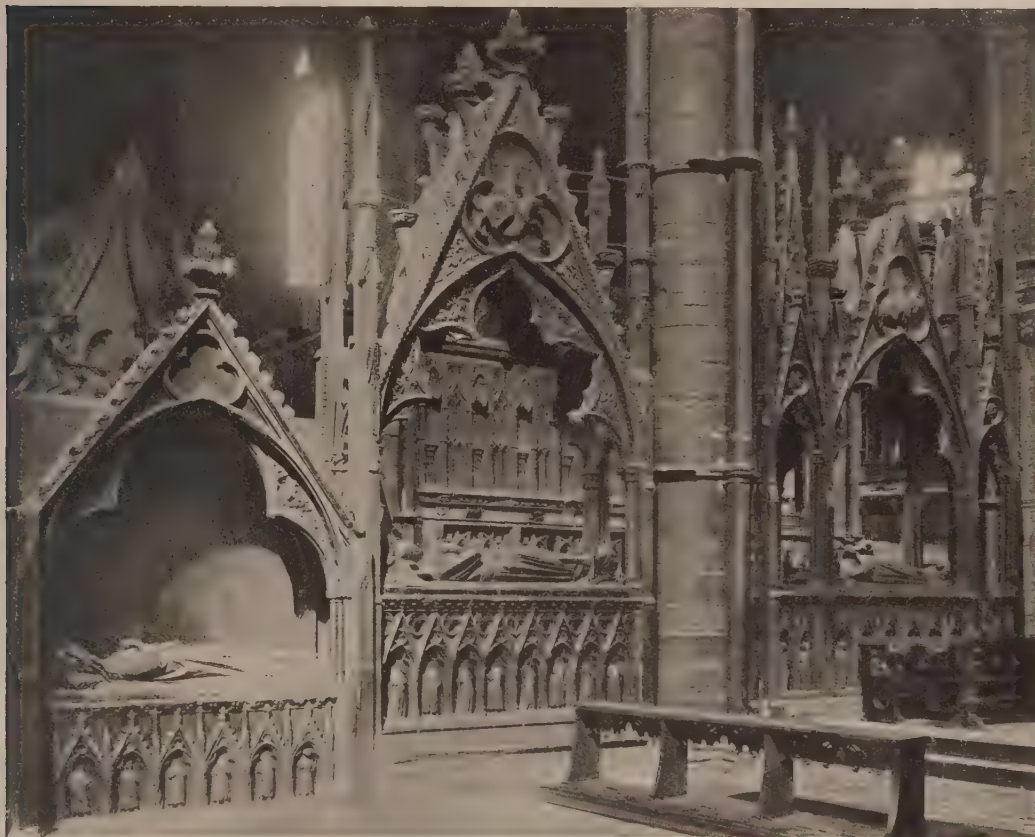


FIG. 718. Westminster Abbey. General view of the tombs on north side of sanctuary: (1) "Aveline, Countess of Lancaster" (d. 1273); (2) "Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke" (d. 1323); (3) "Edmund, Earl of Lancaster" (Crouchback) (d. 1296).

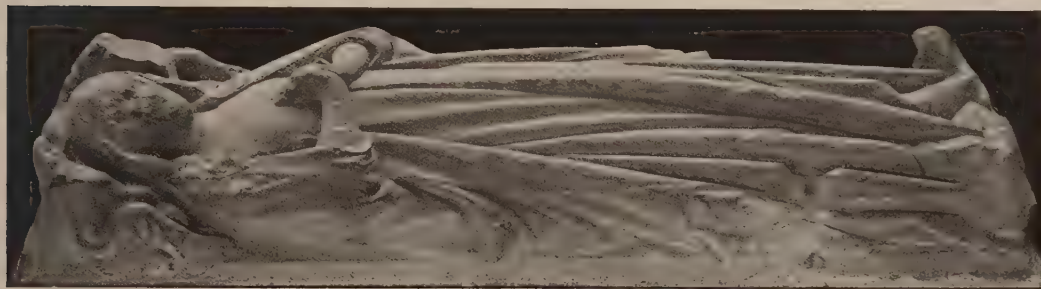


FIG. 719. Chichester. Nave. Freestone effigy of "Lady Fitz-Alan." c. 1280.

"weepers" (see p. 377) set each in a canopied panel, whereas, on the Chichester tomb-chest, they are in the quatrefoils that have copied the Purbeck-marble decoration of housings. The series of cusped and canopied panels (see back, Fig. 718, p. 643) is more in the French fashion, though the figures themselves are of a style with those on the "Lady Fitz-Alan" tomb—that is they face the spectator and do not turn sideways as in the St Denis model. So, too, "Lady Aveline," while adopting the French conception of recumbency, has an English way of carrying it out, turning the body sideways and lifting the head on the double cushions, which had been the fashions of the Purbeck-marble use. Finally, the angels at the head and the lion at the feet are only repetitions of the Purbeck-marble motives, though in a more accomplished sculptural style.

The "Crouchback" monument (see back, p. 643) was in all points a developed edition of his wife's, with a more majestic gabled dais that was specifically the design of the Westminster memorialist and appeared in many tombs thereafter in all parts of England. In this figure all the treatment and particulars of the lady's representation were repeated. The two represent the models of Westminster style, the whole handling of which was perpetuated in subsequent effigy-sculpture throughout England; their angels, cushions, and lion footstools, the folded hands and easy attitudes recur continually in English memorials.

We shall return to this later, but here we may remark that as yet the Westminster accounts have yielded no exact information as to the date of these first monuments in the newly completed quire of King Henry, so that we are uncertain whether the Westminster sculptors achieved these significant and original pieces anterior to or alongside of the Eleanor statues of 1292. Turning to the Lady Aveline figure, however, we can see that as the Axminster and Chichester "ladies" are behind it in style, so two figures carry forward a development from it. One is the so-called "Scholastica" figure at Gayton, Northamptonshire (drawn by A. Hartshorne), and the other the beautiful "lady" at Aldworth, Berkshire (see Fig. 396, p. 349). Now these three lady-figures are, in the first place, grouped together by the sentiment and modelling of their sculpture—which should be compared with that of the "Eleanors" of 1292—both the stone statues of the Queen of Edward I, upon her crosses, and also the bronze effigy made at the same time. Secondly, they show in themselves a sequence of costume and elaboration of motive, making them steps in a continued evolution—a sequence in which the above "Eleanor" figures also take their place (see pp. 344 seq.). The earlier postures had the "ladies" looping up their skirts, or, like Aveline, folding their hands in prayer: but the later, like the Gayton and Aldworth ladies, are to be seen holding the folds of their mantles close to their breasts, one hand toying with a cord, in the

same way as the Eleanor statues. The borrowing from the statue model seems evident, but we have already gone into the question of the connection that the peculiar quality of this sculpture may have had with Alexander of Abingdon, the Westminster artist whose works are recorded: our point here is the origin of this typical treatment in the central style of lady-effigy. As the "Aveline" figure gives one type so the Eleanor bronze effigy gives us another: she has her cloak to her feet, her left hand on the cord, and her right hanging at her side. This is a better representation of recumbency and more natural than the holding of the skirts to the breast. And its simple dignified posture is repeated in "ladies" found all across the middle of England—at Worcester; at Hill Morton, near Rugby; at Warkworth, and Hinton-in-the-Hedges, Northamptonshire; at Ifield, Sussex (Fig. 720); and coming as a break upon the Bristol types, as already indicated, at Leckhampton, near Cheltenham. For though these latest figures of the second quarter of the fourteenth century begin again to fold the hands in prayer, the

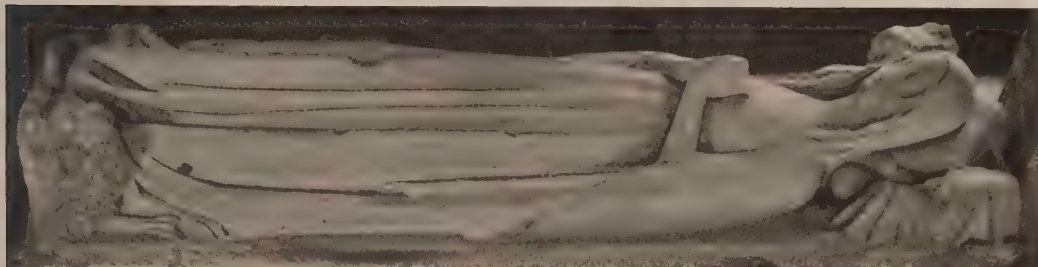


FIG. 720. Ifield (Sussex). Freestone effigy of "Lady," c. 1320.

peculiarly graceful pose of the head, the long, deep folds from breast to feet, and the reclining "Westminster" angels at the pillowside, with the "Westminster" lions at the feet, must group them as a class which is to be recognised as an emanation from the Eleanor figures.

We anticipated illustration of the earliest and less distinguished example—that at Worcester—by putting it as the representative midland effigy, both because it shows the coarser, blunter touch which the sandstone material induced, and also because from its type can be traced a continuous representation, which is in some contrast with that of the Bristol "ladies." These, as we have pointed out, kept to the *chasuble* folding of the cloak in the Madonna fashion. The midland representation, on the other hand, adopts directly the current costume—the smooth tight bodices, the long skirts and the minute buttons on the tight sleeve, and as time went on the big buttons down the front of the *cote-hardi* or open-sided bodice. There was an evident demand in the first half of the fourteenth century for sandstone ladies in the bravery of this fashionable costume.

In the west midlands some of these seem to have been coarsely and bluntly executed. But it must be remembered that the decay of the sandstone surfaces has meant the removal of the finishings of gesso and paint—so that what we see is but the block of an original sculpture once richly decorated. At Abergavenny and Hereford are simple figures much decayed, in which traces of elegance and style can still be discovered. Shallower work appears in the well-preserved "Lady Bohun" at Hereford (Fig. 721), where the architectural sculptor shows himself by the use of a gablet or canopy-head: one can compare the statues cut out of the Romanesque jambs in the doorway of Haughmond Abbey, Shropshire (see Fig. 384, p. 341). Such work seems often accepted in place of the more accomplished representation of the professed effigy-maker¹. It is not, however, our intention to discuss all the varieties of local sculpture that appear in the many "ladies" whose presentments remain often much defaced. As already pointed out, the images and statues of the Virgin and female saints were always at hand to give motives to any local sculptor of a lady-effigy. The really characteristic work was shown in those figures which turned from the ideal or "Madonna" model to aim at lifelike costume and the fashion of the day. It was natural that the more immediate neighbourhood of London should have secured the best sculpture of this kind. The superiority of workmanship would appear in the wooden figures supplied from the capital, such as the Englefield "lady," Berks (figured by Hollis), or those at Sparsholt (see Fig. 72, p. 76), and the manner of their representation would be copied with varying ability. At Warblington, near Portsmouth, is a "lady" in Caen stone, much rubbed away and defaced, but with an extraordinary grace obtained from the simple representation of the current habit. At Aldworth, in Berkshire, where we have already seen the "lady" of c. 1300, there followed the ladies of 1325—equally characteristic and beautiful, but unfortunately headless and too mutilated for illustration. The type of "lady" lasted through the catastrophe of the Black Death, as in the "lady" at Wantage, Berks, and the "Lady Montacute" at Oxford (Fig. 722).

Up to 1300, with the "knight," as with the "lady," the various interpretations of the Purbeck-marble models can be seen in the handling of the midland sculptors. There are on the one hand rather coarse renderings, such as in the example in St Mary's Church, Shrewsbury, the "Harcourt" in the quire transept at Worcester (Fig. 723), or the "De Foix" effigy at Winchester, to be accounted as c. 1300. These represent the attempt to render the London marble model in a soft material of good blocking; they have the attitudes and armour, but not the fire of the Temple sculptures. The "knight" at Tollard Royal, in South Wiltshire (Fig. 724) has a different

¹ As also in a series of civilians and others at Shrewsbury and Hereford.



FIG. 721. Hereford. Lady Chapel. Freestone effigy of "Lady." c. 1310.



FIG. 722. Oxford. "Lady Montacute."

expression: it is a translation of the south-country Purbeck-marble warrior (see Fig. 676, p. 602) into the material of Chilmark stone.



FIG. 723. Worcester. Quire transept. "Harcourt Knight." Sandstone. c. 1300.

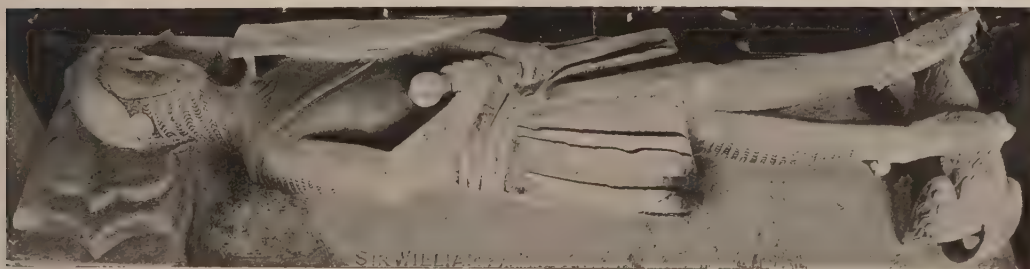


Fig. 724. Tollard Royal (Wilts). Freestone copy of marble "Knight." c. 1310.

Another example of the growing capacity of the local freestone sculptor is seen in the "knight" who with a "lady" beside him has been carved out of the Ham Hill stone for the Athelhampton Chapel at Piddleton, Dorset. This fine figure follows the *composed London* type (see Table, p. 552), of which an authentic specimen occurs at Shorne, near Gravesend, finished in gesso (see p. 624). The wooden figures, as at Southwark (see Fig. 743, p. 665), were carved on the same model. On the other hand, in the neighbourhood of Lichfield the sandstone "knights" at Hill Morton and Braunston, for example, render in the big scantling of sandstone blocks the *vigorous* type



FIG. 725. Hanbury (Staffs). Alabaster "Knight." c. 1300.

(see Table, p. 552). Another example, close to the alabaster quarries, is a "knight" at Hanbury Church, Staffordshire (Fig. 725)—our first example of the alabaster effigy. The big carving and bold attitude of these midland military figures were characteristic of local mason-craft, although the posture in its cross-legged and sword-drawing energy can be traced back to the workshops of London. What vigorous action could be given to the London conception of military recumbency may be instanced in the "knight" at Hatfield Broadoak, in Essex (for which see Stothard's drawing) and in a better preserved example (Fig. 726) from Dorchester (Oxon). The two knights of the Temple, which are of Reigate stone, are also remarkable works, and were described by

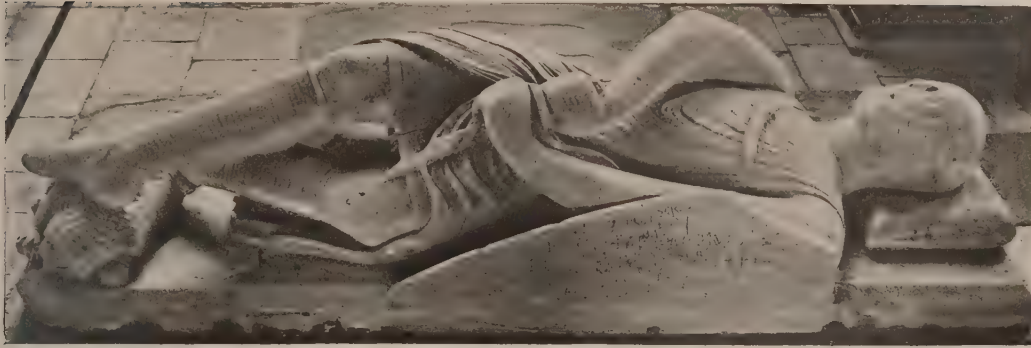


FIG. 726. Dorchester (Oxon). Vigorous London type of freestone "Knight." c. 1310.

Richardson as in good preservation when he repaired them. He mentions that they were elaborately coloured, and we can scarcely doubt that the effigy-shops of London were responsible for their style.

One of the most remarkable sets of "knightly" effigies was that in the neighbourhood of Oxford, at Aldworth, where the lady-figures have been already described. The series seems to follow immediately on the Temple freestone type and shows a romantic development of the military figure, though later specimens towards the middle of the century witness to a toning down of its expression. There are here seven "knights," to be dated from c. 1300 to c. 1350 by the details of their armour, most cruelly mutilated, but all having evidence of an unusually brilliant idealism. This started with a free rendering of the Purbeck marbler's latest attitude—that of the warrior holding hand to sword—and gave it a gradually increasing freedom and natural action, till the sculptor seems in the fourth and fifth of the series to be almost modelling a "Dying Gaul" in the type of Pergamene sculpture (Fig. 727). In the sixth and seventh "knights" of the series, however, there is a less martial representation, bringing them in line with the quieter posture of the "ladies" c. 1350. In these "knights" the delicate renderings of costume give every string and strap.



FIG. 727. Aldworth (Berks). Freestone "Knight." c. 1320.

The "Dying Gauls," if we may so call them, of Aldworth are matched by other instances of romantic sculpture of this date. The "knight" lying as if ready to spring to his feet is seen, for example, in the "Shurland" in Sheppey, in the "Ingham" at Ingham in Norfolk, and in the "Kerdeston" at Reepham (Fig. 728), in the same county. Their attitudes of martial recumbency have all been figured by Stothard, who has assigned to them the above names, which, whether exactly justified or not, would seem to place them as about contemporary with the Aldworth figures. In all the use of the helmet or *bascinet* appears, at Sheppey fastened apparently under the *coif de mailles*



FIG. 728. Reepham (Norfolk). The "Kerdeston" knight. c. 1350.

but in the others worn outside, in the fashion of c. 1340. This first use of the *bascinet* was coincident with such a number of forms in the outer coverings which ornament or etiquette superposed upon the mail shirt that at the date every sculptured knight might be taken for an individual study in martial costume. At Sheppey we have the surcoat treated as a padded coat (*gambeson*): at Ingham is shown the *cyclas*, which is a surcoat cut short in front for convenience in riding; at Aldworth are to be seen various shapings and petticoatings of the surcoat skirts; at Reepham the *jupon*, with the skirts entirely removed has been reached. This latter figure, conceived as laid on a stony bed, bivouacking on the battle-field, is clearly the latest of the series,

and perhaps the last of all the romantic characterizations of the "knight" which the London school devised.

In the western style the representations of the same date had been more truculent—the "Grandisson" of Ottery St Mary, Devon, has the sword at point: the Pembridge at Clehonger, Herefordshire (see Stothard's drawing), holds a dagger. But the tendency of the midland sculptor was finally to adopt quieter motives, as in the latest Aldworth "knight," who is laid straight-legged and folding his hands in prayer, like a "lady." Still, at Alvechurch, Worcestershire, a "knight" (figured by Stothard) with accordion-pleated skirt, of the latest fashion, c. 1350, is cross-legged, as also is the alabaster "knight" at Wantage. These grasp the sword-hilt, and in them we have, with the exception of two "knights" at Dorchester, Dorset, the latest instances of the cross-legged sword-drawing convention which had marked the English "warrior" for a hundred years. Thereafter the "knight" was no longer ready for combat, but like a priest he was to pray, or like a courtier he was to hold the hand of his lady. And like the ecclesiastic and the lady he was now to lie straight-legged.

The alert martial attitude, if invented as a characterisation for "knights" by the Purbeck marbler, was advanced to its lively expression by the freestone sculptors, who may be counted as its real exponents. And now the shift to quieter conventions was to be marked again by a change in the status and conditions of the sculptor-executive. The many varieties of attitude and expression which we have discussed as distinguishing the second period of memorial figure were based on the fact that effigy-making was a stone-mason's craft—the free exercise in architectural sculpture had made the genius of its many-sided faculty. We have started our examples of c. 1300 in each case on the ground of a building use, and the whole South of England has in this way seemed the home of varieties in martial aspects which were diverse in sentiment, but vied with one another in romantic ideality. When therefore succeeding this we find in the effigy, in place of versatility and freshness, a general uniformity and what we may call a stock treatment of the recumbent figure, it would seem that the building-mason had yielded the genius of effigy-making to an "imager," that is to say, to a city trade, carried on outside the experience of the building yard.

Now London production had made use of the martial attitude, and the more distinguished examples of its use may be those of London sculptors. Yet London was the place where imager's sculpture was at home; because, since there was no building stone in London, the building crafts in the capital were of the nature of shop-crafts. It is therefore not surprising that by the side of the sword-drawing "knight," whose varieties we have taken as versions of London style, there should have appeared another model carrying on the

tradition of recumbent quietude seen in the first Purbeck attitudes. In its persistence we may be allowed to find also the fact that continental usage had always this quieter style that was influencing the artists of the English capital. Thus, in the great tombs of Westminster Abbey (shown on p. 643) we have the "Earl of Lancaster" (Crouchback), d. 1296 (Fig. 730, opposite) and "Earl of Pembroke" d. 1323 (Fig. 729, below), both represented with hands folded in prayer and posed elegantly towards the altar, with angels nursing their heads. The lions that prop their feet are not the standing creatures, rather shaggy and heraldic, such as the first freestone carvers of effigy made their version of the marblers' conventions, but they are well-modelled, if diminutive, lions fawning at the feet of the effigy. These Westminster figures all accept the repose of the continental conception, in which the "knight" lies composedly in prayerful resignation. They are, however, cross-legged,



FIG. 729. Westminster. Sanctuary. The "Earl of Pembroke," Aymer de Valence. c. 1325.

which is the English speciality; and they represent the best sculpture of "knights" in England. It is, however, a sculpture of imagers not of stone-masons: the shields have not been carved out of the block, but were added, probably in wood or metal: the mail is not carved either, but has been represented by a gesso modelling. These are significant indications that the shop practice, in London at any rate, began to govern the sculpture of memorial figures in its most fashionable exhibitions, and so determined the subsequent course of style.

The gesso finishing of the Westminster effigies c. 1300 has been already described as occurring in the "knights" of both Exeter and Bristol. In the latter case the "Berkeley" (Fig. 731) is so closely of the Westminster pattern that we illustrate it here as exported from London to Bristol. Another figure that seems also as if from the same atelier is an "Earl of Oxford" at Earls Colne, who is shown with a boar at his feet.



FIG. 730. Westminster. Sanctuary. The "Earl of Lancaster," Crouchback. c. 1295.

But at Winchelsea the "Alard" (Fig. 732), a figure very close to the Westminster type, has the mail carved in stone, with a somewhat bolder treatment, as if a stone-mason were following the imager's pattern, just as earlier



FIG. 731. Bristol. Quire-aisle. The cross-legged "Berkeley." c. 1300.

we saw in the Gosberton "knight" (see p. 637). Still, the whole pattern of the monument at Winchelsea and its ornaments of diapered roses (already mentioned) are at any rate in close alliance with London work. Also, as at Bristol, there is a later "knight," seemingly a copy by the local masons.

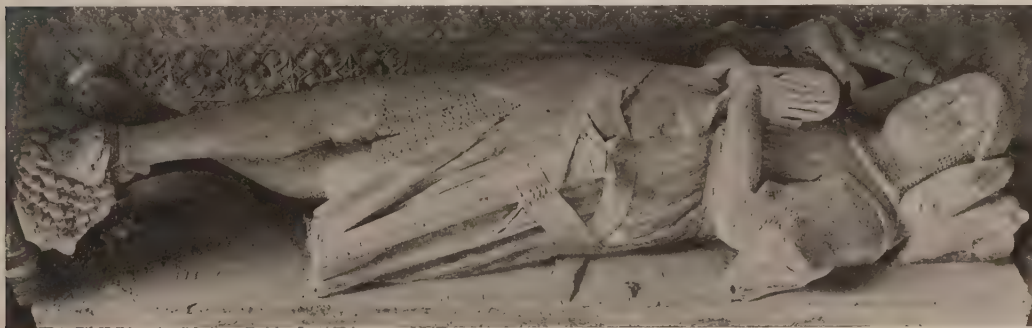


FIG. 732. Winchelsea (Sussex). The first "Alard." c. 1300.

At Winchelsea the second "Alard" can be matched almost exactly by a "knight" at Ash, in Kent, the earlier of the fine effigies in this church (Fig. 733). In both figures the sculpture of the lions at the feet can be distinguished from the free reclining representations of Westminster, being that cramped crouching version of the beast that was in favour with the Corfe marblers—who, as we have suggested, were still trading in their "knights" and civilians when the London marble effigies had ceased. At Canterbury the stone-workers occupied on the cathedral would initiate and continue a craft of effigy-making for Kent and Sussex based on Purbeck models. But the London influence would be sure to reassert itself, particularly the wooden memorial figures that were distributed from London would give new models. At Warkworth, Northants, the earlier knight of the two in the church, and the almost similar figure at Sparsholt, Berks—both unfortunately much worn—can be seen to be fine examples of a freestone representation, almost identical

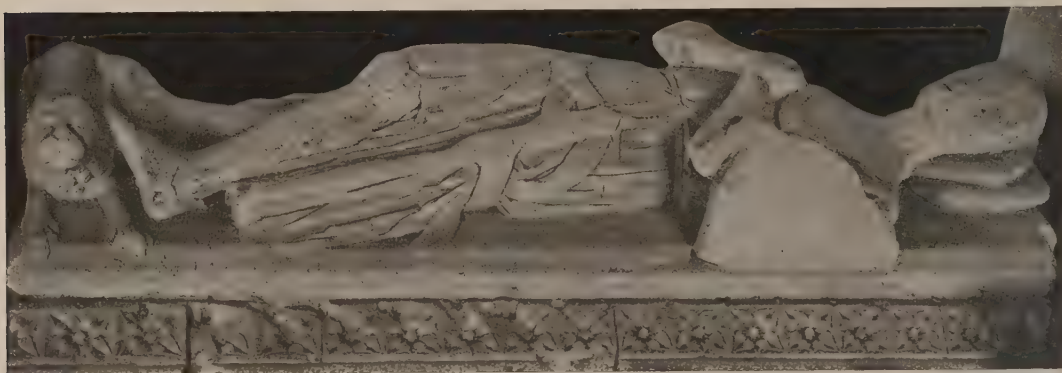


FIG. 733. Ash (Kent). The earlier "Knight." c. 1310.

with that of the wooden example at Burghfield, Berks (see Fig. 749, p. 668), which has all the Westminster characters of the school c. 1310. A generation later we see the straight-legged knight at Sutton, Yorks (Fig. 735, opposite), coinciding with the wooden straight-legged model such as was supplied to Fersfield, Norfolk, no doubt from a London shop. At Hinton-in-the-Hedges and Paulerspury, Northants, are two straight-legged sword-handling knights of this date, exactly similar, the wooden figure at the latter place being the model for a freestone replica at the former. The consummate example of this mid-century straight-legged model is the second "knight" at Warkworth, Northants, to be presently illustrated (see Fig. 765, p. 678), whose elaborate and sturdy presentment must, without doubt, be of the London workmanship, for there can be seen the same details of equipment and the same modelled lion as in the other type of *cyclas*-wearing "knight," that of the figures at Waterperry, Oxon, and at Ifield, Sussex (Fig. 734). These must be immediately associated with Westminster style, for in every detail they are

close copies of the alabaster "John of Eltham" at Westminster. Just as alabaster was, as we shall see, imported for London work, so the materials in which the Warkworth and Ifield figures were carved were those brought into London for building purposes—from Reigate, or from Caen, or the clunch from Totternhoe. Another example of great delicacy is to be seen at Horley, close to the quarries of Reigate stone. They all have a particularly elaborate and delicate chasing of surface ornaments, exhibiting the jewels and embossed decorations which made rich the sword-belts and the lion-faced roundels that

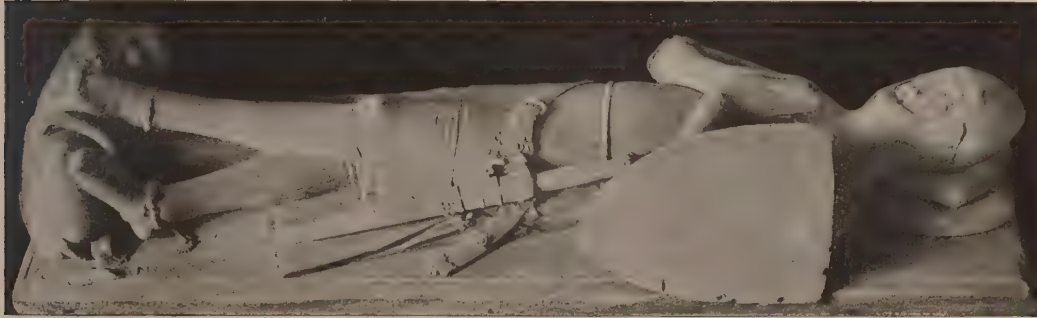


FIG. 734. Ifield (Sussex). Caen stone "Knight" in chancel. c. 1335.

were worn for protection at the joints of the harness (see drawings by Stothard of the Ifield knight, and by A. Hartshorne of the Warkworth). But this insistence on surface handling (see Figs. 734, 735) brings the figure-sculpture of effigies to the threshold of a new style, and its tendency was to culminate in the rich alabaster treatments of the fifteenth century, outside the genius of Mid-Gothic. In the first achievements of the Westminster school



FIG. 735. Sutton (Yorks). Freestone copy of wooden "Knight." c. 1340.

only the larger modelling was stone-carved:—a plaster surfacing was laid over the work, and this, at first only painted to exhibit the ornaments, was afterwards worked in relief. In this way a technique which was not that of the stone-carver had developed—a technique that had its province in those various other classes of effigy, of wood, bronze and alabaster, in which the ateliers of London style found their most characteristic art.

CHAPTER V

THE LONDON EFFIGIES c. 1280—1360 IN BRONZE, OAK, ALABASTER AND CLUNCH

SECTION I. THE BRASSES AND BRONZE EFFIGIES

A MEMORIAL effigy other than that of the sculptured figure, had appeared at the close of the thirteenth century. This was the flat engraving on brass, which may be briefly mentioned as illustrating the leading position with regard to monumental work that the freestone carver of effigies held for the half-century 1280—1330. Just as we shall see the wood-carvers of effigies were at the outset dependent for their models on what the marble and stone sculptors did, so the makers of brass memorials outlined, not original pictures of the deceased out of their own fancy, but what they saw in the round, in the stock productions of the masons.

For example, those two beautiful "lady-brasses" of the early fourteenth century, the "Dame Joan" at Cobham (Fig. 736) and the "Lady Margarete de Camoys" at Trotton (see Macklin, p. 28), are a reminiscence of the sculptured model. From it they have got the delicately rendered attitude with the knee slightly bent which was given the "Aveline" at Westminster in stone, and which the "lady" at Hildersham has in wood copied from the stone. So c. 1330 the "Lady de Creke" at Westley Waterless, Cambs (see Macklin, p. 24), has the appearance of having her lines traced after the presentment of a long wooden lady-figure such as that at Woodford (Northants) figured by A. Hartshorne, p. 11. In the brass renderings of the "knights" are found consecutive correspondences with each fashionable pose of the sculptured effigy. The earliest military brass remaining (dated c. 1277), at Stoke d'Abernon (see H. Druitt, frontispiece), is of a knight straight-legged, and as it were an incised copy of some such Purbeck sculpture as that illustrated from Sandwich (see Fig. 667, p. 591). At the end of the century the brass at Trumpington, near Cambridge, and the "De Bures" at Acton, Suffolk, have the cross-legged convention of the stone effigies such as the Gosberton "knight" in Lincolnshire (see Fig. 712, p. 637) or those at Winchelsea (see Fig. 732, p. 653). So the "Septvans" brass at Chartham, Kent (Fig. 737), can be seen drawn with the perspective values of a recumbent sculpture (note the crown of the head and the foreshortening of the feet). These likenesses do not consist in similar representations of ordinary accoutrements, but in the conception of the artist—a composed and graceful carelessness of attitude has at a date c. 1300 succeeded the

early stiffness of the first recumbent "knights." In a subsequent stage we note how the "knight" by the side of the Westley Waterless "lady" (see Macklin, p. 24) and the very similar engraving of the second Stoke d'Abernon "knight" (see Druitt, frontispiece) have been outlined in those rather weak-kneed attitudes of straight-legged recumbency that the stone-carvers c. 1325 gave the figures of the *cyclas* and *bascinet* (see Fig. 701, p. 629).

In the detail of brass engraving, too, the rendering of mail has its variations, that follow suit with the fashions of the stone-carver. The eastern examples represent the hauberk or shirt of mail with interlacing rings, while



FIG. 736. Cobham (Kent). "Dame Joan."
c. 1300.



FIG. 737. Chartham (Kent). "Sir Robert
de Septvans." c. 1300.

These are photographs of the very excellent drawings of these brasses made by J. G. Waller, and now belonging to the Society of Antiquaries.

certain south-country brasses show it in banded rows, just as was the manner in each case with the stone-carver. The reader is asked to verify these observations by turning to the many efficient illustrations of "brasses" that have been published—but the "Dame Joan" of Cobham and the "Septvans" knight, show the line-engraver inspired by the best figure-sculpture.

In the above Cobham brass an architectural *gablette* or canopy has been engraved above the lady's head just as we see was cast for the bronze figure of Queen Eleanor. The extent to which the brass-maker relied on

the monumental architecture before him comes out in the famous Elsing brass in Norfolk (see Druitt, pp. 184 seq.), on which appears an elaborate canopy traced immediately from the architecture of the Westminster gables which tower above the "Crouchback" and "Aymer de Valence" tombs. The brass has the ogee cusplings¹, the big crocketed brackets, and the same riding knight in the trefoil of the gable. All through, but especially at its start, the art of memorial engraving on slabs was directly under the influence of the monument-maker, whose stone figures and wooden "knights" and "ladies" were sent about the country.

Yet, while this is so, certain peculiarities of the brass-engraver's style of figure-work have to be explained: for example, the hands in the memorial figure in brass scarcely ever deviate from the correct position of prayer². We know of no case of the military representation of a brass showing the hand to the sword—as all through mid-Gothic style had been the favourite sculptor's idea for his "knights." Now the wooden figures are also most often in agreement with the brasses and favour the prayerful Westminster model. We have therefore in brass and wood, as well as in a large class of stone-sculpture, three separate crafts of figure-work showing similar conceptions. That this accord meant that *imager's* style had annexed the monumental effigy we have, we think, now sufficiently insisted.

And this *imager's* style was to outlive the stone-mason's conceptions of the monumental figure, for the reason, as we have said, that the London imagers were directly in touch with the accomplishment of continental sculpture, and so their methods were passed on as the proper mode through the crisis of art which the Black Death in England induced. Yet for the half-century preceding the plague architectural ideals controlled art. The building-sculptor was able to hold his own against the shop-sculptor, that is to say, architecture still encompassed figure-work, and the statue got its meaning in the body of the building. The bronze effigies of 1290 are evidence that the stone-mason's model was the effectual pattern in effigy-work, and still conditioned the skill and art of the London goldsmith.

The series of bronze "kings" and "queens" of England start with the memorials of Henry III. and of Eleanor the Queen of Edward I., and we have exact information from the accounts of the trustees who were appointed to carry out the royal works. There can be read in the rolls at the Record

¹ The ascribers of this brass to a foreign source on the ground of the accoutrements cannot have noticed the London connection which the copying of the Westminster architecture involves. French armour might be a matter of wearer's taste, but the English detail of masonry could hardly be in the repertoire of a foreign engraver's style.

² The bishops of the fourteenth-century brasses have at first the benediction posture which changes to the praying attitude in the latter part of the century. About 1400 some "knight and lady" brasses show them holding hands, as does the contemporary sculpture. The founder's brass at Cobham shows the knight with the church model.

Office the entry that during the year 1291 the sum of £113. 6s. 8d. was paid to William Torel, *aurifaber*, in respect of the figures of the "king and queen" at Westminster, and for another figure at Lincoln. This last is known to have been a bronze of Queen Eleanor which was destroyed at Lincoln by the Parliamentarians, but the other two (Figs. 738, 739, pp. 660, 661) remain at Westminster¹, and make our most valuable possessions of medieval art.

The Torels appear to have been a family of goldsmiths settled in London for at any rate three generations before the William mentioned in the entry, that is to say they would be goldsmiths engaged in the commerce of image-making, and in the supply of shrines and reliquaries to churches. Nevertheless, these Westminster bronzes, while they have the accomplished modelling of a figure-sculptor, do not exactly exhibit the craftsmanship which the long-established technique of metal-casters engaged upon life-size figures would produce. Though apparently cast on the *cire perdue* system (in which a layer of wax is modelled upon a core and replaced in the mould by metal) they are unduly solid, with an extravagant thickness of metal, such as experience in the founding of big figures would have modified. We conclude accordingly that these effigies were larger works than the founder had been accustomed to treat, and that from want of experience he has used the methods of casting that were suitable for the smaller metal imagery of his trade.

On the Continent, however, large bronze castings of figure-work had been successfully and economically produced at a much earlier date. The founders of Tournai were specially skilful; for example, the large bronze effigies of the bishops of Amiens are accounted their work. It is reasonable therefore to suppose that for the king's service Master Torel was put to the task of producing the like of certain French bronze effigies², although his practice had not hitherto attempted such large figures. Bell-founding was of course a great craft of metal-casting, and practised extensively at that date. But Torel was not a bell-founder but a goldsmith, and his technique would be that of his goldsmith's trade in images. For modelling life-size effigies of king and queen he had no patterns, but must turn to those of stone effigy-work, and this much the style of his work tells us. He was in the same position, indeed, as was the imager who engaged to supply the recumbent figure of Archbishop Peckham in wood. Though the church images of standing saint and bishop were ordinary work, the commission for a recumbent figure meant that he must go for models to the mason's sculpture that had long been

¹ W. Burges, in Scott's *Gleanings from Westminster Abbey*, speaks of a third figure of Queen Eleanor put over her heart at Blackfriars. The accounts, however, do not mention such a third figure of the Queen.

² The corresponding figure in France is that

lying in St Denis and called Catherine de Courtenay (d. 1306). There is much in common between the two figures, but the flattened rendering of the French bronze shows the style of the Tournai slab. Queen Eleanor has the robust modelling of the English stone models.

engaged on effigies. So Torel's drapery follows that of the marblers, being modelled like that of "Bishop Inglethorpe" at Rochester (see Fig. 675, p. 600) or of the wooden "Archbishop Peckham" at Canterbury.

Still, to some extent the Westminster effigies as a group are in correspondence with the contemporary French works. "King Henry" (Fig. 738, below) and "Queen Eleanor" (Fig. 739, opposite) lie on their backs with the same easy grace as the "kings" and "queens" at St Denis—their robes are laid to their limbs with the same even serenity. It is true there are differences: Torel's figures are more robust, and particularly his heads are raised higher on the double cushion, which is also what we have seen in the Caen-stone "Aveline" at Westminster. The head-features, too, are English:—"Queen Eleanor's" face is modelled very much like that of "Bishop Bronescombe" at Exeter (see Fig. 693, p. 620)—it has the squarely cut outline, with strong cheek-bones and square chin, the same prominent bulge of the eyes, their narrow slits, with the arched brows above. So also "King Henry's" head



FIG. 738. Westminster. Confessor's Chapel. Bronze memorial of Henry III. c. 1290.

is on the model of the bearded type of Purbeck-marble "bishop"—like that of Bishop Bridport at Salisbury (see also Fig. 657, p. 582). Finally, the method of the niche, beneath the gable of which "Eleanor's" head is placed, is all of the school which the tradition of the Purbeck marbler followed. The cushions and other accessories of Torel's castings are finely engraved on the metal with the same patterns as were worked in gesso on the stone effigies of the Westminster types. All the indications point to Torel having founded his conception upon the style of the London memorialist. We may take all the particulars of Torel's figures as samples to illustrate the central technical expression of English style, as the London effigy-makers made it. However, all the features of the Westminster bronzes have, in other respects, been so fully and well described by W. Burges in Scott's *Gleanings from Westminster Abbey*, pp. 147 to 155, that it is unnecessary to go over similar ground.



FIG. 739. Westminster. Confessor's Chapel. Bronze head of "Queen Eleanor." c. 1290.

SECTION II. THE OAK EFFIGIES

The wooden recumbent figures which were carved by the medieval sculptors as monumental effigies remain scattered about in English churches to the number of about eighty. Two-thirds of them would appear to belong to the eighty years from 1280 to 1360—that is to say to the period which we have called that of Mid-Gothic style, marked by a character of its own in the effigy, as in other sculpture. After c. 1360, for some hundred and fifty years, the use of the oaken memorial seems to have gone out of fashion, and the alabaster and brass trades of memorial representations superseded that of wood, so that only some five or six examples can be assigned to the fifteenth century¹. But again after 1500 the craft of the wooden effigy revived for the reason, it is said, that the alabaster trade of big figures was dying out owing to the exhaustion of some of the best quarries. Be this as it may, a score of examples remain of the later production of wooden figures—one set in a Durham district and another in South-East England that will be mentioned in the discussion of the later effigies.

¹ The most important are the "Lord and Lady the "Lord and Lady Nevill" at Brancepeth (see Suffolk" at Wingfield (see Fig. 753, p. 671), and Fig. 811, p. 713).

The mid-Gothic production of wooden effigies remains to us in one important ecclesiastic commemorated—the already-mentioned "Archbishop Peckham" (d. 1292) at Canterbury (Fig. 740, below). That oak, instead of marble or stone, should be used in the case of such a dignitary is proof of a reputation for the material such as we think would only obtain in the great "imager" shops of London. In them marble had up to the last decade of the thirteenth century been deemed appropriate for kings and ecclesiastics: but in 1290 King Henry III. and Queen Eleanor were being commemorated in bronze. At Westminster, however, the king's half-brother, William de Valence (d. 1296), was figured on his tomb in oak overlaid with enamelled plates which were, it would seem, obtained from Limoges (see p. 7) by the effigy-makers. It would be from the hands of such imagers that the Archbishop was modelled in wood. And just as the Purbeck-marble ecclesiastic had been jewelled and gilded, and as we have seen "Bishop Bronescombe" at Exeter, a stone figure, elaborately ornamented with painted patterns, so the oak modelling of Archbishop Peckham's figure was the block that was surfaced over with appro-



FIG. 740. Canterbury. Transept. Wooden memorial of "Archbishop Peckham." c. 1290.

priate decoration. In attitude and shape of figure the "Archbishop" is close to the Exeter "Bishop," but the handling of the drapery is nearer that of the "Lady Aveline" at Westminster, so that its source of style seems clear. The mitre appears to have been a separate block, and possibly was a metal adjustment like the shields of the "Westminster knights."

There is, however, another wooden "ecclesiastic" left us, perhaps of somewhat earlier make than "Archbishop Peckham." At Clifford in Herefordshire the oak figure (Fig. 741) is arranged and modelled so nearly after the stone effigy of Bishop Aquablanca (see Fig. 678, p. 605) in Hereford Cathedral, that we must think an imager of Hereford has been set to make this copy¹. A third remarkable wooden work is also in Herefordshire: at Much Marcle is a civilian effigy (Fig. 742) habited in the tight costume and hooded tippet that were coming into use c. 1350. The legs are crossed, with the feet turning over a nondescript beast, dog or lion, with a long tail, just as do the Herefordshire stone "knights" of 1340—1350 (see Fig. 702, p. 629). The square

¹ A wooden "ecclesiastic" of c. 1320 at Little Leighs, Essex, seems copied from the stone Ancaster type.

cushion with its tasselled corners makes another link of correspondence, for its treatment is that of local workmanship. But it is interesting also to compare the head of this wooden figure, which is a peculiar one among effigies, with those shown on the reliefs of the early alabaster "tables" (see Figs. on page 474),



FIG. 741. Clifford (Hereford). c. 1290.

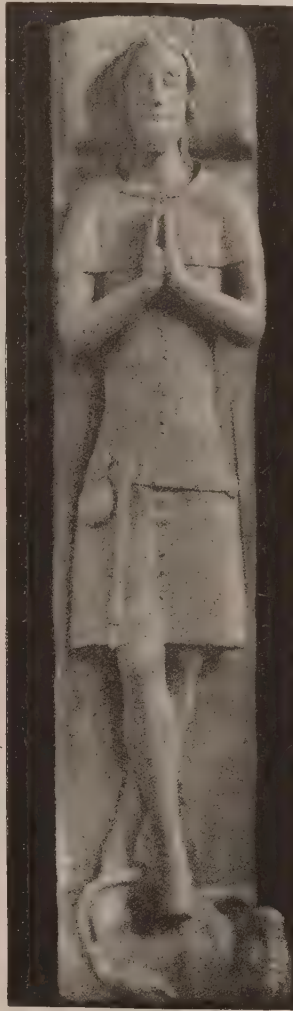


FIG. 742. Much Marcle (Hereford). c. 1350.

which we have placed shortly after 1350—for example the "Crucifixion" now in the Carcassonne Museum. The correspondence bears out the view that in these cases we have an imager's shop supplying effigies with the help of the patterns current in stone sculpture.

But the above three figures are exceptional in the list of wooden memorial figures: the large majority are "knights" and "ladies," that fall into three or four classes, with a uniform pattern in each class. A few of them may date anterior to the Peckham figure, or were perhaps contemporaneous with it, say from c. 1280—c. 1310, so that they can be thought of as immediately taking the places of the figures of Purbeck marble. They may also be said to succeed to their style, and to carry forward the records of the London school. For though they are now widely spread in England, having been apparently distributed to most of our counties just as the earlier marble-works were, as a rule they are similarly outside the local freestone manners.

Two of the earliest wooden "knights" are those at Little Horkesley in Essex (Fig. 744, opposite), where the long open surcoats and the mail hoods banded round the face are as in the marble "Templars," but the type of the wooden effigy is cross-legged and folds the hands in prayer. Other early "knights" have the hands on the sword in the regular London style. Such figures would seem a cheapening in oak of the marbler's production (Fig. 743). One at Southwark on the north side of the quire, now much repaired, has a posture and handling (Fig. 743) that are very close copies of the latest Purbeck treatments, as for example that placed seventh in our series at the Temple Church. At Pitchford in Shropshire is a figure somewhat similar to this, assigned to a Sir John Pitchford who died in 1285: also at Danbury, Essex, are to be found just similar attitudes and treatments of the skirts in two oak knights (on the north side of the church), while a knight similar but with shorter surcoat and a double cushion remains at Hildersham, Cambridgeshire. Such a distribution of examples indicates London as its centre; and in the same way the technique of such figures presupposes them from a craft of imagery such as London certainly possessed. The finishing of the wooden figure at the hands of an imager's craft has been well described by A. Harts-horne as to the oak effigies of Northamptonshire (see Bibliography, p. 105). After the blocking out of the effigy, the shakes and cracks in the wood were stopped with canvas, and the whole was coated with a gummy plaster, which was then modelled and painted. No doubt the free working of stone had, as we have said (see p. 648), been responsible for the vigorous military figure, for his lively carriage, and the *verve* of his sword-drawing cross-legged attitude, such characters being outside the usage of Purbeck marble. But now the imagers by using wood could compass their effects just as well as the mason, and by the gesso treatment give as gorgeous and splendid a presentment, at a cost small in comparison with that of the Purbeck-marblers' figures.

But if there is every reason to think that London was the home of the wooden production of effigies, the practice was, of course, a possible one in any city, and as we saw at Hereford, in the West of England there are indications



FIG. 743. Southwark. Quire. Oak memorial of "Knight." c. 1290.

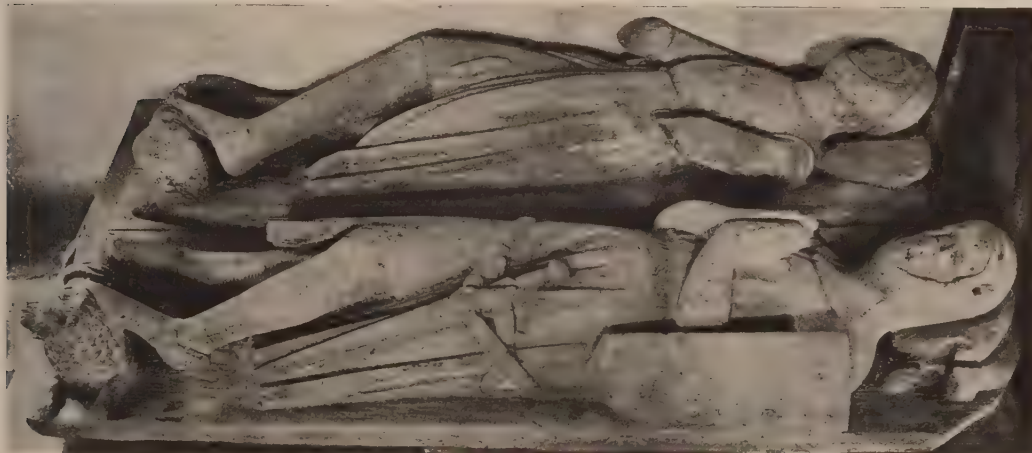


FIG. 744. Little Horkesley (Essex). Wooden "Knights." c. 1290.



FIG. 745. Gloucester. Chapels. Wooden "Knight." c. 1290.

of a making apart from the London forms. At Gloucester the figure called that of the "Duke of Normandy" (Fig. 745) is undoubtedly touched up and repainted in the seventeenth century, but as its costume shows was originally a work of c. 1290. The treatment of the mail on the arms, and the easy, lively attitude are marks of the Bristol making of stone figures. Accordingly this seems a copy of the mason's "knight" by a Bristol imager. In



FIG. 746. Abergavenny. Wooden memorial of "Knight." c. 1300.

northern England, at Auckland, Durham, an oak "knight" has the mail carved in wood, and is in style a reproduction of a stone "knight" of c. 1340, such as that lying to the south of the passage at Bedale.

Still, the greater number of the wooden figures, whose armour shows them made c. 1290—c. 1340, though now dispersed all over England, have the special style which must be identified as that of Westminster sculpture—its type that of the Westminster sculptors when they carved the "Earl of Lancaster," "Aymer de Valence," and "John of Eltham." One set of these wooden "knights," are figures of an identical pattern. They are to be seen at Ousby, Cumberland; at Bessington, Shropshire; at Abergavenny, Monmouthshire (Fig. 746); at Gayton, Northamptonshire; at Whorlton in Cleveland, Yorkshire; at Danbury, Essex (Fig. 747), on the south side of the church; almost repetitions, and evidently close versions of the "Crouchback" stone figure (see Fig. 730, p. 653)—with the same pose, folded hands, double cushion at head, reclined lion at feet (with long tail stretched on the slab)—and also with the Westminster drapery

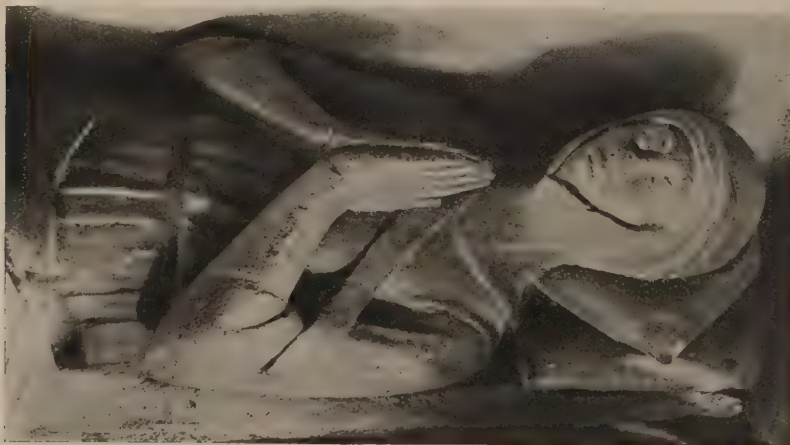


FIG. 747. Danbury (Essex). South side. Wooden "Knight" c. 1300.



FIG. 748. Bures (Suffolk). Wooden "Knight." c. 1330.

of broad pleats. The sideways attitude is less expressed, but it can still be seen in the curve of the neck. Now it could scarcely be questioned that the "Crouchback" figure is of London make and accordingly these wooden knights, though now seen at places as far apart as Cumberland, the Welsh borders, and East Yorkshire, must, we think, hail from London.

Similar distributions no doubt continued from London all through the career of the wooden-effigy. We have another set of figures that are clearly in close relationship with "John of Eltham," the Westminster alabaster of 1335—instanced at Bures, Suffolk (Fig. 748); at Braybrook, Northants (see Fryer, p. 20)—figures whose shortened skirts indicate them as c. 1330: in a "knight" whose *cyclas* points to some ten years later, at Barnborough, Yorkshire (see Fig. 751, p. 669): with the tight skirt almost a *jupon* at Sparsholt, Berkshire (drawn by Hollis). The likeness of all these in posture and detail is evident with the Ifield, Warkworth, and Aldworth knights, examples of London style (see p. 655).

But there is in other wooden figures a lack of that quality which one might expect in the London work, and this seems evidence of local crafts at work. At Clifton Reynes (Fig. 749) the two sword-handling wooden-effigies laid

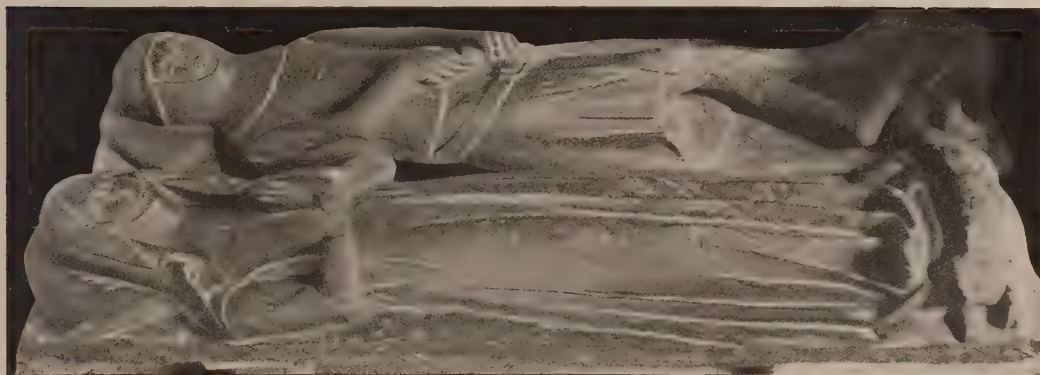


FIG. 749. Clifton Reynes (Bucks). Wooden "Knight" and "Lady." c. 1330.

beside their ladies are of small size and outside any known London pattern, so we think them reproductions of the Totternhoe stone-masons' patterns. Since every large city must be thought of as having image-shops where wooden saints were prepared to supply the surrounding churches, the demand for wooden effigies would be met locally by imitations of the stone patterns, as we have already seen in the case of the Herefordshire and Gloucester figures. Yet from the capital would seem ordered the more important and elaborated figures, such as the "knight" (Fig. 750) at Burghfield (Berks), in which the Westminster angels and lion have been conspicuous. Angels too were given the wooden effigy of the Earl of Oxford, which was once at Earls Colne, and is figured by Gough from a seventeenth-century drawing. These finer examples, such as also the Barnborough "knight" in Yorkshire (Fig. 751, opposite), can well be supposed to come from the shops of the Westminster imagers, and to have been executed in London by the side of the alabaster and soft-stone memorials, and the screens and tombs which in the fourteenth century became famous productions of the city craftsmen.

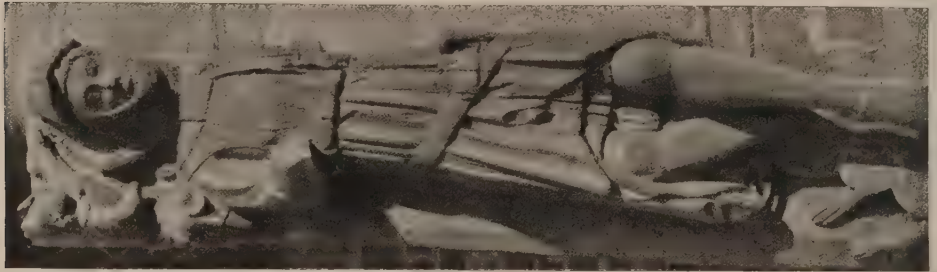


FIG. 750. Burghfield (Berks). Wooden "Knight." c. 1310.

The "lady figures" made an important class of wooden effigy. There are about a dozen of Mid-Gothic style left to us, generally in that quiet attitude (with the hands folded in prayer and the draperies laid sedately from breast to feet) which we have seen as a special attribute of midland style in the free-stone treatment of the "lady" deriving from the Eleanor statues. Two of the earliest would seem the beautiful and similar figures at Hildersham, Cambs (see Fig. 10, p. 9), and Laxton, Notts, and such may be of London make. We have said, however, that the making of wooden images was a trade in many cities, and the female saints of the imagers gave evident models for memorial figures of the "lady." Thus at Englefield, Berks (see Hollis's drawing), and at Little Horkesley, Essex, the tall lady-figures are of restrained and delicate treatment, with the heads scarcely raised from the pillow, that might well have been adapted from an imager's model of a saint. In other cases the recumbent attitude is more marked, the head raised higher, and we

see copies of the stone effigy with a blunter expression of style, as at Clifton Reynes in two ladies of c. 1310 (see back, p. 667) and c. 1320 respectively, short figures, like the knights beside them, of local types. So too at Little Baddow in Essex, the "civilian" and his "lady" are coarsely modelled, and we take these as local efforts at the copy of stone figures. This seems certainly, too, the case in the Tawstock "lady" in Devon, for she has the



FIG. 751. Barnborough (Yorks). Wooden "Knight." c. 1340.

"Bristol" mannerism of drapery—the cloak brought across the body. On the other hand the Northamptonshire "ladies" at Woodford, Dodford and Paulerspury have been slender graceful representations, following the best lines of contemporary freestone effigies, and no doubt like them supplied from London or directly based on such a London model as we have illustrated at Ifield, Sussex, for example (see Fig. 720, p. 645), or at Leckhampton, Gloucestershire (see Fig. 700, p. 628).

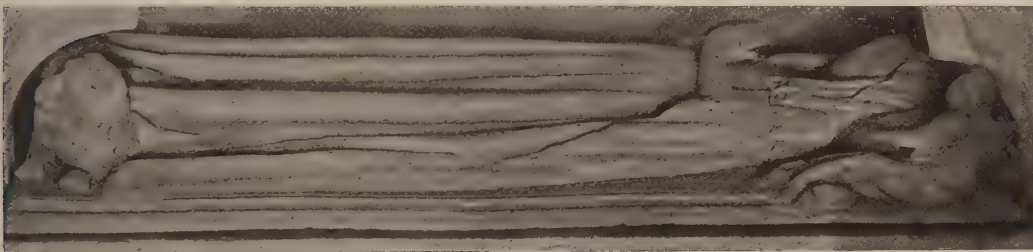


FIG. 752. Sparsholt (Berks). Wooden effigy of "Lady." c. 1340.

At Sparsholt in Berkshire (Fig. 752) are two finely executed oak "ladies," whose carving, by the details of their costumes and the grace of the representation, can be immediately connected with the Ifield "lady." The same grace and costumes are in the weepers of the "Lady Montacute" tomb at Oxford (d. 1354) as well as in the alabaster image-making of Nottingham (see p. 359). Here again imager's works, dispersed from London, may have been the means of spreading over England a common style c. 1350.

It has been said how the making of wooden effigies ceased c. 1360: the "lady" at Wingfield in Suffolk (Fig. 753), with her husband, the "Earl of Suffolk," are two of the rare wooden figures of the fifteenth century. The date of 1415 is given as that of the Earl's death, and his armour is of the period of which we have many sculptured examples, especially in alabaster. But both his effigy and that of the "lady" in her head-dress and the handling of her draperies lie outside the fashionable alabaster productions of the midlands. They can be matched best with the specially London makes, such as those of the Canterbury tomb (see Fig. 790, p. 700). It is possible to think them, as W. H. St John Hope suggests, patterns for an alabaster rendering.

Some wooden "knights" of apparently c. 1350 may be explained, like the Much Marcle "Franklin" (see Fig. 742, p. 663), as coming from an imager's craft of wooden figures outside the current stone effigy-making. At Chew Magna in Somerset is an undersized "knight," much restored but still possibly in the main the work of a medieval carver. The reclining posture has a naturalness suggestive of an expert in the alabaster relief-carvings (see the "Soldiers of the Resurrection," p. 474), with little of a stonemason's handling. In another way certain of the oak "knights" show shop-technique: the shields seem made as detached pieces, as in the Westminster military effigies, either of wood or metal, pegged on to the left arms. Sword-hilts and the ornaments of scabbards and belts were sometimes separate metal attachments, as in the Fersfield "knight," Norfolk, whose straight-legged attitude seems an "imager's" conception¹. A composite construction is suggested in some other figures: the mitre from Archbishop Peckham has been evidently supplied as a separate piece, and perhaps too the "lady's" hands in a figure at Dodford, Northants. The incongruity of such patch-work sculpture was of course completely disguised, when the whole figure was plastered up, painted and gilded. There is a knight's figure at Banham, Norfolk, with short skirts to his surcoat, whose attitude and hands at side bring him into relation with the Reepham stone figure of c. 1350. There have been peg-marks all over him (see Gough's illustration) which foolish repaintings have now largely filled up: these suggest attachments of metal, as in William of Valence, 1290, and the bronze effigies of Richard II. and Anne of Bohemia, and then in Henry V.'s effigy. This last was a goldsmith's treatment of a wood foundation finished with elaborated surface and accessories, and completed with plates of enamelled metal, the evident outcome of the Westminster methods. The original "knight" of this style, William of Valence (d. 1296), with all its surfaces rendered in plates of bronze and Limoges enamel, was a highly decorated and costly monument, though, as

¹ Stothard's beautiful drawing is very expressive with the apron-like skirts of the surcoat, indicate the side of an unusual representation. The bascinet, *cyclas* period, c. 1340.

figure-sculpture, clumsy. The carving of alabaster, which allowed the most delicate rendering of surface ornament, was to take the place of these efforts to make wood available for the splendid and sumptuous representations of costume, which after the first quarter of the fourteenth century found favour with the aristocratic clients of the effigy-maker.



FIG. 753. Wingfield (Suffolk). Wooden effigies of "Knight" and "Lady." c. 1400.

SECTION III. THE ALABASTER EFFIGIES

Our account of Mid-Gothic effigies must finally indicate the beginnings of this important trade which was to dominate the last style of English work. Whilst the earliest London style in effigy had been that of the Purbeck marbler, and the second that of the freestone mason and the wood "imagers," now was the coming of the "alabaster men," as was the curious fifteenth-century spelling of the word. The building freestones which had made the groundwork of the effigy-sculpture during the first part of the fourteenth century were generally supplanted after 1350 by alabaster or by those fine soft stones in which the delicacy of alabaster carving could be imitated.

The taste for sumptuous furniture in carved stone was a symptom of the fourteenth-century expansion of building luxury. This brought into the market the softer sandstones and oolites, and especially the hard chalk of the cretaceous strata, called "clunch" in Cambridgeshire, which though weathering badly in external use, could be got in blocks of great size, such as made it suitable for great pieces of internal carving. Equally close-grained and suitable for delicate work was the hard gypsum of the Triassic formation, which is called English Alabaster. The use of such stones for effigy-sculpture grew in the desire to give prominence to the jewels and rich embroideries of the period. The finest details could be carved in the soft material, and their embossment rendered more distinct and telling than was possible in the gesso renderings with which coarser stone had to be surfaced.

But the best stones for such an office—clunch, and the softer cretaceous sandstones—were to be quarried only locally along a narrow belt stretching across England from Devon to the Wash. They were got for medieval building at Beer on the Devon sea-coast, at Stanford in Berkshire, at Totternhoe near Dunstable, and in certain places in Cambridgeshire and West Norfolk. Similarly the beds of alabaster were local to a narrow district stretching from near Stafford across the southern corner of Derbyshire. We have seen both the chalk-stone and the alabaster in use for effigies¹ c. 1300 in their own immediate neighbourhoods, but towards the middle of the fourteenth century the figures in these materials were being wrought for places at a distance. London could import such inland materials on occasion without difficulty, thanks to the paved way of Watling Street, which would allow carriage of alabaster from Nottingham and of chalk-stone from Dunstable. Accordingly we are not surprised to find that the earliest examples of both the soft-stone and the alabaster effigies have the London expressions, as if the first manufacture of them had been begun in the capital.

The royal relatives of Edward III. were the first to be commemorated by alabaster figures: his father Edward II. at Gloucester (d. 1327); his brother Prince John of Eltham at Westminster (d. 1334); his son Prince William of Hatfield at York (d. 1344): also, apparently dated by the Westminster accounts to 1376, were his two children, Prince William of Windsor and Princess Blanche de la Tour in Westminster Abbey, two little figures upon one slab. All these are of similar workmanship, and there appears in their treatment of the recumbent figure immediate connection with the stone and bronze examples of Westminster.

Though Edward II. was murdered in 1327 his figure does not seem to us to have been made immediately: so "John of Eltham" was probably earlier,

¹ Ivinghoe Church at the foot of Dunstable Hill has a clunch "knight," and Hanbury Church in Staffordshire, near the quarries, has the cross-legged alabaster effigy, both c. 1300 (see Fig. 725, p. 648).

carved c. 1334, since his cross-legged presentment (Fig. 754) is in close descent from the stone figure of Aymer de Valence (d. 1326):—the two figures have, indeed, the same postures and generally the same accessories. If we include the earlier “knight,” “Crouchback,” also in our comparison, one



FIG. 754. Westminster. St Edmund's Chapel. Alabaster “John of Eltham.” d. 1334.

can say of all three that the double cushions, the attendant angels at the head, and at the feet the same types and treatments in the lions, are altogether the marks of a special school. The facial expressions and attitudes with the folded hands are similar in all, as well as the restrained



FIG. 755. Gloucester. Sanctuary. Edward II. d. 1327.

draperies that characterise the grand manner of the Westminster goldsmith-imager in all materials and representations. In the same way the alabaster “Edward II.” (Fig. 755) at Gloucester appears immediately on the model¹ of the bronze “Henry III.”—while the handling of the hair, and the lions at

¹ This cusping and the battlemented strings (now almost destroyed) of the Gloucester tomb occur, also, in that of Bp. Marcia's at Wells and in the Elsing brass (both already connected with London). It must be admitted, however, that the Gloucester

mason-craft at this time was in near touch with London influences, as may be inferred from the number of Gloucester masons who are recorded as working for the king 1320—1380. W. R. Lethaby, *Westminster Abbey and the King's Craftsmen*.



FIG. 756. York. Aisle of quire. Alabaster memorial of "William of Hatfield." c. 1350.

the feet, are all just the same as in "John of Eltham" and "Prince William of Hatfield" at York (Fig. 756). In all these figures the Westminster angels are to be recognised by their graceful modelling and by their trick of exhibiting the flat of the feet half covered with the *alb*. This motive of "angels" lying or kneeling by the cushion of the "knight" and "lady" was passed on to the local stone-crafts, though often weakened and vulgarised: still in all cases we think it betokens an original Westminster influence.

As to general treatment, the alabaster figures were worked with that greater elaboration of detail which the richness of current costume suggested and which the material favoured. For example, the dresses of Edward III.'s young children (who, though they died as quite babies, were represented not as such but as youthful figures¹) are embossed in the alabaster to represent finely worked embroideries and tasselled fringes. The "William of Hatfield" (Fig. 756) at York is here given in the only position in which it can be photographed, but the reader should turn to Stothard's *Monuments*, whose drawings give vivid representations of the fine details.

The first effigies of royal personages were followed by the alabaster "bishops" the long series of characteristic figures, which continued with but little change of type for two hundred years. An early example of a great ecclesiastic commemorated like the princes might have been expected in London, but since the Fire of London destroyed the medieval cathedral and most of the great conventual churches of London, all the monuments of the

¹ W. H. St John Hope, in *The Early Working of Alabaster*, has transcribed the entry in the accounts which he refers to these figures—"et pro duabus ymaginibus de alabaistro super unam parvam tumbam marmoriam pro uno filio, et una filia

Regis xx s." The figures, about 3 feet in length, have been much damaged. An alabaster figure of similarly small size is at Hacombe in Devon, but belongs to a little later date and is of clumsy workmanship.

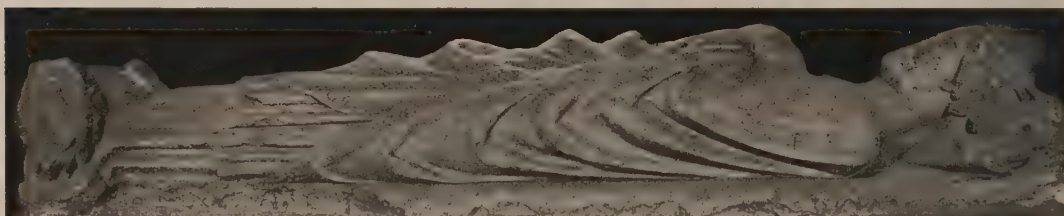


FIG. 757. Durham. Quire. Alabaster memorial of "Bishop Hatfield." c. 1350.

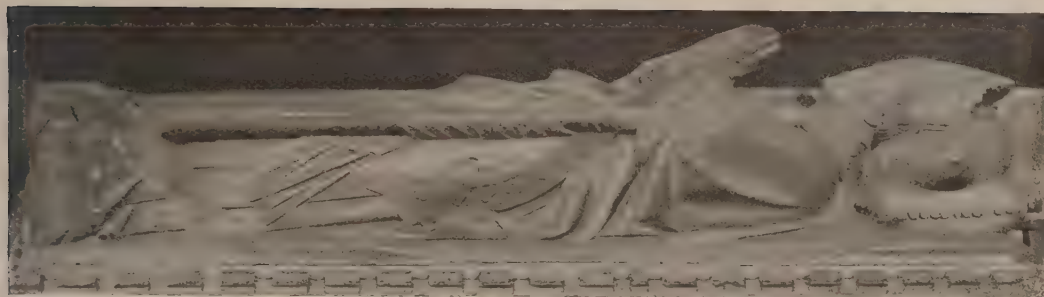


FIG. 758. Wells. Sanctuary. Alabaster memorial of Bishop Ralph. c. 1360.

bishops and other great folk have perished, except those which the Abbey of Westminster has preserved. Accordingly the first ecclesiastic alabaster figures occur away from London. We see at Ely the "Bishop Hotham" (he died 1336 but the Ely accounts show his monument uncompleted in 1350); at Canterbury the "Archbishop Stratford" (Fig. 759) who died 1348; at Wells the "Bishop Ralph" (Fig. 758) who died 1363; and at Durham the "Bishop Hatfield" (1345—1381), possibly the earliest, since the lower part of his monument seems to date c. 1350 as if he had prepared it some time before his death. The details of this figure (Fig. 757) show similar embroideries to those of the York Prince (Fig. 756, opposite), also the same kind of cushions under the head and the same lion at the feet. In fact all these works seem of a batch, and seeing that the Durham accounts record that in 1372 and 1380 marble and alabaster work was had from London the evidence is strong that the first period of alabaster effigy-making which produced from c. 1330 to c. 1380 the effigies of "kings," "princes," "bishops," belonged to the London trade¹.

¹ In 1382 the king allowed Cosmo Gentili, the pope's collector, to export "tres imagines de alabaistro magnæ formæ." See W. H. St John Hope's *On the Early Working of Alabaster*, p. 7.



FIG. 759. Canterbury. Head of Archbishop Stratford. c. 1350.

The accompaniments, also, of these first alabaster figures, whether of king, prince, or ecclesiastic, connect their make with London, however much the material was of Derbyshire extraction. The point has already been partly discussed as to Edward II.'s monument at Gloucester, where (see p. 673) the fact of his alabaster figure being laid on a Purbeck-marble tomb with a Caen-stone canopy of tabernacle work above it must, we think, point to London workmanship. For if in this case the king's effigy had been imported to Gloucester ready carved from Derbyshire, or if the local masons had received the block from the quarry, and worked the figure at Gloucester, is it not likely that they would have carried out the rest of the monument in the stone and style of the building upon which they were engaged? However, the main argument lies for us in the features and details of the effigy-handling itself. The head of King Edward (see p. 673) is that of the bronze "King Henry" (see Fig. 738, p. 660), while as already said his angels are those of "Crouchback" (see Fig. 730, p. 653). So the alabaster "bishops" offer us the London conventions, not those of local use. At Wells (see back, p. 675) they are not as in the Bristol "bishops" (see Fig. 694, p. 623), nor at Durham does the figure show the form of the York "ecclesiastic" (see Fig. 710, p. 635). With the exception of Bishop Edingdon at Winchester the alabaster effigies of bishops do not hold the hands in the statant action of benediction but, like the Westminster knights and ladies, fold them in the recumbent posture of prayer. It can be seen too (see Fig. 758, back, p. 675) that "Bishop Ralph" at Wells (d. 1363) is almost a replica in alabaster of the stone figure (Fig. 760) of Bishop Sheppey at Rochester (d. 1360). Since this latter is in Reigate stone it must be called a London work, and one little detail is a significant mark of workshop habit, appearing as it does with both figures and also with "Archbishop Stratford" at Canterbury (see Fig. 759, back, p. 675). A peculiar kind of big cushion with beaded edges, clearly a "property" cushion of the workshop studio, can be seen beneath the heads of all three. Similarly a method of tying up the cushion ends with rose buttons occurs with the Wells "bishop," with "Edward II." and also with the York "prince."

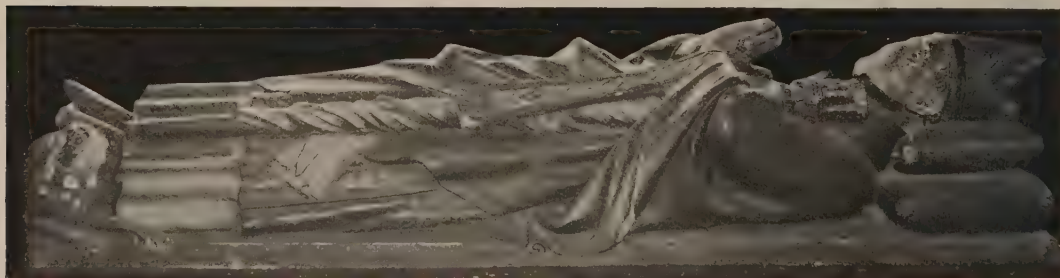


FIG. 760. Rochester. Lady Chapel. Stone memorial of Bishop Sheppey. d. 1360.

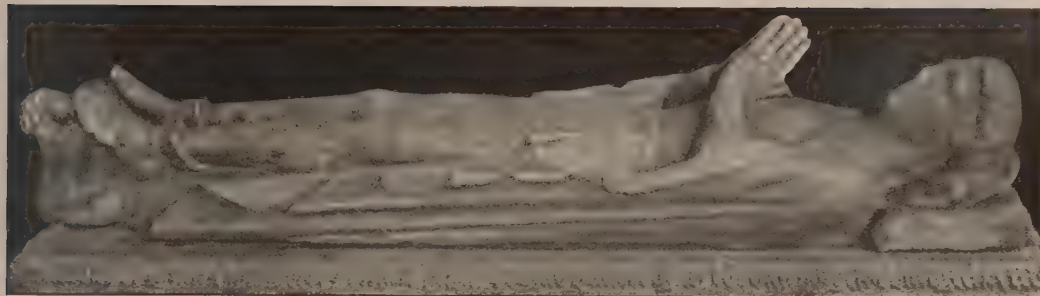


FIG. 761. Bristol. St James's (Mayor's Chapel). Freestone "Civilian." c. 1350.

SECTION IV. THE CIVILIAN AND CLUNCH EFFIGIES

Civilian effigies have been mentioned as carved in Purbeck marble c. 1275 (see pp. 598, 599), and the freestone effigy-making continued the same type during the first quarter of the fourteenth century. The presentment was with bare head, hands in prayer, and a simple straight-legged attitude: but towards 1350 "civilian" figures are carved with expressions of quiet dignity, and an ease of pose that may class them with the best straight-legged "knights" and "ladies." In Trent near Sherborne, Dorset, is a Ham Hill "Franklin," and at Hereford a fine example in a clerical habit, but without the tonsure (figured by Hollis). In the Mayor's Chapel, Bristol, the effigy of a young noble (Fig. 761) in the dress of the mid-fourteenth century has some likeness to the alabaster "prince" at York, but a local make seems probable.

In the London district the figures of "clunch" or white chalk-stone (see p. 655) have been mentioned as carved with the same elaboration or ornament as the alabaster. Thus a "knight" in St Peter's, Sandwich, in Kent (Fig. 762), is not represented in armour, but bare-headed and with the straight legs of a "Franklin": he has lost his arms, but the hands appear to have been folded. It will be seen that the cushions beneath the head are just those at Rochester opposite, so we conclude the Sandwich knight was from the

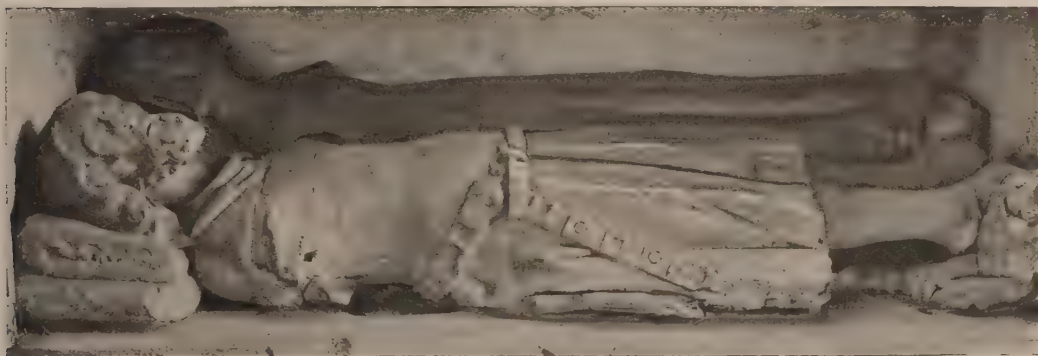


FIG. 762. Sandwich. St Peter's Church. White-stone "Knight" and "Lady." c. 1350.

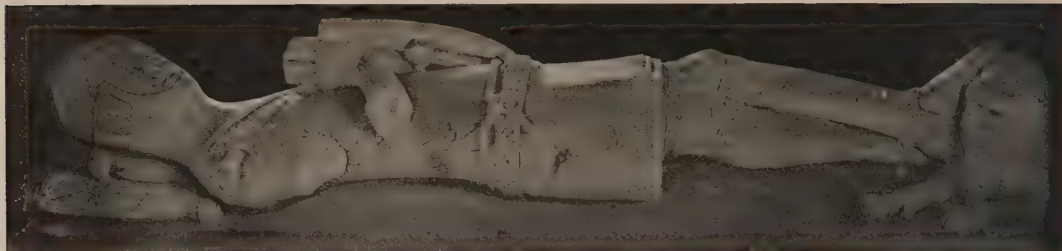


FIG. 763. Ash (Kent). White-stone memorial of "Knight." c. 1350.

London workshop. The lion at the feet is also of the London modelling, such as was carved for the second "knight" at Ash (Fig. 763), also in white-stone, a figure almost identical with the Ifield "knight" (see Fig. 734, p. 655). The clunch "knight" at Warkworth, Northamptonshire (Fig. 764) (with broad sword-belt worn obliquely) seems the latest of this mid-century style. In this figure the posture, the angels at the head, and all the elaborate chased and jewelled ornament of sword and dagger-hilt and *barwdric* with its locket, are of the London alabaster school, with details like those of the York "William of Hatfield" or the two little "Princes" at Westminster. The John Orchard who was paid for these last little figures is described in the accounts as a *latoner*, i.e. bronze-worker, and he had supplied, too, various images and copper angels to the tomb of Queen Philippa¹. His was therefore a trade of figure-works, his shop sending out to customers monuments and "brasses," and supplying effigies of metal, of wood, of alabaster, and soft stone. The *imaginator* had developed a regular business in monuments by the third quarter of the fourteenth century.

¹ The entries are given in full in W. H. St John Hope's *Early Working of Alabaster in England*.

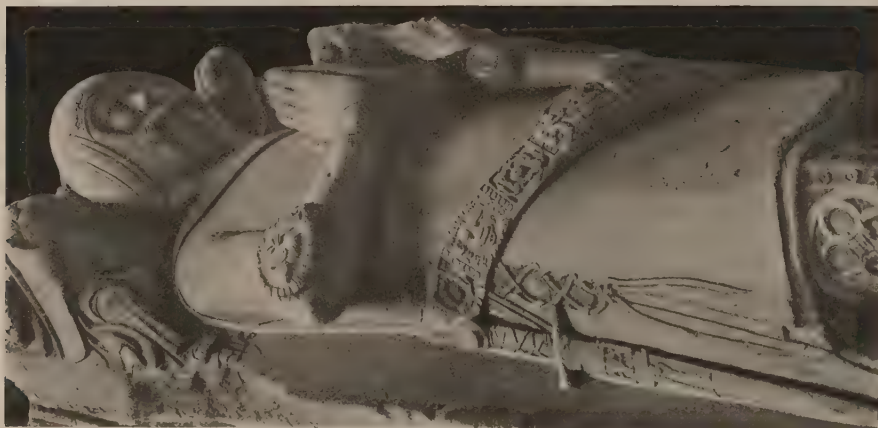


FIG. 764. Warkworth (Northants). White-stone "Knight." c. 1350.

CHAPTER VI

THE RECUMBENT EFFIGIES OF THE THIRD OR LAST MEDIEVAL SCULPTURE, 1360—1550

SECTION I. INTRODUCTION

THE memorial figures of the last Gothic period in England, that from c. 1360 to c. 1550, are left to us in large numbers: they have made more than half of our total examples. Five of these figures are cast in bronze, and of the wooden effigies we have mentioned that some twenty belong to the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but the great majority of the latest recumbent sculptures were either in alabaster or in a freestone. The former were in most estimation, and when stone was employed it can be seen that its treatments were generally under the influence of the alabaster craft.

Effigy-style in this its latest medieval exhibition kept almost uniformly to a single pattern during a period of nearly two hundred years. This was so both as to the general expression of its sculpture and also as to the handling of its details—in spite of the changes of costume, which were more rapid and distinct than in the earlier centuries. There now appeared none of the varieties of posture and gesture which local style possessed in the early fourteenth century. One model of recumbent figure was common now to York, Exeter, and London, and right to the end of the Gothic period its expressions and handlings were hardly altered. For example, the "Bishop Shirburne" (see Fig. 773, p. 687) at Chichester (d. 1536) discovers no new idea of ecclesiastical representation beyond what was exhibited, say, in the "Bishop Hatfield" of Durham (c. 1380) (see Fig. 757, p. 674). The "Lord and Lady Parr" at Horton, Northamptonshire, 1556, have the attitudes and attributes of the "Marmion" effigies at Tanfield, in Yorkshire, c. 1390. Again, though these last are of alabaster sculpture, yet they get little distinguishing handling from their material such as should separate their posture and effect from the stone treatments of the "knight and lady" at Aldbury (Fig. 817), or the wooden presentments of Lord and Lady Nevill at Brancepeth, Durham (Fig. 811). All invention in portrayal seems to have come to a standstill; only the fashions of armour and costume were changed from time to time. Accordingly we do not need for the style of our latest effigy-making the elaborate subdivisions that were used to explain the inventive energy of the earlier. We can classify them by the material, by the class of subject they dealt in—"priest," "knight" or "lady"—and then too by the changes in costume

fashions—but style does not effectually subdivide them: in general they are all of a class throughout England from the beginning of the period to the end.

It is true that some consciousness of Flemish sculpture betrays itself after 1500, but its expression is very limited. As to the great Renaissance sculpture of Italy, which was the moving impulse in European culture, its phases were unnoticed in England; they sent scarcely a ripple to disturb the calm of workshop convention that surrounded effigy-making. The native alabaster trade fixed its patterns before the end of the fourteenth century, and they were still in acceptance for sixteenth-century monuments when Henry VIII. took into his service Torrigiano, who had broken Michaelangelo's nose, and was Cellini's contemporary. Even then, for another hundred years English sculpture was medieval. The Renaissance, with all its discovery of nature, its revolution of art-motive, its intellectual awakenings, had well-nigh run its course before the English sculpture acknowledged it. A stock pattern controlled the memorialist, whether he worked in stone, wood, or marble, for more than two hundred years.



FIG. 765. Canterbury. Quire. Bronze memorial of Black Prince. d. 1376.

SECTION II. THE BRONZE EFFIGIES

The five effigy-figures of *laton* remaining to illustrate the period were cast from 1375 to 1455. They are perhaps the most prominent monuments by which we can characterise the latest school of English mediæval sculpture, and we give them a place by themselves, before we discuss the alabaster work.

In order of date the figures are: (1) the "Black Prince" (d. 1376), in Canterbury Cathedral; (2) "Edward III." (d. 1377), in Westminster Abbey; (3) and (4) "Richard II." and his Queen, "Anne of Bohemia" (d. 1394), made both together in 1395, also at Westminster¹; and (5) the Earl of Warwick, "Richard Beauchamp" (d. 1439), made c. 1453 in London and placed in Warwick Church¹.

¹ The contracts for the making of these three King and Queen dated 1395, and that of the Earl figures remain (see p. 683 and p. 102), that of the dated 1453 (see Book I. Chap. III).

The first and last of these, though three-quarters of a century separate them, may be taken together, as showing how stagnant was the invention of our arts in the fifteenth century. There is a difference of accoutrement between the Edwardian (Fig. 765, opposite) and the Yorkist knight (Fig. 766, below), but no difference of sculpture-style. The postures are identical; there is the same perfectly straight representation of recumbency, with a similar inclination of the head and stiffened stretch of the legs. The metal-worker has in both cases separated the hands, in place of that close folding in prayer which the stone-working of effigies favoured, and the later figure has exaggerated this gesture by raising the elbows. But both have the thoroughly conventional conception of the subject, and the same masterly vigour in its execution. Especially is there an extraordinary carefulness and finish in the rendering of all the minutiae in the armour, both back and front being exactly



FIG. 766. Warwick. Bronze head of "Richard Beauchamp." c. 1453.

modelled. The accomplishment shown in the modelling and casting is very great, with all the air of an established style. Yet at the same time the romantic inventive art, characteristic of the former period, is absent.

The faces of these two bronze figures are very different: yet we can hardly judge that we have individual portraits, at least in the sense that modern portraiture aims at. The features of the Black Prince are duplicated in such figures as that of the alabaster Earl of Warwick (d. 1370), or the stone "knight" in the nave at Worcester. "Richard Beauchamp's" peculiar visage (Fig. 766) might seem to have some claim as an authentic likeness, but his bronze was not put in hand until fourteen years after his death, when memory of his appearance would be likely to have grown dim. Moreover

the hollow cheeks, the square cheek-bones, long upper lip and receding chin appear combined with the cropped hair in not a few representations of knights from 1420 to 1460—as, for example, in the brass-engraving of the “knight” at Amberley, Sussex, as well as in the sculptured effigies of Lord Talbot and Lord Hungerford, contemporaries of Earl Beauchamp. His portrait, therefore, was less individual than typical, and we know indeed from the contract for the making of the figure that William Austen, of London, citizen and founder, covenanted to cast the Earl, just as the “image of a man armed according to patterns.” The likeness of a deceased nobleman was conveyed, it would seem, more by his armour than his features.

In the case of the Black Prince his will is left to us, and it directed that “an image shall be placed in memory of us all armed in steel for battle.” We conclude that for this figure the general treatments in use are to be held as responsible for the features as well as for the armour. We must therefore not discover in these bronze works special creations of a portrait-artist, but just the patterns which the trade of effigies in alabaster and stone was producing in Edward III.’s and Henry VI.’s reigns respectively.

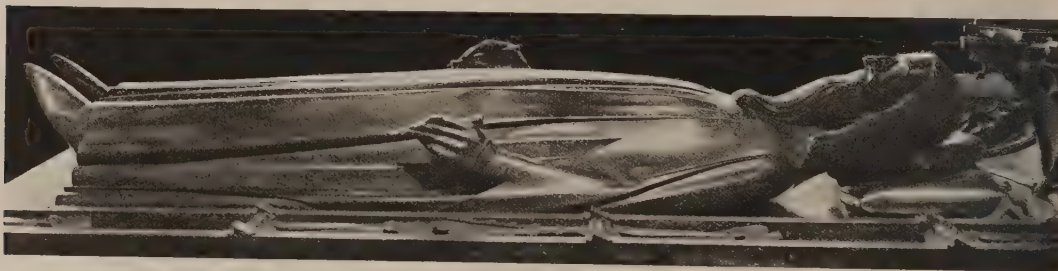


FIG. 767. Westminster. Confessor's Chapel. Bronze memorial of Edward III. d. 1377.

As to King Edward III.’s own figure at Westminster (Fig. 767) there seems to have been the intention, at any rate, to offer some resemblance to the monarch: it is said, indeed, that a cast of his features was taken after death. Though at first sight seeming rather harsh and dry in its handling, the bronze “king” has considerable individuality. There is certainly little grace in it, but the simplicity of the treatment—the monarch holding the two sceptres of France and England, and so showing an even balance—is effective. The *table* or slab of the figure has at the head an elaborate tabernacle, with nichework on either side containing angels; in fact it is a translation into bronze of the richest Purbeck sculptures, which had been the fashion a hundred and twenty years earlier. The marble arcadings of the tomb-chest, too, are elaborated into niches, set with bronze figures of weepers, the children of the king (see Fig. 516, p. 446). No account of the making of this tomb has as yet been recovered from the records, but it has more or less followed the pattern of that of Queen Philippa (see p. 691) and was itself copied by the

subsequent monuments at Westminster. We may suppose it entirely the work of the London "latoners" or marblers, whose monuments and screens at this date were in demand not only in London but in Durham and France (see pp. 472, 462).

The other two medieval bronze figures at Westminster—those of Richard II. and his Queen, Anne of Bohemia (Fig. 768), have their making fully detailed in the royal accounts. The monument is arranged almost exactly on the pattern of that of Richard's grandfather. The indentures or contracts for the work are dated 1395—1396, being separate for the stone-work of the monument and for the making of the bronze figures. As to the latter, we read¹ that there agreed with the King, of the one part, Nicholas Broker and Godfrey Prest, "citizens and copersmythes de Loundres," of the other part, to make two images of copper and laton, recumbent, crowned, side by side, holding each other's right hand, and with sceptres in the left—the one image the counterfeit of the person of the King, the other the counterfeit of the very excellent and very noble lady the Queen. These bronzes have, however, not been cast in one piece, as the earlier bronze effigies of Westminster



FIG. 768. Westminster. Confessor's Chapel. Bronze memorials of Richard II. and Queen. c. 1395.

had been, but the arms of the figures were modelled separately and have now disappeared. Since the King himself was alive and interested in the portrait of his wife, we may suppose in these cases a passable likeness, but with an aim of smoothness rather than character in the delineation. The work as ideal sculpture does not bear comparison with Torel's figures of a hundred years earlier—the handling of the drapery is thin and inexpressive, but it was most lavishly ornamented with jewels and metal chasings, that of both King and Queen having been elaborately engraved with badges and monograms².

We have mentioned how weak this later bronze-founding proved in the ability of the material to create style. There appear in these bronze figures small evidences of artistic genius, and hardly any distinction gained for the figure by the free modelling of the founder: his work is quite on the lines of the alabaster-carvers. In fact, as already pointed out, the "latoner," whose business we may suppose was largely brass-engraving, supplied alabaster figures as readily as bronze, and all of the same patterns.

¹ The indentures are quoted in full in Gough, Vol. I. p. 168.

² See as before W. Burges in Scott's *Gleanings from Westminster Abbey*.

SECTION III. THE ALABASTER EFFIGIES

As we have said, the alabaster-craft was the dominant influence in sculpture. For two hundred years and more a continuous output of the English alabaster-shops is represented to us in effigies, which are still to be found (to the total number of some four or five hundred) in all the counties of England, though least numerous in the Bristol district. To divide these into classes we have to go chiefly by the differences of costume, and then by the variations which appear in the tomb-chest or sarcophagus on which the alabaster figure most often lies. Still, apart from these, there were some small modifications of attitude—at the outset survivals of the romantic characterization of the earlier art, and at the finish some faint consciousness of Renaissance feeling, and these not very important expressions may be disposed of before tabulating the various classes of costume.

The large majority of the "bishops," "knights," "ladies" and "civilians," as represented in their memorials, fold their hands in prayer; but, as we have seen in the bronze kings and queens, so the alabaster figures of Henry IV. and his Queen at Canterbury hold sceptres. In the same way Bishop Edingdon (d. 1366) at Winchester has not discarded the traditional pose of benediction¹. Still, after 1370 the folded hands of the prelate, to be first seen, we think, in the alabaster "Archbishop Stratford" (d. 1348) at Canterbury, becomes as customary for "bishops" as for "knights" and "ladies." Occasionally with the last in combined monuments the romantic suggestion of hand-holding breaks the monotony. The contract for the "counterfeits" of Richard II. and Queen Anne of Bohemia, c. 1395, specify that they are to hold each the other's right hand. Earlier the alabaster "Earl of Warwick" and his "Countess" held hands (see Fig. 777, p. 691), also the "Ardernes" (Fig. 779, p. 693), at Elford, Staffordshire. The contract for Ralph Green and his wife, 1419, at Lowick (see Fig. 91, p. 101), specify the posture: the "Duke and Duchess of Somerset," c. 1444, at Wimborne, Dorset, and the "Savage" knight and lady c. 1500 at Macclesfield, Derbyshire, are so set. These are, however, few: the conventional pose of prayerful recumbency was practically universal from 1350 to the last appearance of the memorial figure.

It is but a small change that, somewhere about 1500, there appears a fresher handling of the head in its pose on the pillow, and a more natural set of the cloaks behind the figures—as for example in "Sir John and Lady Spicer" (c. 1520), at Brington, Northants, or in "Lord Marney," d. 1523, at Layer Marney, Essex (see Fig. 818, p. 719). The practice of English effigy-sculpture must, we think, necessarily have been conscious of Torrigiano's bronzes at Westminster c. 1510—the "Margaret, Countess of Richmond," and

¹ The ecclesiastic brasses have the benediction posture occasionally, as "Archbishop Waldby" of York (d. 1397) at Westminster, and "Archbishop Cranley" of Dublin (d. 1417) at New College, Oxford.

"Henry VII." and his "Queen." But what we see is rather a reflex of the Flemish "Renaissance," at this date in rapid movement and influencing all the arts of North Europe. Such foreign suggestions were, in either case, superficial; the design and ornament of the tomb-chest took up the classic trivialities, but the effigy-sculpture hardly varied from the established alabaster model which had been in use for 200 years. The changes in appearance were simply those of the externals of sculpture; the sentiment and feeling of the art was medieval.

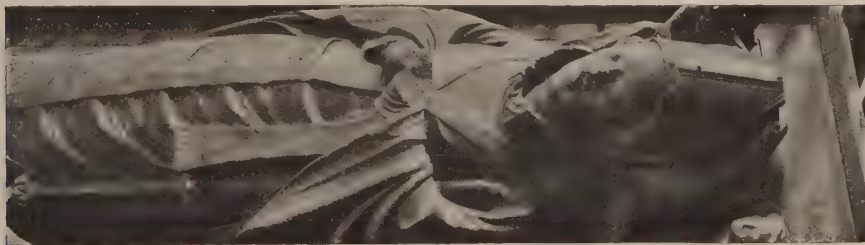


FIG. 769. Canterbury. Alabaster memorial of Archbishop Courtenay. c. 1395.

The Ecclesiastical Figures.

A most regular continuity is shown in the alabaster figures of "bishops," since throughout this period their vestments remained almost identical in shape and method of wearing. We can, however, tabulate them by certain small differences, mainly as to the treatments of the chasuble and the mitre. ..

The first bishop-effigies in alabaster were those by the mid-fourteenth-century sculptors of Westminster, so their works have already been discussed. The "bishops" of the latter part of the century are not laid quite so flatly, nor is the handling of their drapery that which the earlier art had taken from Mid-Gothic style. "Archbishop Langham" (d. 1376) at Westminster, "Bishop Harewell" (d. 1386) at Wells, "Archbishop Courtenay" (d. 1396) at Canterbury (Fig. 769), and "Bishop Wykeham" (d. 1404) at Winchester are big-headed, rather thick representations compared with "Bishop Hatfield" at Durham or "Bishop Ralph" of Wells (see pp. 674, 675). Like the latter, however, they show the draped sleeves of the chasuble, which at this time was worn long and full, coming down at the sides of the figure. There is, too, another trick of naturalistic suggestion in the ruffling of the skirt of the alb about the feet, analogous to the treatment of the skirts in the contemporary lady-figures¹. The mitres are richly ornamented, but still slope back from the forehead, whereas later they are set more stiffly upright. Gradually in the fifteenth century the "bishops" in alabaster lose the hint of "naturalism" in drapery, and have their vestments disposed with a regularity which makes an exact match on either side of the centre-line, a

¹ See the Hornby "Lady" (Fig. 781, p. 693); also "Henry IV." and "Queen" (Fig. 783, p. 695).

monotony of execution similar to that which afflicts the lady-effigies of the middle and end of the century. The straight cut of the hem of the chasuble from the arm to the knee and the sharp angles of its folds are also marked mannerisms, the summary treatment of an established trade proceeding on stock models. On this score "Archbishop Chichele" at Canterbury (d. 1443), though probably of stone¹, can illustrate the shop style of the mid-century effigy-sculptors in its florid presentment of episcopal dignity—note the little

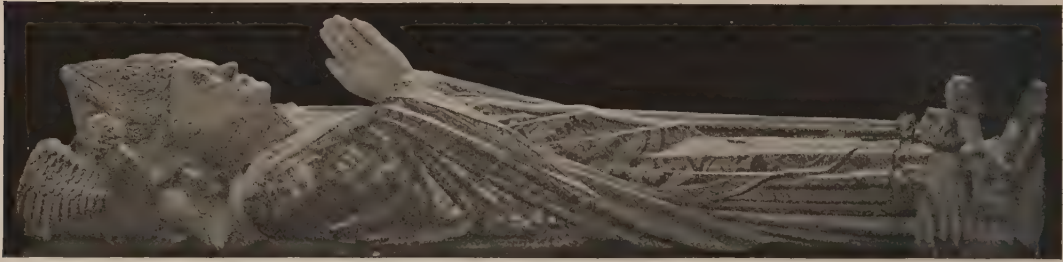


FIG. 770. Canterbury. Quire. Stone memorial to Archbishop Chichele. c. 1440.

puppet angels guarding the immense cushions and elaborated mitre, while another diminutive couple kneel on either side of the feet. And in this monument we may see too that curious expression of morbid sentiment, the "cadaver" or emaciated corpse, laid out beneath, half-veiled in its shroud. The achievement of fifteenth-century sculpture went no further than respectable performance, hackneyed morality, and the soulless convention of well-worn tradition. But the decorative effect was elaborate: the vestments and



FIG. 771. Exeter. Alabaster memorial of Bishop Stafford. c. 1420.

ornaments of these alabaster "bishops" were very delicately wrought, and enriched with gilding and coloured stones, the remains of which can still be seen in the effigies at Canterbury, and at Wells in the tomb of Bishop Beckington (d. 1445), where, as in "Archbishop Chichele," we have the grand elaborated prelate laid in state on the top, and below the shapeless cadaver². Representative "ecclesiastics" of the fifteenth-century alabaster

¹ The material is doubtful under thick coats of paint, the result of being constantly kept in repair by the Fellows of All Souls.

² See also at Lincoln, p. 717. A "knight" at Arundel and the "Lady Suffolk" at Ewelme also have "cadavers."

trade are (1) at Exeter (Fig. 771, opposite) "Bishop Stafford" (d. 1419), in which case a *gabled* is carved over the head such as we shall find in the big alabaster monuments of kings, nobles and knights 1400 to 1425 (see p. 101); (2) at Gloucester (Fig. 772, below) "Abbot Seabrook" (d. 1457), with a lion at the feet; (3) at Hereford "Bishop Stanbury" (d. 1470), a figure similar to that of "Abbot Seabrook"; (4) at Canterbury "Archbishop Morton" (d. 1500), where the prelate has three rows of little angels in



FIG. 772. Gloucester. Alabaster memorial of Abbot Seabrook. c. 1460.

attendance; (5) at Chichester "Bishop Storey" (d. 1503—a probable ascription); (6) at Gloucester "Abbot Parker" (d. 1535); and (7) at Chichester (Fig. 773) Bishop Shirburne (d. 1536).

The above seven "bishops" give us a full century of ecclesiastic effigy with but slight variation in the expression and form of the figures. There is, however, to be seen in the later examples an increasing dryness in the alabaster execution, the edges and folds of the vestments becoming strained



FIG. 773. Chichester. Alabaster memorial of Bishop Shirburne. c. 1535.

and angular, while the attendant angels gradually lose that traditional modelling which they had acquired in the prime of the Westminster sculpture and retained till the end of the fourteenth century. We see them as seated puppets in the middle of the fifteenth century (Fig. 772, above). At the latter part of it they begin to recline airily on their backs, and their wings become long, narrow and swallow-like (Fig. 773, above), a recognition, it would seem, of angel representations in the contemporary Renaissance painting.

Throughout this period the faces of these alabaster "bishops" have been delicately rendered, aiming often, we must believe, at portraits with a touch perceptive of character. We may instance those of "Beckington" at Wells, and "Seabrook" at Gloucester, but that of "Shirburne" at Chichester has, we believe, been completely re-worked. In connection with the "bishops" are to be classed other "ecclesiastics" in alabaster, represented with bare heads and in choir habits, such as one popularly called "Dean



FIG. 774. Wells. Transept. Alabaster memorial of Ecclesiastic. c. 1440.

Husse" at Wells (Fig. 774) and another at St Mary Redcliffe, Bristol (Fig. 775), said to be of the great merchant William Canynge, although he is represented by another effigy in the same church. Both these figures seem miscalled, for since Dean Husse died in 1312 such a monument would, if made for him, be the earliest of the alabaster works. Indeed, the style of its figures and the ornament of the tomb connect it with the "knight and lady"

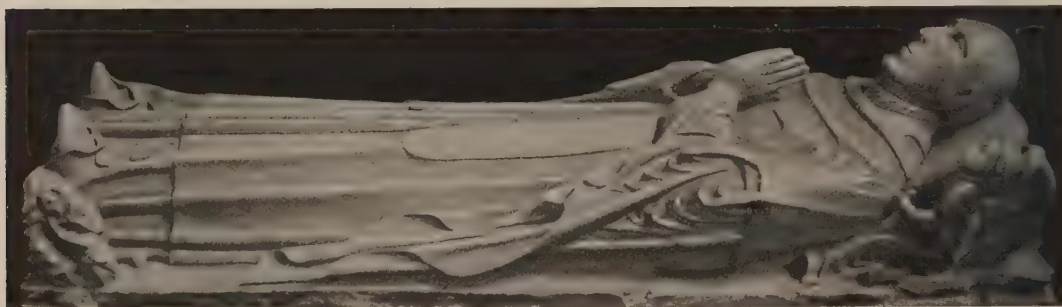


FIG. 775. Bristol. St Mary Redcliffe. Alabaster memorial of Ecclesiastic. c. 1490.

monument at Abergavenny, which the costume dates to c. 1450¹. The figure at St Mary Redcliffe has queer little angels that are playing with the tassels of the cushion, and would seem a work of 1480 to 1490, when these trivialities appear. The memorial figures are, however, in both cases of dignified mien, and, like the above "bishops," have an individuality of feature which may possibly be that of memorial likeness.

¹ See p. 698. W. H. St John Hope, on the ground of the shield bearings, assigns the tomb to Precentor Bullen c. 1475, but this date seems too late.

The Alabaster "Knight and Lady."

The "knights" and their "dames" who are commemorated in alabaster monuments from 1360 to 1550 cannot accuse the effigy-maker of keeping to the set fashion of one drapery as he had done for the ecclesiastic. Their numerous "counterfeits," to use the term of the contracts, could on the score of costume be put into many divisions and subdivisions. We will, however, simplify matters by taking only the three great classes that have been arranged for armour by the students of military costume. The brasses, as we have said, give us particulars which can date this armour for every ten years or so, and we can place our sculptured figures with considerable accuracy in these three classes. First, the *camail* and *jupon* "knights," whose "ladies" were mostly represented wearing the *kirtle* tight to the figure, buttoned down the front, and with sleeves buttoned tight all down the forearm. Secondly, the *whole-plate* "knights," who show the armour uncovered, while their "dames" wear long full-sleeved cloaks. Thirdly, the Yorkist and Tudor knights, who bristle with extra pieces of protective steel and very often wear long cloaks, while the "ladies" are to be seen emerging from their mantles to show a tight-fitting gown. The head-dresses of the "ladies" during these changes of knightly armour had their march of fashions, for which the reader is referred to the table at the beginning of this book (p. 564). The reason for taking "knight and lady" together in the above short sketch is that most commonly in the fifteenth century they are carved together on one slab.

(a) First Period, 1350—1420.

The knight-figures that are represented wearing the *camail* (or mail cover to chin and neck) and the *jupon* (or tight over-jersey), though all much alike in the general habit of costume, still group themselves as two classes in effigy-sculpture. The earlier have the *bascinet* (or helmet) as a plain conical hood and exhibit the form of the body beneath the jupon much as before under the surcoat; the later group has the sculptured "knight" with bulging breast-plate beneath the jupon, and finally has the distinct stiffening of the skirt also, which denotes that a separate protection for the thighs was used in addition to or in place of the *hauberk* (or under-skirt of mail). The bascinet becomes also more pointed and develops a peak or ridge, frequently with the enrichment of a circlet or ornamented band, that in its fully developed forms as seen sculptured upon effigies (see Figs. 782, 789) has the name of *orle*. A necklet very usually appears on the later figures—called the SS collar from the shape of the links. Also the richly ornamented belt or *bawdrick* from which depended sword and dagger is at first buckled with a tag hanging from it but in the later effigies of the class is seen fastened by a brooch-clasp.

But in the style of their sculpture, apart from details of costume, these effigies have made (as already said) scarcely any variation from first to last. The exemplar of attitude and expression, and the midway figure as to costume, was the bronze of the "Black Prince" (see Fig. 765, p. 680), who may conveniently separate the two divisions of alabaster representations. Before him were the earliest group of knights such as (1) Hugh Despencer (d. 1349) at Tewkesbury (Fig. 776), whose jupon can be seen tied in by a plain leather belt, and whose figure is more finely rendered than in the later examples; (2) the very similar but much defaced "knight" with the "lady" at Wantage, Berks, who is cross-legged like John of Eltham but with hands folded on breast, and bascinet and jupon that must be assigned to c. 1350; (3) the "Thomas, eighth Lord Berkeley" with "lady" (d. 1364) at Berkeley, with



FIG. 776. Tewkesbury. Sanctuary. Alabaster "Hugh Despencer." c. 1350.

Westminster "angels" at the head of the lady; (4) the very similar figures at Newent, Gloucestershire; (5) the "Thomas Earl Beauchamp" with his "lady" (d. 1370) at Warwick (Fig. 777); and (6) the Pembridge "knight" (d. 1375) at Hereford (drawn by Hollis). In the latter examples it can be seen that the bawdrick has assumed that ornamented form worn low on the hips that is characteristic of the "Black Prince" figure. The reader turning to Fig. 765, p. 680, may see how bronze and alabaster have been identical in style.

The "ladies" who lie by most of the above "knights" obtain in alabaster sculpture a costume which is in correspondence with the lean tight armour of their lords. The close-fitting kirtle—often the *sideless cote-hardi*



FIG. 777. Warwick. Chancel. Alabaster memorial of Beauchamps. c. 1370.

(see Table, p. 564)—makes as stiff a figure as the jupon, and the peculiar framed head-dress that encloses the cheeks gives as set a posture to the “lady’s” head as the bascinet does to the “knight’s.” The constrained attitude of these late fourteenth-century figures is remarkable as succeeding the generous and lively conceptions of 1340—1350 which were illustrated on pp. 649 seq.—the one concession to humanity being when “knight” and “lady” hold each other’s hand, as in the case of the Warwick couple above.

The figure of Queen Philippa (d. 1369) at Westminster (Fig. 778) wears the same costume as these ladies. This effigy is sometimes said to be of alabaster, but it appears to us that a white marble has been used, and as we know that Hawkin from Liege was employed it seems likely that we have a foreign work in England. Note how the “Queen” is laid more flatly on the back than in the pillowed English types. Such white marble figures, the work of Flemish sculptors, had before this date appeared at Paris in effigies at St Denis which are not unlike that of Queen Philippa. And indeed our Queen’s figure has a note of portraiture in it which cannot be claimed for the contemporary English work. Her costume, however, like the armour of the “Black Prince” at Canterbury, makes her a midway figure between the fashions of the first alabaster ladies and those of the second.

After “Queen Philippa” the second group of alabaster “ladies” make many charming figures, with more variety of head-dress and perhaps a slightly less stiff presentment—such as the “Lady Marmion” at Tanfield, Yorkshire,



FIG. 778. Westminster. Confessor’s Chapel. Marble memorial of Queen Philippa. c. 1370.

and the very similar figure at Elford, Staffordshire, which we illustrate (Fig. 779). They have the well-modelled neck with uncovered cheeks and ears of the "Queen" but with starched caps less prominent. Slightly later an alabaster "lady" has a cloak with a high collar at Higher Peover, near Macclesfield. On other monuments of the second half of the fourteenth century the dames wear the cover-chief and wimple, indicating that they were widows when their figures were made. This we see in the earlier "lady" at Swine (Fig. 780) and in the earliest of the alabaster "dames" at Tong in Shropshire, whose handling of drapery might seem from the executants of the Breadsall "Lady of Pity" and the Flawford "Madonna" (see Figs. 408, 409, p. 359). This connection may be a clue to the source of production being at Nottingham or York, but such indications become more distinct in later figures. A later handling and long cloaks as well as a change of coiffure, appear in the second "lady" at Swine and the Hornby "dame" (Fig. 781), both lying by the side of "knights" c. 1410. It can be seen how the cloak-skirts have the mannered folding that was noted in the Preston and New York alabaster tables (see Fig. 551, p. 479). As compared with the Warwick couple, these Yorkshire "knights and ladies" (see Fig. 781, opposite, and also Fig. 518, p. 448) have a coarser modelling of detail. For example, there is a deeper cutting of the heraldic achievements on the jupon of the "knight" (see the "Marmion" drawn by Hollis) and particularly there is a bold modelling of the ring-mail, with similar features in the "ladies." All this is what we saw in the upright "Foljambe" monument at Bakewell, in Derbyshire (see Fig. 544, p. 474), where, too, occurs a recumbent figure much like the Swine "knights," one of which was illustrated on page 448. Such a connection of details may locate, at any rate for the last quarter of the fourteenth century, a making of effigies by Nottingham craftsmen whose handling is to be distinguished from that of the London imagers (as shown at Earls Colne, at Warwick, and in the Nevill monument at Staindrop, Durham). Also distinct Westminster details can be noticed in the Warwick couple, viz. the cushions beneath the heads and the angels in attendance, whereas the Yorkshire knights have their heads propped by the tilting helms. All the same this also was a motive of London fancy: for though its earliest exhibition may perhaps be in stone-carving in the Exeter knights of c. 1320 (see p. 625), still at Westminster "Aymer de Valence" (c. 1325) had his helm supported behind his head by angels; and the brass of Roger de Trumpington, no doubt, we think, from London, shows his helm beneath his head in 1290. As regards style all the features of the alabaster "knight and lady" of the fourteenth century followed the *composed Westminster* types—the "ladies" can scarcely be distinguished from the latest wooden "ladies" at Sparsholt (see Fig. 752, p. 669) and, in the "knights," for every detail of pose the bronze "Black Prince" affords a model.



FIG. 779. Elford (Staffs). Alabaster. c. 1380.



FIG. 780. Swine (Yorks). Alabaster. c. 1375.



FIG. 781. Hornby (Yorks). Alabaster "Knight and Lady." c. 1410.

After the "Black Prince" the swelling breastplates, tight waists, and the orled bascinets remained characteristic of a number of well-carved vigorous effigies that carry on the course of knightly accoutrement beyond 1410, when, the jupon being discontinued, the plate-pieces come into view. A good example of this change is at Earls Colne, a "De Vere," which may be dated c. 1420 (Fig. 782). The sculptured figure of this make just at the transition of armour is instanced in the "Green" monument at Lowick (see Fig. 91, p. 101), the record of the making of which has come down to us. The indenture made directly with Prentys of Chellaston (see p. 101) in the year 1418 seems proof that at this date the sculpture of an elaborate monument was undertaken on the site of the quarries themselves. We may take it to mean that in the first quarter of the fifteenth century a third centre of effigy-making was established beside that of London and that located at Nottingham

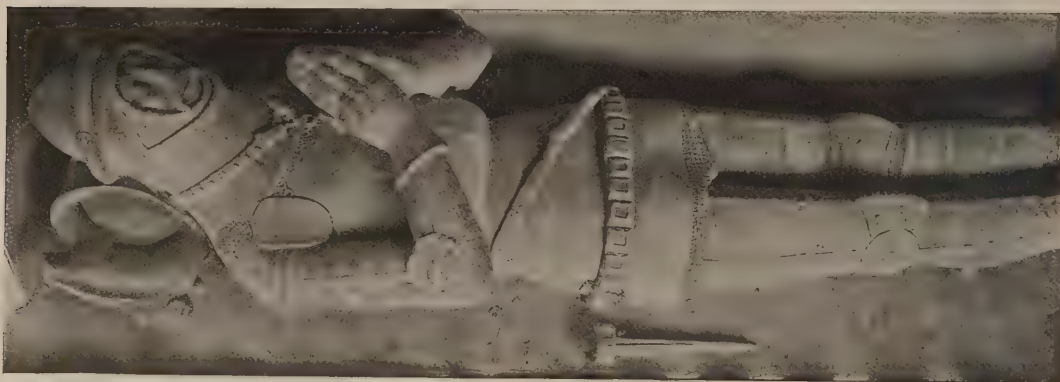


FIG. 782. Earls Colne (Essex). Alabaster memorial of "Earl of Oxford." c. 1420.

or York. The details of the Lowick tomb can at any rate give us the style of the Chellaston *kersers*, as they were called in the Green indenture.

As regards the sculpture of the principal figure, accessories are introduced at Lowick which cannot be taken as specially of local style. What in the indenture is called the gablet, viz. an architectural canopy behind the head of the figure, had occurred as early as 1300 in both Yorkshire and midland slabs of "knights" and "ladies" (see Fig. 692, p. 617). It had of course been usual also with "ecclesiastics" all through, though the natural or London sculptors of "knights" from 1250 to 1350 had thought the feature outside their view of recumbency. In the great bronze and marble tombs of the kings at Westminster these gablets had again become prominent (see Figs. 767, 768, pp. 682, 683). And now we see them in the same forms in the whole alabaster monuments, following the patterns of the composite memorials. In our preliminary definitions we grouped with civilians "kings," such as "Henry IV." at

Canterbury, or "nobles," such as the "Earl of Arundel" at Arundel, represented not in knightly armour but in their robes of state, and so as regards figure-composition to be classed as a distinct style of effigy. The tomb-chest connected with this make had its housings or sides carved with niches, in which

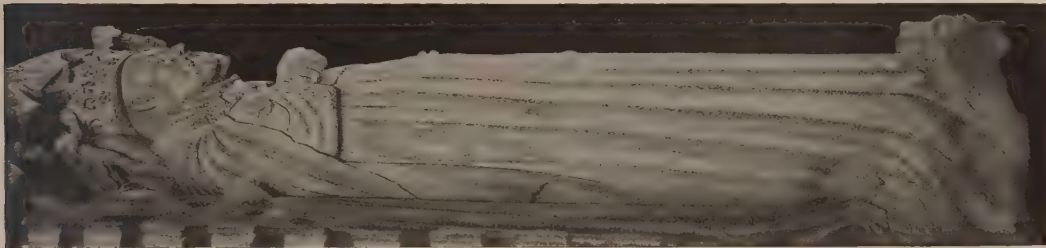


FIG. 783. Canterbury. Alabaster memorial of Henry IV. and Queen Joan. c. 1405.

were little statues, and its table or top slab was also decorated with niche-work, while an elaborate gablet was made projecting above the effigy's head. After 1377 the example and model of this elaboration must have been the tomb made for Edward III. out of Purbeck marble and bronze. Richard II. repeated these materials in his monument (1395) with more elaborate tabernacles. But when, after 1404, Henry IV. and his Queen were commemorated



FIG. 784. Canterbury. Head of Henry IV. c. 1405.

at Canterbury (Fig. 783), the whole was wrought in alabaster, yet still on the same model and still therefore clearly of London work. In the case of the figures of such royal commissions we believe that portraiture was likely. Indeed the likeness to the royal features of our own day is sufficiently close to warrant remark. The royal tombs obtained a wide reputation, for

we read that one (just similar, to judge from a drawing made of it before the French Revolution, when it was destroyed) was that of John Duke of Brittany (d. 1399) at Nantes. A writ was issued for its conveyance from London in 1408 to France, and it is mentioned as "tumba alabaustri" and described as made by "Thomas Colyn, Thomas Holewell and Thomas Poppehowe." Another exportation of the same kind from London must, we think, have been that of the great Nevill tomb at Staindrop (Fig. 786), commemorating the Earl of Westmorland and his two wives, where it may be seen that the sides of the tomb-chest have the characteristic niches and traceried panels of the London makes, although "gablets" upon the tomb-slabs are wanting. An introduction of London alabaster by John, Lord Nevill of Raby, the father of the above Earl, into Durham in 1372 for the cathedral reredos was noted on p. 472. Evidence as to the figure-style current in



FIG. 785. London. St Helen's Church. "John Oteswich and wife." c. 1400.

London c. 1400 may be gathered from a stone monument in St Helen's Church, Bishopsgate (Fig. 785), in which the drapery of these citizens is handled just like that of "King Henry" (back, p. 695) and "Queen Joan."

All the evidence would therefore connect what may be called the grand model of these sumptuous alabaster tombs with London craftsmanship employed upon material imported into the capital from Derbyshire. But, just as was the case with the Purbeck marble in the twelfth century so now an alabaster effigy-making in the local workshops at first followed the London fashions. The Lowick tomb, direct from Chellaston in 1421, has elaborate "gablets" and niches on the "housings" of the tomb-chest in the same way as the great monument of Thomas, Earl of Arundel (d. 1416) and his Countess, a work that would be likely to have come from London, for its figures and accessories are nearly those of the royal tomb at Canterbury of c. 1405. However, the flat traceries and delicate ogee canopies at Arundel indicate

how the workers in alabaster had developed, while the "weepers" too in the niches of the chest have got the peculiar alabaster touch that was illustrated on p. 450. Still more is this the case with the Lowick tomb, where the summary mannerisms of the alabaster trade are conspicuous. There appears therefore the same course of events as we saw in the story of the Purbeck marble art—at first an importation into London of the costly material to be worked on by the artists of the capital; secondly a simultaneous and similar production of works in London and at the quarry; finally a distinct local manner appearing, which, though in touch with London fashions, was of inferior execution. On pp. 447 seq. we discussed the details of the tomb-chests: (1) that of the

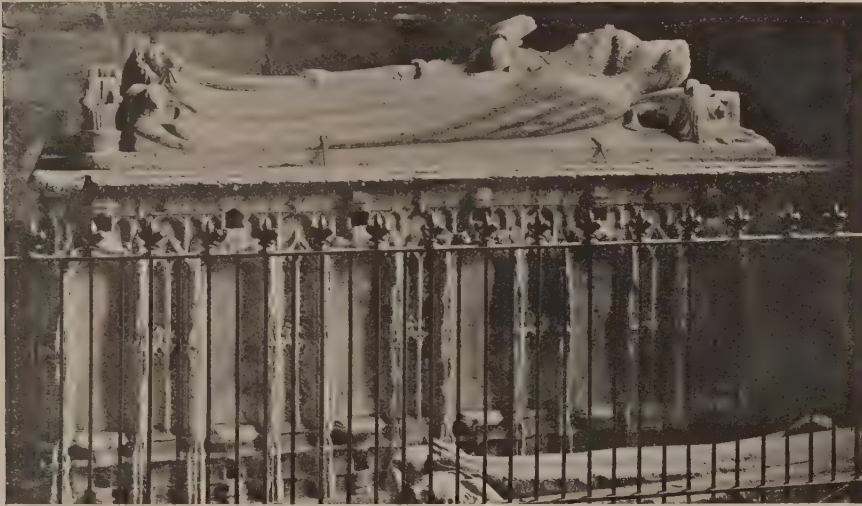


FIG. 786. Staindrop (Durham). Alabaster memorial of Nevills. c. 1415.

London type with niched panels for figures, at first "weepers" and afterwards sacred scenes like those of the alabaster tables; (2) those of the Swine type, which it seems easiest to connect with Nottingham (see p. 448), though York may have been its workshop; this had kneeling angels in pairs carrying shields; (3) those of the Lowick type with single angels, each bearing a shield¹. In the same way the effigies on the tombs show c. 1400 certain distinctions of handling. In comparison with the "Green" effigies at Lowick (see Fig. 91, p. 101) the Swine group exhibit a bolder and easier treatment of details corresponding with the handling of the angels on the tomb sides. And by the second quarter of the fifteenth century the London effigy began to show some separate characters.

¹ The differences of wing sculpture in the "angels" of each type have been mentioned on p. 449.

(b) The Second Period of Knight and Lady, 1420—1480.

To the middle period, while alabaster style was still a mixed product combining London accomplishment with local craft, we may assign the already mentioned tomb of the ecclesiastic at Wells (see Fig. 774, p. 688), as well as that of the "knight" and "lady" (Fig. 787) at Abergavenny, in which the panels and details are in low relief in place of the robust sculpture of the Swine tombs. The Chellaston figures at Lowick (see Fig. 91, p. 101) had been preceded by those at Staindrop (see back, p. 697), but they were followed by "knights" and "dames" as in the Abergavenny monument



FIG. 787. Abergavenny. Alabaster "Knight and Lady." c. 1450.

(Fig. 787). Examples of this kind are widely distributed—for example at Wellingore and Boston, Lincolnshire; at Brandesburton, Yorkshire; at Ashbourne, Derbyshire; at Tong, Shropshire (Fig. 788); at Cheadle, Staffordshire; at Bromsgrove, Worcestershire; in the "Lord and Lady Bardolph" (d. 1440) at Dennington, Suffolk. As in the heads we show from Higher Peover, Cheshire (Fig. 789) the "knights" are distinguished by the orled bascinets and jewelled chains and the ladies by horned head-dresses, with the details of netting and texture of laced embroideries extraordinarily minute. But as far as sculptural expression goes there appears an absolute monotony, with set arrangements of drapery that make each side identically symmetrical.



FIG. 788. Tong (Salop). Alabaster "Knight and Lady." c. 1440.

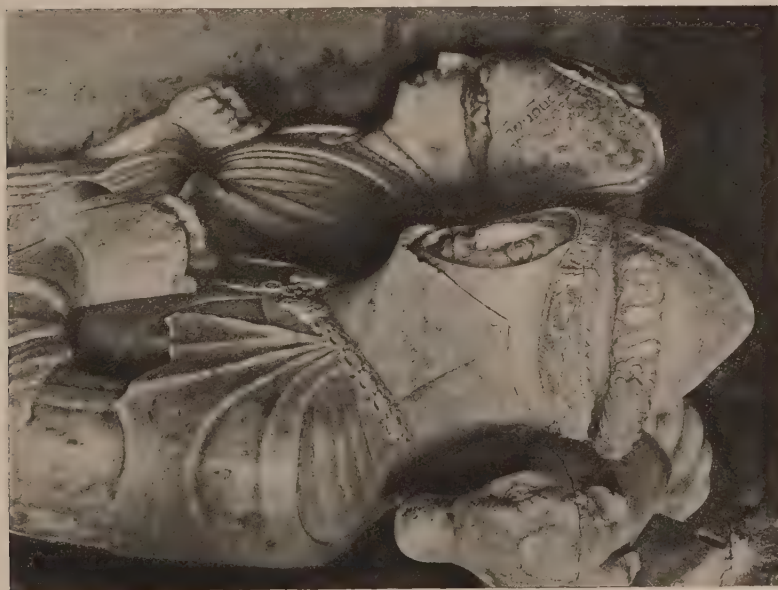


FIG. 789. Higher Peover (Cheshire). Heads of "Knight and Lady." c. 1450.

There is, however, by the side of this mannered type another, whose different treatment of armour indicates it from a separate source of memorial sculpture. A number of alabaster "knights" are represented with the *tabard* or heraldic apron covering both breastplate and plated skirt, this latter being visible at the sides of the figures. The examples all appear in the southern counties, as at Canterbury, in the Earl of Somerset (d. 1409), and the Duke of Clarence (d. 1421), the husbands of Margaret Holland (d. 1437)—whose effigy is placed between them (Fig. 790, below). The exact parallelism of the two armed figures placed symmetrically on either side of the lady, who is herself matched with similar exactness on either side of her centre line, is just



FIG. 790. Canterbury. Margaret Holland and two husbands. c. 1440.

what we have seen in the two Nevill ladies by the side of the Earl of Westmorland at Staindrop (p. 697). In such cases the dating of the combined monument by the deaths of those represented is speculative. We may guess that the middle figures were the authors of the common memorial, and that it was provided by them or by their will. The arrangement and its execution are alike witness to the cut-and-dried conceptions that workshop sculpture fostered.

These knights of the *tabard* occur from c. 1430 to c. 1470, and their representations are distinguished by the hands being held closer together and by the *bawdrick* or sword-belt being generally omitted. John Fitz-Alan, at Arundel, d. 1438, is a helmeted figure of this class, and a bare-headed example later in date lies beside a "lady" at Ash, in Kent (Fig. 791). Like these latter are the "Berkeleys"—the eleventh Lord Berkeley (d. 1463) and his son (d. 1460)—at Berkeley Church, and it will be seen that the last three

"knights" have the head uncovered as in the "Richard Beauchamp" (see Fig. 766, p. 681). It would seem reasonable to suggest that the differences shown by this southern group of alabaster figures in comparison with the contemporary knights shown on p. 699 are an indication that by the side of the later Chellaston figures the London trade was producing figures of its own. The working of alabaster into effigies cannot be supposed to have ceased in London, and the first distribution of these bare-headed "knights" with the *tabard* is consistent with their coming from the capital.

As already said, it was now the armour only that was making the "knight" in the conception of the sculptor¹, and one might almost add that it was the head-dress only that was making the lady. At any rate the modellings given by costume, not those made by figure or attitude, lend the chief interest to the mid-century recumbent effigy. As to the "knights" we may take a bronze, that of Richard Beauchamp at Warwick, made in 1453,



FIG. 791. Ash (Kent). Alabaster memorial of "Knight and Lady." c. 1460.

as the central figure of the style as regards costume. Before him were the effigies with orled bascinets, but who differ from the earlier warriors in that they no longer show the *camail* and *jupon* but appear with their bodies completely cased externally in metal plates. After him came the knights with the bare heads, who in place of the plate *gorget* wear the mail collar or *standard*.

It was after 1450 that the armour worn by the knights definitely assumed the forms shown in the Warwick bronze, developing steel projections of all kinds, while the ladies followed suit with exaggerated erections of head-dress. The appearance of this costume in all its generous extravagance of outline is well known in the Yorkist "brasses," but in the sculptured figures the more detached and fly-away expressions were necessarily modified. Still, remarkable minuteness and accuracy were shown by the alabaster carver in his rendering of all the intricacies of projection that the most florid period of plate defence imposed on the delineator of its costumes.

¹ For example the three bare-headed knights at Macclesfield, respectively illustrative of three periods of armour c. 1440, c. 1470, c. 1500, show every detail distinctly portrayed, but with no deviation of sculptural expression. See Fig. 794 over page for the middle knight of the three.

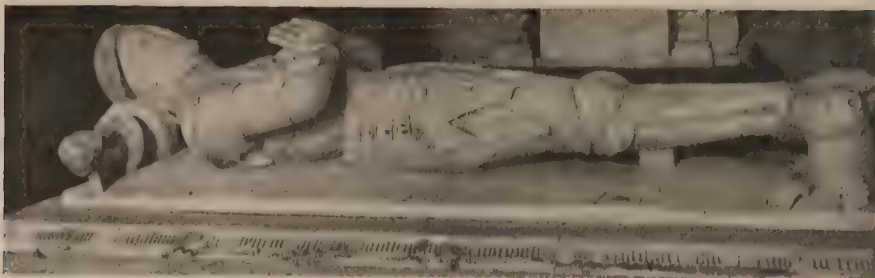


FIG. 792. Dodford (Northants). Alabaster memorial of "Sir John Cressy," d. 1444.

The examples may be mentioned at Dodford, Northamptonshire (Fig. 792); at Norbury, Derbyshire (Fig. 793); at Stanton Harcourt, Oxfordshire, drawn by Hollis; and at Macclesfield (Fig. 794, opposite). They make a type local to the alabaster district, in which the tomb-chest, like the figure, was of alabaster, with panels of angels holding shields (see Fig. 519, p. 449).

A southern group of alabaster examples has the effigies laid on a tomb-chest, whose sides are ornamented with traceried patterns of a lozenge form, sometimes of alabaster, like the effigy, but frequently of Purbeck marble and often quite plain. There are of this southern type many fine figures, which have more dignity of style than the local groups. An early example is at Wimborne, Dorset, "the Duke and Duchess of Somerset," lying hand in hand (Fig. 796, opposite), the "knight" with orled bascinet; at Christchurch, Hants, "Sir J. Chidecock (d. 1446) and Lady"; at Salisbury, "Lord Hungerford" (d. 1455) (Fig. 795, opposite), and at St Helen's, Bishopsgate, "Sir John Crosby" (d. 1474) and his wife, well illustrated by Stothard. All these may probably be attributed to a London source.

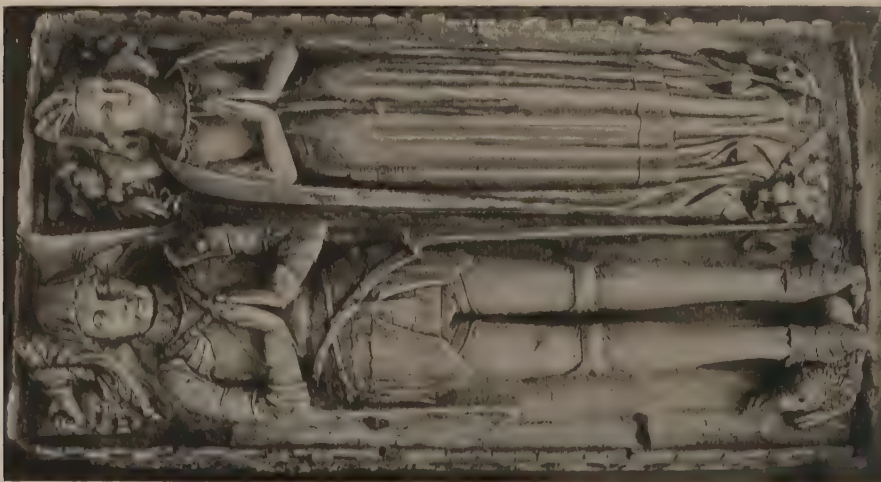


FIG. 793. Norbury (Derbyshire). Alabaster memorial of "Knight and Lady." c. 1460.



FIG. 794. Macclesfield (Cheshire). Florid Yorkist armour. c. 1470.

One very fine figure of this sort is at Piddleton, Dorset, in the Martin chantry, dated c. 1470, but the "knight" is on a new pattern, first in wearing a vizored *salade*, and secondly in having a shield, a feature which had disappeared from monumental sculpture for a hundred years.

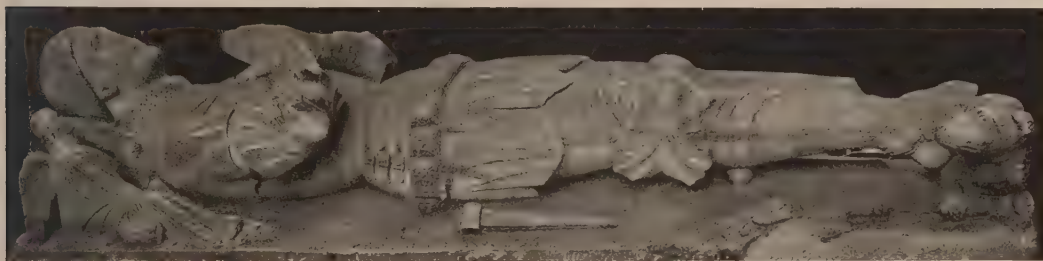


FIG. 795. Salisbury. Nave. Alabaster memorial of "Lord Hungerford." c. 1460.

The lady-effigies of the whole of the fifteenth century were rendered monotonously with long skirts and full-sleeved cloaks, as at Norbury (Fig. 793, opposite) or at Wimborne (Fig. 796, below): their differences are in the style of head-dress and the arrangement of the long-tasselled strings—which loop the mantles and hang straight or in festoons, but always regular on either

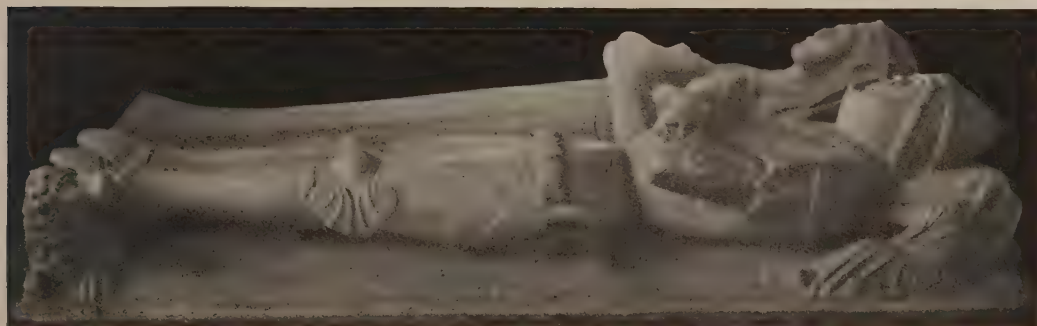


FIG. 796. Wimborne (Dorset). Alabaster memorial of "Duke and Duchess of Somerset." c. 1444.

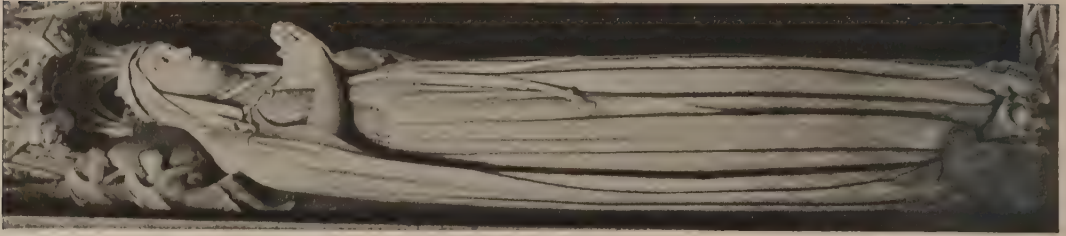


FIG. 797. Ewelme (Oxon). Alabaster memorial of "Duchess of Suffolk." d. 1477.

side. A variation, however, from the ordinary pattern occurs in the alabaster "lady" at Horwood, in North Devon, where on the table of the slab are represented her children, two boys and a girl, hiding behind the skirts of their mother. Since this lady, as dated by her conspicuously horned head-dress and other details of costume, would be approximately contemporary with the Piddleton knight, whose unconventional accoutrements have been mentioned, these two figures may represent a sculptor outside the trade.

Another example outside the monotony of the oft-repeated conventions is the "Duchess of Suffolk" (d. 1477) at Ewelme (Fig. 797). Her coronetted effigy has, with its wan expression, a reserve and grace unusual in fifteenth-century style—it may stand by the side of the best ecclesiastic figures; yet its portraiture is doubtful, for there is an almost identical face in an alabaster figure at Stourton, Dorset. The Duchess is given all the accessories of the grand London manner of seventy years earlier; also some likeness in the figure to that of the Wells "Precentor" (see p. 688) is noticeable: but on the other hand the details of the gablets, and of the angels at her cushions (Fig. 798) connect her intimately with the sculpture of some of the later alabaster tables (see Fig. 526, p. 453).



FIG. 798. Ewelme. Head of Duchess of Suffolk.

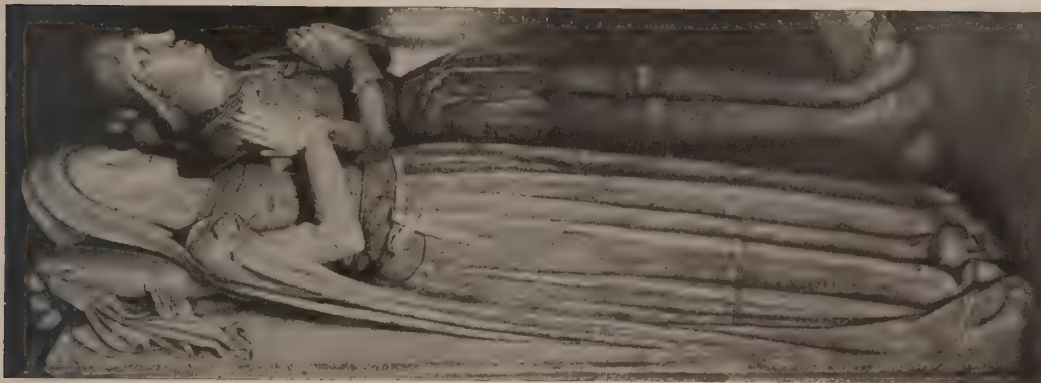


FIG. 799. North Aston (Oxon). Alabaster memorial of "Knight and Lady." c. 1490.

(c) *The Final Period of Knight-Effigy, 1480—1550.*

Though the latest style of English medieval effigy may be said to extend with but slight modification for a period of 100 years, it is not necessary to carry our examples beyond the above date that was fixed on as the limit of our subject. The types of "knight" sculpture which belong to the beginning of Henry VII.'s reign, such as those, for example, at North Aston (Fig. 799) and at Salisbury (Fig. 800), were being repeated in effect up to and after 1600—with a little more clumsiness of modelling and some variations of costume, but their Gothic expression which had fixed itself in Edward III.'s reign lasted till James I.—until in the sculpture of Nicolas Stone we pass definitely into a new era.

One prominent form, however, of figure may be said to be distinctive of the latest period—that of great nobles and princes for whose memorial representation the important features were the mantle and the other ornaments and insignia of state-rank. The Tudor armour of plate and mail was no longer the defensive necessity: it was for show rather than for service in the field, and the representations of statesmen employed decorations and accessories rather than the defensive accoutrements, which had made so much of the earlier "knight" sculpture.



FIG. 800. Salisbury. Nave. Alabaster memorial of Sir J. Cheyney. d. 1509.



FIG. 801. Elford (Staffs). "Sir W. Smith" and wives. d. 1525.

Great tombs in which these characteristics appear, like those at Elford (Fig. 801) or at Tong, might aim at special portraiture in respect of the high rank or official state of the personage commemorated, but less distinguished people were clearly satisfied with a stock model. At Melbury Sampford, Dorset, the two "Brownings" c. 1480 are exactly similar alabaster "knights" upon Purbeck-marble tomb-chests of identical make. So from c. 1500 to 1530 practically identical "knight and lady" figures were supplied to Llandaff, South Wales; to the Rutland Chapel at Windsor (Fig. 802) and to Aldermaston



FIG. 802. Windsor. Rutland Chapel. "Sir George Manners." d. 1513.

near Reading. At Exton, Rutland, "Lady Harrington" is similar, while Sir John Harrington (d. 1524) is a replica of the "Earl of Wiltshire" (d. 1498) at Lowick (Fig. 803). The trade faculty of a caste of sculpture had reached immobility, and we need not multiply examples.



FIG. 803. Lowick (Northants). "The Earl of Wiltshire." d. 1498.

CHAPTER VII

THE STONE AND WOODEN EFFIGIES OF LAST GOTHIC SCULPTURE

OUR discussion of the alabaster effigies illustrated what has been insisted on more than once, that from London radiated the monument-style, and that the custom of the capital was to use imported stone of many kinds. During the fifteenth century the marble of Dorset, the alabaster of Derbyshire, the white chalk-stones from many counties, seem to have been in the hands of London craftsmen, as well as the building sandstones from Reigate and Caen. Sumptuous memorials composed of various materials were sent out from the capital. The metal-workers joined hands with the masons, and we read in the various accounts and records that citizens of various crafts combined to supply the sepulchral erections that the memory of kings and nobles demanded. But such monuments of bronze, marble and alabaster were for the big people: the lesser folk followed the fashions in cheaper materials, and for them stone memorials were made splendid with gilding and painting.

One of the stones specially used for the cheaper effigies of the last period of Gothic sculpture was the hardest kind of chalk. This, we have already said, is called *clunch* in many parts of the eastern counties, in Cambridgeshire, Norfolk and Suffolk, and is suitable for the sculpture of internal work only, for it will not stand out of doors. It is possible that this soft chalk-stone came into London from the eastern counties, but Bedfordshire and Devon quarries could supply much the same thing in bigger and better blocks, and of rather harder quality. So we believe that the London carving of white-stone memorials was most usually in the Dunstable stone or in that of Beer, the former brought by land carriage from the Chilterns, and the latter by sea from the Devon cliff-quarries.

It was because these elaborate monuments of clunch and alabaster were specially of London shop-work that the style practised in the handling of such delicate materials may be counted as the distinctive one for the last period of effigy-making. Still, the building stones of the anterior period were not disused: many of the fifteenth-century figures were carved in the Caen and Reigate building-stones of the London building, and similarly the stones of local masonry in other parts of England—the sandstones and magnesian limestones of North England; the red sandstones of mid-England; the Ancaster oolites of the eastern counties and those of Bath and Bristol, as well as the coarser oolite of Ham Hill in Somerset, were all used locally for

effigies in the fifteenth century just as they had been in the fourteenth. Hence, despite the great trade of London in monuments, it would seem that much of the stone effigy-making of the Last Gothic period remained that of local crafts in the cities immediate to the quarries. For example, the Beer stone was largely in use at Exeter c. 1350, and that city continued all through the fifteenth century the centre of a trade in figures that are found throughout Devon and Cornwall, and were carried by sea, no doubt, to other southern counties. Good examples are to be seen at Haccombe (Fig. 804), a "knight and lady" whose date must be fixed by the costume as contemporary with the Elford and Hornby figures (see p. 693). The reliance on alabaster motives and technique is apparent here despite the bold relief of the stone-cutter's handling. A large number of Devon, Dorset, and Somerset examples

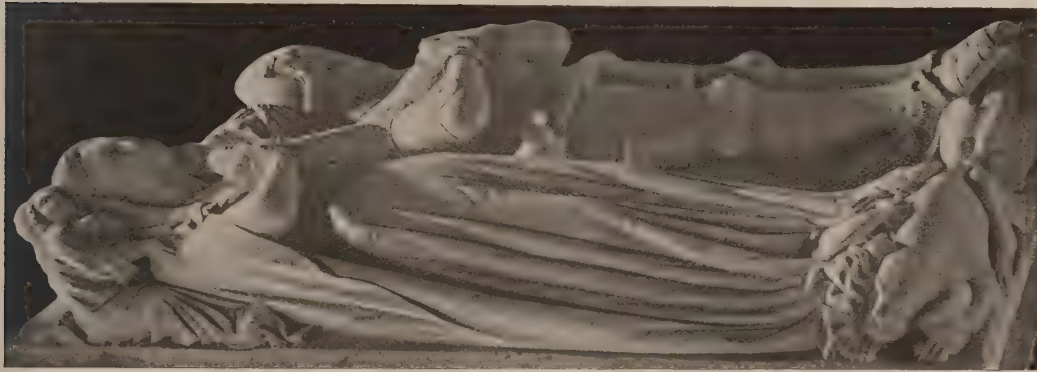


FIG. 804. Haccombe (Devon). Freestone memorial of "Knight and Lady." c. 1400.

represent these traditions in the working of local sculptors, such as the many Ham-stone figures, *e.g.* at Brympton, or in those of Beer stone round Colyton. At the outset the local mason-crafts would be ignorant of alabaster style. A special instance in which the effigy-making of stone-masons followed out-of-date patterns occurs at St Peter's Church, Dorchester (Dorset), where are two "knights" with the pointed bascinets and distinct cuirasses which distinguished the armour between 1375 and 1400, but in their attitudes they are of the Exeter and Aldworth types (see Fig. 697, p. 625) forty years earlier. They lie cross-legged and sideways, with shield on arm and hand ready for the sword, instead of at prayer—this being the latest adoption of the martial cross-legged attitude in the recumbent effigy that has come to our notice. The material seems to have been got from the local quarries of Portesham stone, and the surface detail is solidly carved, not worked in gesso.

In the same way we have a survival of style in the Tewkesbury figure of "Guy de Brien," drawn by Stothard; the hands are broken away but the arms

of the knight indicate that they were probably laid on the sword in the early posture of the English sculptors. The knight died 1391, aged ninety, but the armour is that of forty years earlier. The round bascinet and tight jupon and absence of plate-protection in use at the end of the century on feet and shoulders, point to a date early in the third quarter of the fourteenth century, or, if later, represent a lingering tradition. Similarly at Chichester the "Bishop Stratford" (d. 1367), which appears to be a work in Beer stone, has the long lean head, the flatly laid folds, and the action of benediction of the preceding bishop-models of West England but no longer seen in the alabaster bishops of London style. So at Carlisle (Fig. 805) a red sandstone "bishop" has the treatment of the first half of the fourteenth century, though the architectural details of the gablet point to c. 1400.



FIG. 805. Carlisle. Red sandstone memorial of "Bishop." c. 1400.

Such are, however, the exceptions: the stone effigy-making of western England adopted for its general practice the tamer conceptions that the fourteenth-century alabaster effigyist had popularised. We have pointed out how some of the first instances of the alabaster memorial figures occur in the west midlands—in the "bishops" of Wells, and the "knights" and "ladies" of Tewkesbury and Berkeley—and although the majority of the western figures continued to be those of stone, the dependence upon the alabaster model is evident. Taking up freestone effigy-sculpture where it was left in Chapter v., we miss the many varieties which were conspicuous c. 1350: they are replaced by a single widely distributed and very uniform pattern for both "knight" and "lady." The "knight" lies straight and stiff, his head upon his helm and his feet upon a lion or dog (crouching, and not the reclining beast of the Westminster style), both head and feet raised above the table of the slab, so as to set out the body in the line of an even curve. The "lady" is posed with similar rigidity, usually with angels and cushions at her head, and with her feet upon a small dog. Both "knight" and "lady" seem in fact very nearly duplicated from such alabaster representations as those at Berkeley and Warwick—though a little coarser in execution, as would be natural in a stone-mason's translation of the fine alabaster carving. See for example the "knight" and "lady" at Worcester (Fig. 806), the latter figure remarkable as having a swan as her head cushion.



FIG. 806. Worcester. Nave. c. 1400.

These conventional types were established all over England. The patterns of "knight" and "lady" which the *herbers* of Derbyshire had portrayed are reproduced with all the detail in the fine Totternhoe stone of the Chilterns



FIG. 807. Clifton Reynes (Bucks). White-stone memorial of "Knight and Lady." c. 1375.

in a "knight" and "lady" at Clifton Reynes (Fig. 807); so also in the fine freestones as in "Sir John Montacute" (d. 1389) at Salisbury, and in the "Prince of South Wales" (Fig. 808) at St David's. Less elaborate versions



FIG. 808. St David's (S. Wales). Freestone memorial of "Knight." c. 1390.

were possible in the coarser sandstones of Yorkshire, as we may see in a "knight" at Bedale; so, too, in the rough Ham stone of Somerset, as at Trent, near Sherborne, or at the Athelhampton Chapel in Piddleton Church, Dorset. But, allowing for the differences of material, one finds for a long time little variation of representation in these "knight" figures. Widely apart as were the places of their carving, they are all much alike in their acceptance of the alabaster patterns. We have the same course of events as with the Purbeck trade in effigies: the alabaster crafts started with the prestige of London style, and so their models held throughout England.

How immediately the alabaster fashions were repeated at the hands of local stone-carvers can be seen in the "knight" at Gloucester (Fig. 809), who is with the "lady" beside him in the recess of the south aisle of the nave, and directly imitative of the Hornby alabaster type with the orled bascinet (see p. 693). But small variation is seen in the "Markenfield" at Ripon (Fig. 810),

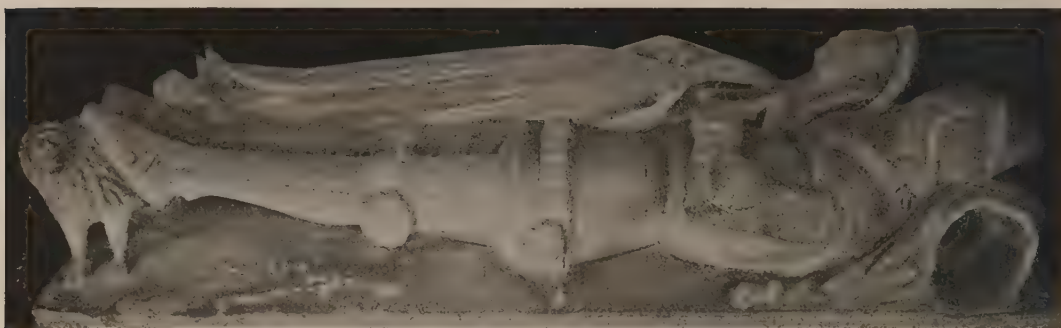


FIG. 809. Gloucester. Nave. Freestone memorial of "Knight and Lady." c. 1410.

worked in white chalk-stone, and another very similar "knight" is at Grimsby in Lincolnshire, in Caen or Ancaster stone.

At Gloucester the "lady" above (Fig. 809) is worked in a white oolite and has also an orle to her hair like the "lady" at Elford (see p. 693). Other copies of the alabaster types appear in the "ladies" with the long hair at Burford, near Tenbury; in "Philippa, Duchess of York," with barb and double hood, at Westminster Abbey, and her almost exact replica at Canterbury¹. As the Lowick monument made clear, the Chellaston quarries of alabaster at this date (c. 1420) were sending out sculptured figures of "knights" and "ladies," and the effigy-makers in stone in various places in the western cities and in London were also diligently occupied in turning out figures whose sculpture scarcely varied. The characteristic of the fifteenth-century art was the uniform manufacture all round and in every material which slowly crushed out the enterprise of stone-sculpture and brought

¹ W. H. St John Hope in *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 1905.

to an end the free development of medieval art. New expressions are rare: but we may mention one of these showing itself in the memorial of William Fitz-Alan and his countess at Arundel (drawn by Stothard), where we see the same handlings as in the statues of Henry VII.'s Chapel.



FIG. 810. Ripon. Transept chapel. Whitestone memorial of "Sir Thomas Markenfield." c. 1425.

The few wooden figures of the fifteenth century which remain, though modelled generally to the same set fashions—as for example the "knight" beside the Wingfield "lady" (see Fig. 753, p. 671)—show some characteristic accessories. The wooden effigies of the "Nevills" at Brancepeth, Durham (Fig. 811, below) have had those peculiar little kneeling puppets that were carved upon Archbishop Chichele's slab at Canterbury (see Fig. 770, p. 686), and appear, too, on the stone "ecclesiastic" at St Bartholomew's, Smithfield.



FIG. 811. Brancepeth, Durham. Wooden memorial of "Second Earl of Westmorland and Countess." c. 1484.
The accoutrement of the Knight is that of c. 1450.

Accordingly, like the alabaster "bishop" in Durham Cathedral and the Nevill tomb at Staindrop, we must take these Brancepeth figures as from London¹. In the fifteenth century, however, not the wooden effigy but the engraved brass was popular, as a cheaper and more portable form of memorial,

¹ W. H. St John Hope has suggested that we have here merely the *patterns* mentioned in the monumental contracts (see p. 682), not the finished effigies, which would have been of alabaster.

so that in most parts of the country fifteenth-century effigies in relief out of local stone are rare. In the larger cities the members of the merchant communities, which through all the century were growing wealthy, were usually commemorated in "brass" representations. The large proportion that the civilian brasses bear to those of knights marks the latest period of the Gothic monument: on the other hand, the sculptured figures are seen to be almost exclusively those of nobles and knights throughout the century.

Still, there were many brasses of "knights" and "ladies," and that the engraved plate grew a favourite manner of monument in the first half of the fifteenth century is clear from the number assigned to great ecclesiastics of which we have evidence. There were many at St Paul's in the old cathedral, and at Chichester seven of the fifteenth-century bishops, besides other ecclesiastics, were commemorated in brasses, as can be seen by the matrices in the cathedral floor. Since the pattern of these brasses is of a kind widely distributed—occurring at York, Carlisle and Glasgow, for example, the provenance of the elaborate "bishop"-brass must, we think, be placed in London.



FIG. 812. Westminster. St John Baptist chapel. Freestone memorial of "Abbot Colchester." d. 1410.

Taking the best brasses as memorial specialities of the London crafts we may also see a marked independence of the stock alabaster handling in the stone figures of the capital. Certain variations in cushions and a bolder treatment of the attendant angels had marked those alabaster pieces which we have thought distributed from London (see p. 692). These qualities and a broad rendering of drapery can be seen also in certain stone effigies. A well-known example is the poet "Gower" in Southwark Cathedral (drawn by Hollis), though renewals and repaintings have so loaded the surfaces that the original make is obscure. It is likely that many citizens of London and their wives were commemorated in stone effigies in London, such as the "Oteswiches" at St Helen's, illustrated on p. 696.

But in London especially the stone "ecclesiastic" makes a distinct class. The type, that of Bishop Sheppey of Rochester, has been illustrated (see Fig. 760, p. 676) in connection with the earliest alabasters. But "Abbot Colchester" at Westminster (Fig. 812) and "Archbishop Chichele" at

Canterbury (see Fig. 770, p. 686), while mimicking in freestone the more costly material, have, in their smooth drapery, the high-held hands, and in the boldly modelled angels, considerable differences from alabaster handlings. One may say the same but to a less degree as to the "knight" Sir Bernard Brocas in Westminster Abbey, and as to the "ladies" at Westminster and Canterbury mentioned on page 712. As already said, the London effigies can be but a tithe of what must have existed before the great fire which destroyed the cathedral of St Paul's and the great churches of the Augustinians and Franciscans; the latter the burying-place of many great personages.

Bristol has preserved, no doubt, a larger proportion of its medieval figures. There are here examples of ecclesiastic and civilian effigies wrought in the local building stone. There are two classes of the latter—one that comes immediately in succession to those civilian figures which were illustrated in Chapter VI. Franklins and their wives, c. 1360—1380, are



FIG. 813. Bristol. St Mary Redcliffe. "William Canynge." c. 1475.

represented in St Stephen's and St John the Baptist's Churches. The habit of the brass memorial seems then to have intervened for two or three generations, but after 1450 there comes an effigy-sculpture in stone of all kinds. "William Canynge" (d. 1474) (Fig. 813) and his wife (d. 1460) are well-known examples, and in the same church of St Mary Redcliffe are the figures of another citizen "Thomas Mede," c. 1475, and his wife. A "lady" very like this last is seen in the Mayor's Chapel beside a "Berkeley" who himself is a good copy of the Yorkist alabaster "knight. The stone-masons of Bristol had therefore the ability to supply the ecclesiastics locally with sculptured figures as well as with elaborate monuments. There are in the abbey church, now the cathedral, three impressive figures of "abbots" which tradition has assigned to Abbot Knowle and some of his successors. At any rate their burials are recorded in various parts of the Abbey Church—the Chronicle Roll of Abbot Newland giving many particulars, so that their tombs have been identified and the figures assigned. The identifications,

however, do not entirely agree with tradition. It is, of course, possible that the figures may have been moved, so that burial-place and effigy have now parted company. One effigy, which on the ground of the entry in the Chronicle is ascribed to Abbot Hart (d. 1481), seems the copy of an alabaster figure belonging to the style of c. 1400. Certainly the figure (Fig. 814, below), by tradition ascribed to Abbot Knowle (d. 1300), was not made in the fourteenth century. Its handling is that of the craftsmen employed upon the Sugar Chantry at Wells c. 1480, for the angel-carving and treatment of detail are exactly similar. The assignment, not to Abbot Knowle but to Abbot Newbury (d. 1475), is therefore no doubt correct. These two figures are in the niches on the north side of the Lady Chapel; in the similar position on the south side the "abbot" is certified by his rebus at the feet as Abbot Newland (d. 1512) or "Nailheart," the author of the Chronicle. In the Mayor's Chapel is a "bishop" of this type known as Bishop Sulley (d. 1516), and in Hereford Cathedral nave another with the same large tasselled pillows

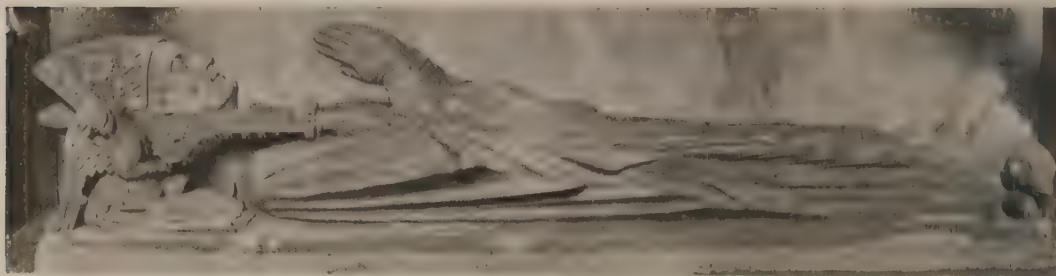


FIG. 814. Bristol. Lady Chapel. Freestone memorial of "Abbot Newbury." c. 1475.

(Fig. 815, opposite) commemorates Bishop Mayhew (d. 1516). As compared with the alabaster models, these Bristol and Hereford "ecclesiastics" have the robuster handling of a working stone-craft, from which came also many late figures of medieval style in western churches, such as the curious commemorative "king" at Gloucester, and the similar figure at Malmesbury.

There is a fine monument at St David's in South Wales assigned to Bishop Morgan (d. 1505). The figure is handled like "Bishop Mayhew" of Hereford—and the tomb may be from that city. The tomb-chest has the figure-subjects carved in a free way (see Fig. 527, p. 455) and must have been one of the latest works of religious carving in West England.

Turning to the East of England we note how the stone-worker of ecclesiastic effigies had been responsible for that peculiar representation of sculpture, very typical of the last Gothic period, the *cadaver*, or emaciated corpse. At Lincoln (Fig. 816) we see this placed beneath the slab on which reposes the sumptuous effigy of the deceased in all the bravery of rich ecclesiastical



FIG. 815. Hereford. Nave. Freestone monument of "Bishop Mayhew." 1504—1516.

vestments, as a symbol of the fleeting nature of earthly splendour. We have mentioned (p. 686) this in connection with the tomb of Archbishop Chichele and shown how the alabaster memorials of Bishop Beckington at Wells, and those of a "knight" at Arundel, and of "Lady Suffolk" at Ewelme took up the idea.



FIG. 816. Lincoln. Bishop with cadaver. c. 1370.

For "knights" and "ladies," however, alabaster asserted its pre-eminence as the fashionable material, so that the fifteenth-century stone-sculptor seemed always to have in mind the model of the Derbyshire productions. For example, the "knight" and "lady" at Aldbury (Fig. 817, below) carved in a white stone, resemble in pose, modelling and detail the pair wrought in alabaster at Ash, Kent (see Fig. 791, p. 701). So in 1524 at Shrewsbury are to be seen in the Abbey Church sandstone figures of "knight and lady" finished with a thick gesso surfacing, figure and monument being in close imitation of those stock alabaster patterns which we saw being so widely distributed after 1500 (see p. 706). In connection with this Shrewsbury example



FIG. 817. Aldbury (Herts). Freestone memorial of "Knight and Lady." c. 1470.

was a class of fifteenth-century stone-carved knights in North Wales—which may be represented by the fine figure at Llanrwst called "Owen Glendower."

Here and in western England generally the craft of effigy-making in stone was carried on vigorously to the end of the sixteenth century and some way into the seventeenth, witnessed to by the "knights" and "ladies," memorials of the Elizabethan worthies. Such figures were in effect medieval sculpture, however much costume and the monuments have dallied with Renaissance ornament.

But London was necessarily on the way to new fashions of art at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Apart from the direct introduction of Italian artists by Henry VIII., the models of Renaissance tomb-making were gradually penetrating into England. In Flanders and the Netherlands the

arts c. 1500 were on the eve of that brilliant illumination which was for two centuries to lighten all the North of Europe. It was the Flemish rather than the Italian feeling which gives a touch of freshness to some of the last effigies of English Gothic style. We have already mentioned the Layer Marney "knight" (Fig. 818) as posed with a kind of restrained liveliness that seems a reflection of the peculiar types that Flemish naturalism was at this date giving

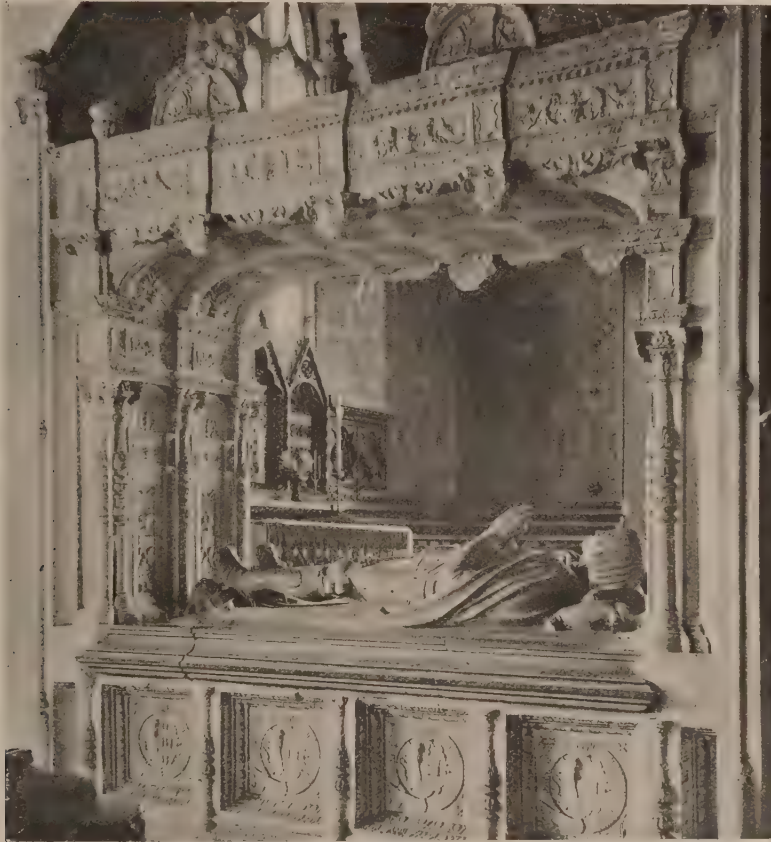


FIG. 818. Layer Marney (Essex). Memorial of "Lord Marney," c. 1525.

to sculpture. This mild assumption of foreign style in the figure is on all fours with that of the Renaissance ornament appearing in the terra-cotta dressings of the Layer Marney gatehouse, as well as in Lord Marney's tomb.

There is witness to Flemish craftsmanship coming into England in the reappearance of Flemish marbles in monumental work. The black marble or *touch* had been used in the fourteenth century in the material of the screen-work for the chantry of Bishop Meopham at Canterbury. We think also

that the white marble of Belgium appeared in Queen Philippa's effigy at Westminster in 1380. As already said, the black and white sculptures of the Flemish artists were supplied in France commonly after 1300, but in England the above seem the rare instances of foreign marbles in the fourteenth century. In the latter part of the fifteenth, however, the black marble frequently takes the place of the English Purbeck as the matrix for the engraved brass. Finally, in the sixteenth century, as at Chideock, Dorset, c. 1540, we have recumbent effigies sculptured in the black marble, and after 1540 both white and black Flemish marbles are often seen in the material of tombs.



FIG. 819. Battle. Sussex. Memorial of Sir A. Browne. d. 1540.

It has been pointed out, p. 661, that in the sixteenth century the wooden effigy had a new vogue. At Slindon, Sussex, is an example where the carving of the figure exhibits much the same style as the above-mentioned Chideock knight. We may suppose London the source of all these fresh forms: for their uses of new material made a break of style away from the alabaster traditions, though at first with a somewhat clumsy hesitation. While it is difficult to read anything of the learned Italian craft of the Cinquecento into such English efforts, the English Elizabethan Renaissance, if we may so call it, appears in a long series of marble and alabaster tombs as at

Battle (Fig. 819). Many of the mid-century examples of recumbent figures are fine stately figures such as the "Duke and Duchess of Norfolk" at Framlingham; or the "Spencers" at Brington, Northants, with their long cloaks making the background to a dignified aristocratic calm. But still, as sculpture, despite the classic ornaments, they are all medieval, as if there had never been the classic fervour of Mantegna—as if the ideal grace of Donatello or the science of Leonardo da Vinci had never existed. In England it all went the humdrum pace of an established trade, right through the three centuries during which Italy was creating the schools of a new art, an art that rose to its zenith and declined before our insular temperament acknowledged the phenomenon.

It was therefore quite on all fours with Henry III.'s introduction of Peter the *Roman* that his descendant Henry VIII. employed Torrignano. Like the mosaic of the Cosmati in the Confessor's shrine, the bronzes of Henry VII., of his Queen (Fig. 820), and his mother at Westminster were Roman. They were pure interpolations of the Italian Renaissance, and we have failed to discover that any English sculptor caught up ideas from them. We have said that alabaster effigy-making continued for a hundred years under the spell of its early patterns, and if here and there a stone-figure breaks away it is in the direction of Flemish naturalism, not of the Italian Baroque. The interest of this latest work lies however in these modern manifestations, which are outside our subject.



FIG. 820. Westminster. King Henry VII. and Queen, by Torrignano. c. 1515.

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